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EDITED BY

GERALD SANDY



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CONTENTS

Introduction	1
Hellenizing Geography: Travellers in Classical Lands 1550–1800	9
<i>Olga Augustinos</i>	
France and the Transmission of Latin Manuscripts	25
<i>Ofelia Salgado</i>	
Resources for the Study of Ancient Greek in France	47
<i>Gerald Sandy</i>	
Guillaume Budé: Philologist and Polymath. A Preliminary Study	79
<i>Gerald Sandy</i>	
Erasmus and Paris	109
<i>Douglas Thomson</i>	
Translations from Latin into French in the Renaissance	137
<i>Valerie Worth-Stylianou</i>	
François Rabelais	165
<i>John Parkin</i>	
Michel de Montaigne: The <i>Essais</i> and a Tacitean Discourse	187
<i>Sue Farquhar</i>	
Plutarch's <i>Lives</i>	219
<i>Alain Billault</i>	
Jacques Amyot and the Greek Novel: The Invention of the French Novel	237
<i>Laurence Plazenet</i>	

Under the Shadow of Socrates	281
<i>George Huppert</i>	
Legal Science in France in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries	297
<i>Michèle Ducos</i>	
Longinus' <i>On the Sublime</i>	315
<i>Alain Billault</i>	
Classical Myth and Its Interpretation in Sixteenth-Century France	331
<i>Philip Ford</i>	
The Epic in Sixteenth-Century France	351
<i>Jean Braybrook</i>	
The Greek Anacreontics and Sixteenth-Century French Lyric Poetry	393
<i>Patricia Rosenmeyer</i>	
Fables: Aesop and Babrius	425
<i>Paola Cifarelli</i>	
Drama	453
<i>Gillian Jondorf</i>	
The Classical Heritage in French Architecture	471
<i>A. Trevor Hodge</i>	
Sixteenth-Century Book Illustration: The Classical Heritage	503
<i>Alison Saunders</i>	
Bibliography	533
Index of Names	569
General Index	585

INTRODUCTION

F. Buisson, L'Inspecteur général, Directeur de l'enseignement primaire, in a report prepared in 1886 for the French minister of education, provides a *répertoire raisonné des ouvrages pédagogiques* that were available in France in the sixteenth century.¹ I marvelled that a modern French minister of education would be expected to take an interest in, and have an understanding of, the legacy of humanistic educational reforms that had occurred more than 300 years earlier. I was also struck by Buisson's citation from Etienne Dolet's *Commentarii Linguae Latinae* (1536). When Dolet arrived at the word "literae" (belles-lettres), he paused to savour the victory of the new learning over the forces of barbarism. Within the span of a century, he writes graphically, the battle against ignorance initiated by Lorenzo Valla had almost reached its conclusion. Valla could scarcely hold his position, but to his aid soon came his compatriot Politian and other Italian humanists. As the battle spread, various countries sent reinforcements to the Army of Belles-Lettres: Agricola and Erasmus from Germany (sic), Thomas More and Thomas Linacre from England and Juan Luis Vivès from Spain. Finally, reinforcements arrived from France, led by commander-in-chief Guillaume Budé, "that famous and unrivalled master of each of the two [classical] languages, Greek and Latin. At his side appeared Lefèvre d'Étaples, armed with the shield of philosophy." Dolet then draws up a muster list of French humanists that begins with his own teachers, Christophe Longueil and Nicolas Bérault, and finishes with Michel de l'Hôpital and François Rabelais. Dolet concludes:

That army of educated people, raised from every corner of Europe, made such great attacks against the enemy camp that now at last barbarism no longer has a refuge. It disappeared long ago from Italy, it left Germany, it took flight from England, it retreated from Spain [and] it has been banished from France. There is no longer a city in Europe that offers asylum to the monster. The study of all the arts is flourishing. People have been guided by belles-lettres to the long

¹ *Répertoire des ouvrages pédagogiques du XVI^e siècle* (1886; reprinted Nieuwkoop: De Graaf, 1962).

neglected study of what is good and true. . . . Am I not justified in paying homage to belles-lettres and their triumph? They have regained their former lustre and at the same time their true mission, which is to secure human happiness and to fill human lives with all that is good.

Rabelais, who appears at the end of Dolet's muster list of humanistic solders, writing in 1532, likewise recognized that humanism had triumphed in France in his own lifetime, *Maintenant, toutes disciplines sont restituées, les langues instaruéés*.

The beginnings of this "restoration" or renaissance in France can be fixed within reasonably precise chronological limits. They begin with the first two publications of Guillaume Budé in the first decade of the sixteenth century and culminate in the foundation of the Collège de France in 1530. Thereafter, classical studies became entrenched in the institutional curriculum. It is also possible to view these beginnings within chronological limits that correspond closely to the reign of François I (1515–1547), whose policy, as Dolet recognized, was to banish "le Monstre d'Ignorance" and who declared that "il n'est plus grande indigence qu'ignorance." In this scheme one would mark out the pioneers such as Budé and his pupil, Jacques Toussain, one of the first two *lecteurs royaux* in Greek, the death of the latter of whom and that of François Vatable, the first *lecteur royal* in Hebrew, occurred in the year of François I's death.² One would distinguish between the humanistic scholars of that period, the period of restoration or renaissance, when the emphasis, in the words of Budé, was "to unlock and expose all the sealed tombs of antiquity . . . and to disperse and offer . . . their wealth . . . to the public," and the mature, more specialized efforts that characterize the enterprise in the second half of the sixteenth century.³

I first became interested in the classical heritage in France more than 20 years ago when I was writing a book on the ancient Greek novelist Heliodorus. At that time I repeatedly encountered the name of Jacques Amyot. He was known to me then only as the author of the first vernacular translation of the Greek novel. I resolved that

² For the two sentiments associated with François I see Sandy 1984–1985: 22. See Tilley 1900: 456 for the linking of the budding of French classical studies to the reign of François I.

³ Allen (ed.) 1906–1958: II, 397; the passage is more fully discussed in my chapter on Budé.

after I had completed the book I would try to find out more about Amyot. I was amazed to learn that this representative of only the second generation of Hellenic studies in France had been able to take command of ancient Greek to the extent that he could successfully restore by conjecture corrupted readings in the single manuscript available at the time for the Greek novel. I pursued the study of the classical heritage in France principally as a hobby for more than 20 years. I realized eventually, however, that I would need help if I was to achieve the kind of comprehensive understanding of the subject achieved single-handedly by the first generation of French classical scholars. Thus was born the idea of this book.

I am greatly indebted to the scholars who have contributed to it for their forbearance and co-operation in expanding my understanding of a remarkable period of intellectual adventure and progress. The book is intended for readers like me, educated non-specialists, who, I hope, will benefit from comprehensive surveys provided by specialists. I am aware of certain shortcomings in the book, some of which are my fault, such as the emphasis on Greek to the relative neglect of Latin. In my defence I can say that Latin belles-lettres during the mediaeval and early-modern periods, though severely degraded, as Budé and other humanists often complained, were part of the living tradition, as exemplified by the belated appointment of Latomus to the first royal readership in Latin at the Collège de France in 1534. Similarly, as Françoise Waquet observes in the *London Times* (11 July 2001), Latin was closely associated with education in the West until relatively recently. For instance, Abbé Coyer (Gabriel François) remarks polemically in his *Plan d'éducation* (1770): "What is learned in the sixth grade? Latin. In the fifth? Latin. The fourth? Latin. The third? Latin. The second? Latin."

The first three chapters focus closely on the introduction of the study of ancient Greece and its language and writings in France in the early part of the sixteenth century, a process that began in western Europe in Italy in the second half of the fourteenth century and gained strength from the arrival there of Greek refugees fleeing from the occupation of their lands by the Ottoman Turks early in the next century. Olga Augustinos opens the collection with an account of the role of French travellers to classical lands, especially Greece, in transforming perceptible reality into narrative textuality. Gerald Sandy then reviews the resources that were available in France for the study of ancient Greek as the French horizon expanded early in

the sixteenth century to encompass Greece. He also reviews the contributions to the study of ancient Greece of Guillaume Budé, who was also an adventurous traveller in what was to the French an uncharted literary landscape. Almost single-handedly he wrenched from Italy the pre-eminence in Hellenic studies in western Europe that was to belong to France during the last two-thirds of the sixteenth century. Budé's intellectual peer in western Europe was Erasmus. Douglas Thomson considers the question: What would have become of Erasmus if he had not made his way to Paris? Would he have remained a cloistered Augustinian canon with a strong interest in Latin style and a talent for writing Latin verse? As Douglas Thomson explains, Erasmus' intellectual powers were greatly expanded by his resolve to learn ancient Greek during the second of his two extended stays in the French capital. Valerie Worth-Stylianou shifts the focus to Latin, specifically French translations from Latin, but the issues that she discusses are germane to vernacular translations from other languages including Greek, and translation, like the study of ancient Greek, was a tool for expanding knowledge of classical antiquity. Ofelia Salgado also focusses on Latin, specifically, on a few major Latin manuscripts that played a role in the transmission of classical Latin culture and that found a safe haven in France. Like Erasmus, François Rabelais might have continued to lead an obscure life in holy orders had he not been exposed to the literature of European humanism, the example of Erasmus and the possibility of learning Greek without a tutor in a monastic environment. John Parkin considers these influences and others as well in the intellectual and literary development of the greatest French comic writer.

Two writers in this volume discuss the remarkable achievements of Jacques Amyot. His translations of Plutarch have come to be cherished as works of French literature in their own right. As Alain Billault explains, to give one example of their influence, seldom has one book owed as much to another one as Montaigne's *Essais* owe to Amyot's translations of Plutarch. Their influence extends beyond France. "North's Plutarch," for instance, to which Shakespeare frequently turned, is really "Amyot's Plutarch" translated into English. It is impossible to know whether the evolutionary trajectory of the novel in the West would have followed the path that it has followed if Amyot had not translated Heliodorus' ancient Greek novel, the *Ethiopian Story*, into French. Laurence Plazenet considers exactly this possibility. The subtitle of her detailed chapter—The Invention of

the French Novel—forgoes the suspense that Heliodorus favoured and that Amyot regarded as part of the “*esbahissement et . . . delectation*” of the literary form. Susan Farquhar explains that Montaigne was open to, and deeply influenced by, classical models other than Plutarch.

Technical manifestations of the classical heritage in France have not been neglected. Ancient philosophy is represented by George Huppert’s discussion of Socrates. Alcibiades’ praise of Socrates in Plato’s *Symposium* served as the starting point for Erasmus’ *Sileni Alcibiadis*, which in turn shaped the early-modern image of the gadfly philosopher whom Montaigne called the person “with the most perfect soul.” It is this Socratic image rather than that of Socrates the intellectual that came to dominate in early-modern France, as George Huppert demonstrates. It is also fitting that there be a chapter devoted to the influence of ancient law, especially Roman law, in France because the publication of Guillaume Budé’s *Annotationes in . . . Pandectas* in 1508 launched what is often called legal humanism and highlighted the ignorance of the languages, customs and institutions of classical antiquity that had marred the previous study of law during the post-classical period. Michèle Ducos describes the *mos gallicus* applied from the time of Budé to the study of law in France and elsewhere in western Europe. The “French method” relied on analysis of the original Latin and Greek texts, unlike the *mos italicus*, which was based on the methods of the mediaeval Italian glossators.

Alain Billault’s analysis of an ancient Greek technical literary document, Longinus’ *On the Sublime*, and its translation into French by Nicolas Boileau Despréaux in 1674 takes us to the Battle of the Ancients and the Moderns and paves the way for discussion of specialized literary genres and themes in France that were derived from classical models. Philip Ford focuses on the interpretation of classical myths in sixteenth-century France and their pervasive appearance in the poetry, palaces and royal propaganda of the time. Classicists will be reminded of Augustus’ appropriation of myth and his enlistment of artists such as Vergil in his campaign of public relations. The influence of Vergil and Ovid is the topic of Jean Braybrook’s chapter on the flourishing business of theorizing on, and writing, epic poems in sixteenth-century France. Classicists will also be familiar with the challenges faced by Vergil in adapting the tone of Homeric epic to the spirit of the Augustan age. Similar challenges were also faced by Plautus in his Latin adaptations of Greek New

Comedy. Gillian Jondorf in her chapter on French drama in the sixteenth century explains how French playwrights of the time responded to the call by the Pléiade for neo-classical vernacular drama. In the sixteenth century France had a virtual monopoly on lyric poetry because of the influential teaching above all of Jean Dorat, who instilled in his pupils, Pierre de Ronsard and Jean-Antoine de Baïf, the classical ideals of the *vates* (bard) and the *doctus poeta* (erudite poet) and because of Henri Estienne's discovery, publication and Latin translation in 1554 of the Greek lyric poems known as the *Anacreotics*. Patricia Rosenmeyer traces the fascinating story of the discovery of the collection and its enormous impact in the 1550s on the Pléiade. Estienne had at best circumstantial evidence for linking the poems in the collection that he had discovered to the already existing corpus that was securely linked to Anacreon. Paola Cifarelli also has to confront the imbroglione of collections of uncertain authorship and amorphous genre: what exactly is a fable, and which "fables" were written by Aesop and Babrius? Like much of the Greek classical heritage in western Europe, the rediscovery of the Greek Aesop occurred in Italy in the fifteenth century, and the Estienne publishing house played a major role in the dissemination of Latin translations of ancient fables.

The classical heritage in French visual arts is the subject of chapters by A. Trevor Hodge and Alison Saunders. Very few tangible remains of Greek civilization remain in France. The Romans, however, left many surviving traces, the most famous probably being the Pont du Gard, the Maison Carrée at Nîmes and the amphitheatres at Nîmes and Arles. Roman structures also inspired imitation on the part of French architects, as can be seen, for instance, in the aqueduct bridge at Roquefavour, which the architect deliberately designed to be half again larger than its model, the Pont du Gard. The study of architecture in France has been highly centralized and academic since the middle of the seventeenth century. The emphasis was on theory, and the theory held that Imperial Rome was the principal source of good architecture. The Gothic churches that visitors to France admire today were considered by the Ecole des Beaux-Arts not to be "the proper expression of Christianity because Gothic architecture had never penetrated Rome." Napoleon III, who was a fervent admirer of ancient Rome, personally drew up the street plans of Paris that were implemented by Baron Haussmann. It is fitting,

therefore, though probably coincidental, that the north-south arterial axes of the boulevards Sebastopol and Strasbourg and the east-west axis along the rue de Rivoli adhere to the *cardo* and the *decumanus* of the original Roman city of Lutetia. However, it is surely not a coincidence that a statue of Napoleon dressed as Julius Caesar surmounts the Colonne Vendôme, itself a reproduction of Trajan's Column in the Roman Forum. Eventually, architectural classicism gave way to Romanticism and engineering, but as late as the middle of the nineteenth century the large Roman bath complexes of Caracalla and Diocletian provided the models for the main halls formed by a series of connected cross-vaults used in the Gare de l'Est and the Gare du Nord. Classical architecture is also a notable feature of the sixteenth-century book illustrations studied by Alison Saunders. Along with the typically mediaeval borders appears classical architecture *à l'usage de Rome*. Early humanist interest in architecture, seen for instance in Budé's familiarity with Vitruvius and his friendship with Fra Giocondo, the Italian architect who supervised construction of the pont Notre-Dame, was often reflected in the tangible world of royal entries celebrating a coronation or marriage. These elaborately staged events followed processional routes that had been transformed by ephemeral facades representing triumphal arches, complete with grandiose Latin inscriptions honouring the royal visitor, and temples of classical design. Somewhat akin to a playbill, the published account of Henri II's and Catherine de Medici's entry into Paris in 1549, for instance, includes Jean Goujon's illustrations of the triumphal arch erected at the Porte St. Denis that bore the heroic inscription "en lettre Romaine noire DONEC TOTUM IMPLEAT ORBEM" ("until he occupies the entire world"). The emphasis on classical architecture is also seen in the many illustrated editions of the Roman architectural writer Vitruvius published in France throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Publishing economies sometimes resulted in strange classical bedfellows, as when a 1532 French vernacular edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* included a woodcut depicting and naming characters previously used for an edition of Vergil's *Aeneid*. The absence or greatly reduced use of book illustrations by the early French humanist publishers Josse Bade and Henri I Estienne and their move from columnar Gothic text to full-page Roman text mark the transition from the mediaeval world to that of the humanists in which France has found her rightful place.

HELLENIZING GEOGRAPHY:
TRAVELLERS IN CLASSICAL LANDS 1550–1800

Olga Augustinos

A traveller, according to the eighteenth-century voyager Claude Etienne Savary, must consult geography and history before undertaking his journey. 'The former will mark for him the place that served as a theatre to great events; the latter will trace them in his memory.'¹ Geography and history are intertwined because history transforms geography into 'a center of established values,' and humanized geography gives history a territorial verity.²

Their interconnection and mutual transformation were established during the Renaissance. It was then that the medieval Christian syncretism that fused theology and geography and made the corporeal emblematic of the incorporeal lost ground to cosmology that explored an expanded and diversified universe. Spatial autonomy was confluent with temporal segmentation dividing time into present, past and future. A further fragmentation occurred when different peoples retraced their own paths to their collective origins. This process made culture and history the criteria for the reconstitution of the past.

In the Middle Ages 'the past needs no reconstitution because . . . past and present exist in a single static whole [where] the Church . . . unites in mystical participation Christ' and through him 'the several past times together [with] the present.'³ The Renaissance, on the other hand, 'has a sense of history and of the past, but also the search for man, for a humanity and an ethic . . . by providing eternally valid [human] examples and lessons.'⁴ While medieval man sought completion in God's Kingdom, Renaissance man began to seek his in space and history reintegrated through memory.

The supersessory view of time during the Renaissance 'involved a great parenthesis driven . . . between the distant past—the classical

¹ Claude-Etienne Savary, *Lettres sur l'Égypte (1785–1786)*, in Moravia 1967: 967.

² Yi-Fu Tuan, *Space and Place: The Perspective of Experience*, in Lutwack 1984: 27.

³ Kemp 1991: 37, 44–49.

⁴ Le Goff 1992: 146.

age . . .—and the present.⁵ In order to recapture this past, a new collective memory was implanted by the transplantation of antiquity's dormant seeds. These were the texts of the Greeks and the Romans, particularly the Greeks, because Latin was the foundation of medieval learning, whereas, with few exceptions, Greek language and literature were largely unfamiliar in medieval Europe.⁶ The systematic introduction of Greek letters to Western Europe, which began in earnest in the second half of the fourteenth century when Petrarch commissioned Leo Pilatus to translate the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, was the accomplishment of early Renaissance humanists. Their efforts were greatly invigorated by Byzantine Hellenists, who arrived in the West, primarily Italy, during the fifteenth century fleeing the Ottoman occupation of their lands.⁷ The immense project of the restoration of Greek texts was largely completed by the middle of the fifteenth century. By the middle of the sixteenth they were in print, mainly in Latin translations. The seventeenth century had full possession of the entire corpus of classical literature in its Latin rendition as well as in the major European vernaculars.⁸

The restoration of ancient texts went hand in hand with their imitation as models of rhetorical locutions, poetic themes and forms, and moral lessons. This emulation is a unique example of the cultivated affinity of one culture with another. As modern Europe was creating itself, it was also recreating ancient Greece as a secular world that validated man and nature. The constructed mutuality of these two civilizations was one example in a series of correspondences that informed classicism both as a literary doctrine and perceptual framework. There was the equation of a chosen past and a renewed present, of form and content, of perception and the per-

⁵ Kemp 1991: 104.

⁶ For an examination of the state of medieval Greek studies, see A.C. Dionisotti, "On the Greek Studies of Robert Grosseteste," in A.C. Dionisotti, Anthony Grafton, and Jill Kraye, *The Uses of Greek and Latin* (London: Warburg Institute, 1988), 20–28; and Roberto Weiss, "Greek in Western Europe at the End of the Middle Ages," *Medieval and Humanist Greek* (Padua: Editrice Antenore, 1977), 3–12.

⁷ For the role of Byzantine scholars in humanist activities, see Deno John Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1962); Paul Oscar Kristeller, *Renaissance Thought and its Sources* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979); R.R. Bolgar, "The Greek Legacy," in M.I. Finlay, ed., *The Legacy of Greece: A New Appraisal* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1981). For a romanticized portrait of these eastern humanists, see A.F. Villemain, *Lascaris, ou les Grecs au XV^e siècle* (Paris: Didier, 1825); Emile Egger, *L'Hellénisme en France*. 2 vols. (Paris: Didier, 1869).

⁸ Bolgar 1981: 454–58.

ceptible, of narration and experience, and of the book and the world. The two main exponents of these equivalences were the humanists and the travellers. The mimetic pen of the former prepared and guided the peripatetic glance of the latter.

The traveller complemented the humanist by transforming perceptible reality into narrative textuality. At the same time, he infused observable reality with historical memory, recreated, indeed created by the humanists. This was especially true for antique lands, particularly Greece. So deep became the ancient historical layer that by the Romantic era its ancient sites were the focus of a new pilgrimage 'to those places which . . . tell us of our history . . . and carry to this very day, the speech of a fundamental . . . moment. . . .'⁹ Carriers of classical knowledge culled from their schooling and reading of ancient texts, travellers to antique lands produced their own narratives where historical memory and space intersect. It is in their accounts where we see the transition from the history of a place to a place of history.

Thus, while humanists and classicists were establishing, analyzing, and explicating Greek texts, travellers, the French prominent among them, were inscribing Hellenism on the Ottoman-held Greek lands by giving cultural identity to geography reclaimed by history. In their writings we see the onset of a process whereby 'the *topos* of Hellas is the site of myth: a place . . . to which they may return to reflect on their own [cultural] origins.'¹⁰ At the same time, their narratives and the antiquities they carried back to Europe enriched the Hellenic text at home. In the pages that follow I shall trace and analyze the stages of the Hellenization of Greek space as they unfold in the accounts of Renaissance and particularly post-Renaissance French travellers. Their explorations and written testimonies served as mediators between abstract, textual Hellenism and its birthplace, between the discourse of classicism and the aesthetics of space. Travellers inscribed antiquity on the Greek lands before archeologists unearthed its remains. Ironically, classicism, which was constructed around the concepts of symmetry and harmony of completed forms, found its embodiment in ruins, fragments that intimate lost presences forever incomplete.

⁹ Butor 1974: 9.

¹⁰ Leontis 1995: 105.

The affixing of reconceived cultural identity to a place is predicated not only on a sense of difference between past and present, but also on the affinity that those who undertake this conflation feel for the historical moment they infuse into a physical setting. From prefigured vision and imagined kinship springs the metamorphosis of neutral space into history's place. Once this is accomplished, then nature, history and myth blend into a single topos where symbol and perception coalesce. Chateaubriand traced the transposition from sensory perception to contemplative vision when he mused.

Quelle est donc la magie de la gloire? Un voyageur va traverser un fleuve qui n'a rien de remarquable: on lui dit que ce fleuve se nomme Sousoughirli; il passe et continue sa route; mais si quelqu'un lui crie: C'est le Granique! Il recule, ouvre les yeux étonnés, demeure les regards attachés sur le cours de l'eau, comme si cette eau avait un pouvoir magique. . . .¹¹

Before this transformation took place, ancient sites had to be located, identified, and cleared, first figuratively and then physically, from the accretions deposited on them. This multifaceted task, at least in its first stages, was undertaken by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century travellers to Greece. They came as missionaries, members of diplomatic missions or government sponsored expeditions, merchants, or simply individuals seeking to verify and increase their knowledge through ocular testimony. Whatever their motives and goals, they all belonged to the culture of travel, which at that time was concomitant with the culture of humanism. The two complemented and validated each other. The traveller provided empirical material to the scholar-humanist, who in turn supplied the voyager with the knowledge and cognitive categories necessary to organize his field of observation. Thus, the book and the eye, the most important instrument in the anatomy of the voyage, are inseparable so much so that it is 'a non-distinction between what is seen and what is read, . . . which results in the constitution of a single surface in which observation and language intersect to infinity.'¹²

The equivalence of perception and its written record was paralleled by the correspondence of sight and knowledge, both consistent with the system of classical symmetries. André Thevet, the sixteenth-century cosmographer, who explored the Old and the New World,

¹¹ Chateaubriand 1812: I:307.

¹² Foucault 1973: 39.

equated seeing with learning. 'Aristotle . . . says that man has a natural appetite to see and to know. . . . It is therefore easy to infer that peregrination gives us wisdom.'¹³ By giving their travels such august origins, travellers opened the gates to the world placing the singular in its global setting.

The emergence of Greek space into European consciousness, however, did not follow the linear progression from visual perception to mental conception. In this respect, travellers approached Greece differently than they did the New World where 'a secondary diversity of the text was to be created out of the primary diversity of the world and based on the model of the latter.'¹⁴ The precedence of physical reality, both geographical and human, over its narrative recreation, that is, of presence before representation, did not apply to classical lands. There, the conceptual profile had been almost completed before its geographical features and monuments had been identified. There, it was the text that organized space. For the Greek space, historical prescription shaped geographical description.

The mapping of lands associated with the ancients by the first Western travellers was based more on the ancient geographers Pausanias, Pliny, and Ptolemy and less on present political realities. This is why when these travellers sailed in Greek waters they did not feel that they were entering the Ottoman domain. Instead, they were 'pleased to tread the same ground and to observe the same sights' as the ancients had.¹⁵ Spatial contact strengthened and solidified intellectual kinship. A telling example of the selective cultural identity of geography is the map of the eastern Mediterranean in the account of the seventeenth-century English humanist Sir George Sandys, who stated that 'the Lesser Asia is still divided into areas called Phrygia, Lydia, and the Levant Phoenicia, Galilee. . . .'¹⁶ Nowhere in this map is the Ottoman jurisdiction recognized.

While the legacy of ancient Greece was being reclaimed and assimilated in the West, its territory was beginning to be seen as a symbolic

¹³ Thevet 1985: 14–15. Hartog calls the personal witnessing of the traveller 'autopsie' where 'the eye is the mark of a statement, of an "I saw . . ."' François Hartog, *The Mirror of Herodotus: The Representation of the Other in the Writing of History*, trans. Janet Lloyd (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 272.

¹⁴ Lestrigant 1994: 33.

¹⁵ Huppert 1995: 283.

¹⁶ George Sandys cited by Haynes 1986: 35. By this time the Ottoman presence had been extensively documented in travel literature. See Clarence Dana Rouillard, *The Turk in French History, Thought and Literature (1520–1660)*, (Paris: n.p., 1938).

extension of Europe, because it was the locus of classical civilization. In sixteenth-century accounts its boundaries were placed around Attica, Peloponnesus, the islands, primarily those of the Aegean, and Thessaly so that Mount Olympus would be included. A typical description of Greece, the Greece of all time, was given by Thevet:

Greece (which is a region of Europe), begins to the south of the strait of the Isthmus and continues until Thessaly to the north: on its western side it extends until the river Acheloos, which separates and divides the Greeks from the Epirotes: toward the east, it is bounded by the Aegean Sea. . . . It is exceedingly regrettable that such a noble country has fallen into the hands of such a barbarous nation [the Turks]. This country was formerly the mother . . . of Philosophy and the mistress of all good sciences. . . .¹⁷

The rediscovery of Greece expanded Europe's intellectual frontiers and drew an imaginary line between East and West. Another cleavage was perceived within Greek space itself. Its Hellenization, which entailed the mental demarcation of boundaries, the valorization of its ruins, and the restoration of ancient names with their mythological and historical associations, encountered another presence. This was the post-classical Greece encrusted with the heteroclitite structures of the alien cultures that had invaded it. The Ottoman layer was seen as the ultimate enshrouding of Hellenic geography. The naturalist Belon noted Greece's historical restratification manifested in its spatial configuration as early as 1553.

The authors of all beneficial knowledge and disciplines that we revere today came for the most part from Greece, which (thanks to fortune that brings sudden changes), though in ancient times rich and opulent and endowed with learned men in all disciplines by virtue of which it dominated a large part of the world, has now been reduced to such state that there is not a single foot of land which is not tributary to the Turks. . . .¹⁸

¹⁷ Thevet 1985: 85, 86. The same geographical configuration and view of Greece as a lost part of Europe were stated by Thevet's contemporary, Nicolas de Nicolay: 'Greece is the most noble and famous among the other provinces of Europe. . . .' De Nicolay 1989: 45. The original title was *Les Quatre Premiers Livres des navigations et pérégrinations orientales de Nicolas de Nicolay Dauphinois, seigneur d'Arfeuille, varlet de Chambre et géographe ordinaire du Roy*. . . . Première édition. (Lyon: Guillaume Rouille, 1567–1568). It is better known by the title of the second edition: *Les Navigations, pérégrinations et voyages faits en la Turquie*. . . . (Anvers: G. Silvius, 1576). The orientalist Galland stated that he left Europe and reached Asia when he set foot in Smyrna. See Antoine Galland, *Journal d'Antoine Galland pendant son séjour à Constantinople (1672–1673)*, (Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1881), 210.

¹⁸ Belon 1553: 4.

Thus, Greek space was constructed around two axial perspectives: there was the authentic Greece of the ancients, more imagined than visible, and there was the Ottoman-held Greece more palpable, but opaque, screened as it was by the veil of servitude. Once Greek space entered the classical discourse, the Muslim presence became its very antinomy because the classical insistence on symmetry and balance required the correspondence of one land, one culture. For Hellenism to recover its spatial integrity as a complement to its textual reconstruction, a purified geography was needed. 'I pray to God to illuminate our Christian Princes,' pleaded Thevet as early as 1554, 'to use their power to recover the afore-mentioned places from the tyrannical occupation of the infidel Turks.'¹⁹

The imaginary retracing of Greece's ancient frontiers was the first stage of its symbolic territorial Hellenization. The second, and most important, was the valorization of the classical ruins. Unlike Aphrodite who sprang in her full splendor from the foam of the sea, Hellenic Greece was welded piece by piece from the fragments of her ruins.

It was a felicitous coincidence that the first traveller to undertake this task was Jacob Spon, a doctor from Lyon and an epigraphist by avocation. He and the Englishman George Wheler set out from Venice on 20 June 1675 for Constantinople. In the Ottoman capital they contacted the French ambassador, the marquis de Nointel, who offered them hospitality and proudly showed them the antiquities he had collected and the sketches of the Parthenon he had commissioned during his visit to Athens the previous year. Thus, their first physical contact with Greece was with the remains of its past.

Their next stop was Smyrna from where they set sail for Greece. In December 1675 they arrived in Athens, 'the real goal, noted Spon, 'for which we had undertaken our voyage.'²⁰ Spon, though not the first Frenchman to visit Athens, was the first to make it the object of his travel. His predecessors had visited the city either going to or returning from Constantinople.²¹ Not only was Spon the most

¹⁹ Thevet 1985: 86. The quiet struggle waged, in European eyes, between the Ottomans and the classical spirit, was represented pictorially in the title page of Sandys' book. In front of a classical edifice, there stands a figure in Turkish dress identified on the pillar behind as "Ahmet sive tyrannus": the Turkish Sultan. In his left hand he holds the orb of the world and in his right a yoke; he is trampling on a couple of learned looking tomes and a scale.' Haynes 1986: 15.

²⁰ Spon 1678: I:273.

²¹ Before Spon, three French travellers left accounts of their visit to Athens: Deshayes, 1632; du Loir, 1654; Babin, 1674.

important seventeenth-century traveller to Greece, but one of the first representatives of the classically oriented voyage that differed from Renaissance explorations. While they had embraced the teraqueous globe in the plenitude of its diversity, Spon's voyage marked the transition from 'cosmography' to 'chorography,' which, in Lestringant's words, passed 'from spatial hyperbole' to focusing 'on the regional and the specific.'²²

Within this context, the classical traveller reconnected past events with the space of their origin and the physical markers that had survived them. It was in his recorded observations that these markers came out of their anonymity and quotidian use and began to be transformed into monuments. Though the products of a specific time and culture, they were about to enter the realm of timelessness. Here we see the onset of a process whereby Hellenism in its textual and geographical manifestations made Athens both the emblem and the microcosm of ancient Greece. It was considered the 'ancienne capitale de la Grèce,' as Jacques Paul Babin stated in the title of his book, the centre of a uniform and unitary world. In this synecdochic embodiment classical antiquity became an immobile and changeless model for a moving and changing world. 'Pour un observateur attentif,' remarked Jean-Pierre de Bougainville, the explorer's brother in 1760, 'la Grèce est un petit univers et l'histoire de la Grèce un excellent précis de l'histoire universelle.'²³ Curiously, it was the methodical, punctilious, and rational doctor-epigraphist, Jacob Spon, who launched the great leap of imagination that began to transform the ancient monuments of the Acropolis and through them classical Greece into the prefiguration of modern Europe.

But, before the ruin could evoke the distant past, it had to be identified and described in its present condition. The latter was the objective of Spon's study of antiquity. He was a harbinger of the new methods of historiography for the reconstruction and the understanding of the past. They reflected the scientific spirit in the cartesian version that emphasized the application of observation, analysis of evidence provided by a variety of sources, and their critical evaluation before the formulation of conclusions.²⁴ He was the first trav-

²² Lestringant 1994: 4,5.

²³ Bougainville, cited by Loraux 1979: 174–75.

²⁴ For an analysis of the new techniques of historical investigation used by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century historians, see Gossman, 1968; and Arnaldo

eller to submit the antiquities of Athens to a rigorous examination where textual information was weighed by physical evidence. In the words of his critic Laborde, Spon 'did more than one could expect of a single man: with a vigorous hand he swept away a host of errors, and if he did not always see well himself, he taught future travellers the sound method of seeing and describing.'²⁵

It was at that time that the valorization of the ruin began. Its evolution as a mediator between landscape and memory followed five stages: its location, its identification, its isolation from surrounding post-classical structures, its dispersal and regathering in new settings, and its pictorial reproduction. The antiquities of Athens, particularly the Parthenon, exemplify the rise of the ruin from object to bearer of meaning.

The first post-Renaissance Frenchman to visit the city was Louis Deshayes, baron de Courmenin, a special ambassador dispatched by the king to relieve Franciscan monks in Palestine. He travelled to Turkey three times and it was during his second voyage in 1626 that he stopped at Athens. He inserted his impressions in the 1632 edition of his travel account. His description evinces limited historical knowledge and therefore few classical preconceptions. Free from antique imaginings, he left a brief but refreshing view of the Attic landscape. This was one of the first post-Renaissance portraits of Athens by a Westerner and perhaps the only one where geography needed no identity other than nature's munificence.

There is no garden or wood that gives more pleasure to the sight than this road [from Megara to Athens] where one traverses a great plain full of olive and orange trees. The sea is to the right and the hills to the left from where cascade so many beautiful streams that it seems that nature felt obliged to make this region so delicious.

Then, from among the humble habitations rose

the 'Chasteau' [the Acropolis] still used by the Turks: among many ancient buildings there is a Temple that is as whole and unscathed by the injuries of time as if it had just been made. . . . The local Christians say that this Temple is the very same one that was dedicated to the unknown God, in which Saint Paul preached. It is now used as a

Momigliano, "Ancient History and the Antiquarian," in his *Studies in Historiography* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1966).

²⁵ Laborde 1854: II:19-20.

Mosque by the Turks. . . . [T]his town enjoys such a salubrious air that the most maleficent Stars, were they to gaze upon it, would withdraw their harmful influences. . . .²⁶

Never again will the Attic landscape be represented as a self-contained physical presence unfurrowed by time. Humble and unimpressive though Athens was, it appeared whole and undivided.

If Deshayes located the visible Athens, his compatriot, Sieur du Loir, overlaid it with the invisible one.

I confess to you that upon approaching it [Athens], I was moved by a sort of respect; but, when I arrived I was touched by pity seeing at first nothing that made me feel that I was entering this superb city. . . .²⁷

In du Loir's description the imagined Athens is like Italo Calvino's invisible city Aglaura: 'The city that they speak of has much of what is needed to exist whereas the city that exists on its site, exists less.'²⁸ Unlike the chronotopy of the New World where human culture seemed to be in consonance with its physical context—primeval nature, savage mentalities—, Greece entered the European consciousness as a duality and contradiction: a name emptied of its content, a memory disconnected from space. 'Fuit quondam Graecia,' stated Johann Laurenberg (1590–1658), 'fuerunt Athenae: nunc neque in Graecia Athenae, neque in ipsa Graecia, Graecia est.' (There was once a Greece, there was once an Athens: now there is no longer Athens in Greece, there is no Greece in Greece itself).²⁹

Incorporeal Greece became partially visible when its remains acquired a place in history and an aesthetic valuation within their physical context. The Jesuit missionary Jacques Paul Babin and Spon best exemplify the onset of the topography of Hellenism crystallized in the monuments of the Acropolis. Both received permission from the Turkish authorities to enter the 'Chateau' and to have a close look at the Parthenon. This is how it appeared to Babin:

I entered only one of the *Mosques of Athens*, which was first a Temple built by the Gentiles in honor of the Goddess *Pallas* before the coming of the son of God, and then dedicated by the Christians to the

²⁶ Deshayes 1632: 473, 474.

²⁷ Du Loir 1654: 309.

²⁸ Calvino 1974: 67.

²⁹ Johann Laurenberg, *Graecia antiqua*, cited by Spon in his preface to Babin 1674: 1.

Eternal Wisdom. . . This temple, which can be seen from afar, . . . is the most elevated edifice of Athens, [and] a masterpiece of the most excellent Architects of antiquity. . . The Frontispiece . . . is such that it is difficult to find in all of France anything resembling its magnificence and workmanship.³⁰

Babin, and later Spon, examined the Parthenon in its waning stage as a living space. Eventually all traces of the Christian and the Muslim presences were eradicated because they were seen as a detritus of history placing a barrier between the monument and its authenticity. The purification process began with Morosini's shelling and ensuing explosion of the Parthenon in 1687.³¹

Spon, given less to rapturous admiration and more to objective observation, began in earnest the integration of the past's material remains with Hellenism's textual reconstructions. He underlined their relation by emphasizing the significance of inscriptions imprinted with 'the marks . . . of the virtue of ancient Heroes, . . . their triumphs, . . . and finally, everything that moral virtue and good laws inspired.'³² Inscriptions were the marble texts engraved with ancient man's passage on earth's stony surface. Marble, however, was not the only surface engraved with the utterances of the past. The cranium of the modern Greeks, just as inert but reproducible, bore similar testimony.

I looked at the brain of these poor Greeks, commented the French naturalist Tournefort, as I would at living inscriptions, which serve to conserve for us the names cited by Theophrastus and Dioscorides; although subject to diverse alterations, it will last doubtlessly longer than the hardest marbles, because it is renewed every day, while marble wears away or is destroyed.³³

Thus, the cerebral space of the Greeks was also Hellenized, but only as a transmitter of signs intelligible to those who could read them, 'for us' in Tournefort's words.

Following its location and historical identification, the next stage in the ruin's valorization was its isolation from the post-Hellenic structures that surrounded it. In Spon's eyes, under '*la Grande Mosquée*,

³⁰ *Ibid.*, 25–26, 28–29.

³¹ For the re-Hellenization and historical isolation of classical sites, see R.A. MacNeal, "Archeology and the Destruction of the Later Athenian Acropolis," *Antiquity* 65 (March 1991): 49–63; and Emily Vermeule, "The World Turned Upside Down," *New York Review of Books*, 27 March 1992, 40–43.

³² Spon 1678: I:4–5.

³³ Tournefort 1717: I:87–88.

began to emerge '*le Temple de Minerve*' as the most considerable structure of the 'Citadel.'³⁴ At this point it was only a symbolic detachment, a mental devaluation of the non-classical elements. Orthodox Christian churches were often visited and described not for their own religious and artistic significance, but as structures encasing antique fragments. 'We especially admired the Church of Panagia Gorgopiko,' noted Spon, 'which is filled with cornices, friezes, bas reliefs, and ancient inscriptions. . . .'³⁵ So persistent was this attitude, that a century later, the classicist D'Ansse de Villoison, who travelled to Greece in 1784, believed that 'it is impossible to love [ancient] Greek literature and manuscripts without feeling a vivid emotion at the simple mention of Mount Athos, which encloses the most precious literary treasures.'³⁶ Clearly the Christian present was eclipsed by the pagan past.

Once located, identified and isolated, the ruined monument served as an organizing principle of its surroundings overlaying lived space where daily human exchanges took place with symbolic space where imaginings of the past took shape. The two layers sometimes harmonized, but more often collided in the eyes of European travellers. It was this ambiguous attitude toward the relation of the ancient artifact with its physical milieu that led Westerners to seek a more propitious place for the relics of antiquity. Thus, there arose two Hellenic geographies: that of native space now harmonized between radiant nature and ruined glories and now disfigured by foreign intrusions, and that of the adoptive setting of the European collector's cabinet. This dual space of Hellenism's topography paralleled the double image of Greece: the invisible Greece of the ancients, Europe's easternmost civilizational extension, and subjugated Greece in the penumbra between East and West. It followed, then, that the relics of the first Greece were considered part of Europe's cultural patrimony.

All that one can say of the most elevated of these originals [the Parthenon sculptures] is that they deserve to be placed in the cabinet or the galleries of His Majesty, where they would enjoy the protection that this great monarch gives to the arts and sciences that pro-

³⁴ *Ibid.*, I:105.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, II:219.

³⁶ D'Ansse de Villoison, cited in Charles Joret 1910: 261.

duced them. There they would be sheltered from the abuses and the affronts done to them by the Turks. . . .³⁷

The ruin was further isolated and therefore more elevated by being removed from its original setting. While travellers symbolically were affixing it in its birthplace, the same travellers along with diplomats, agents of kings and noblemen and merchants of antiquities were engaged in the dispersal, acquisition, and regathering of antiquities in a new homeland. By the time of Louis XIV the quest for antiquities had become a systematic and centrally organized enterprise. In Charles Perrault's words, 'The King . . . has sent several learned persons to Italy, Egypt, Greece . . .—in short, everywhere where there still remain traces of the talent and boldness of architects. . . .'³⁸ The relocation of the removed antiquities to a cabinet or museum was the fourth stage in their transformation into

signifiers (*sémiophores*). In effect, the vestiges of Antiquity had been scraps (*déchets*) for centuries . . . until they acquired signification because they were related to Antiquity's texts whose comprehension they facilitated. . . .³⁹

Though they conveyed less information than texts, they evoked an invisible world, which 'was situated in a *sui generis* time, a time outside all temporal flow, in eternity.'⁴⁰ This is why kings and noblemen, Francis I being one of the first, vied with one another for their possession. As self-appointed custodians of the invisible world, they were empowered better to control the visible.

Fragments of fragments, severed from the structures that had supported them, transplanted antiquities became objects of aesthetic contemplation. They no longer Hellenized the Greek space; they only idealized the Hellenic spirit. The ideal, in the view of many art critics epitomized by Winckelmann, was an artistic concept elaborated and consciously applied by Greek sculptors. Proceeding, in Winckelmann's words,

from the choice of the most beautiful forms, blended, so to speak, together, there arose a new conception in the mind of the artists, a

³⁷ Charles-François Olier, marquis de Nointel to the minister Pomponne, 17 December 1674, in Laborde 1854: I:124–25.

³⁸ Augustinos 1994: 81.

³⁹ Pomian 1987: 48.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, 35.

kind of nobler being, whose supreme idea, fruit of the contemplation of the beautiful, led to that of permanent youth.⁴¹

Winckelmann and other devotees of Greek art were transported by its beauty without ever setting foot on Greek soil. Travellers had brought the antiquarian tradition to them directly through the fragments they helped transplant and indirectly through their texts.

Beginning in the middle of the eighteenth century, a sub-genre of the travel account appeared, 'the voyage pittoresque,' which depicted the ruins in their natural setting, imaginatively embellished and animated by groups of natives. This new type of travelogue was a marriage of the visual and the textual, the latter being an ancillary to the former.⁴² The 'voyages pittoresques' were imaged texts where representations of an 'antiquité figurée' gratified the pictorial sensibilities of eighteenth-century viewers. Those sensibilities were particularly responsive to ruins as 'singular and uncommon elements stimulating the imagination and arousing melancholy. . . .'⁴³ However, in their picturesque setting, the ruins were constitutive elements of a painterly composition functioning more as decorative motifs and affective stimuli and less as representations of an external spatial and temporal reality. In their picturesque context, their contemplation did not lead to the mental reconstitution of their original form, but evoked 'that kind of beauty which would look well in a picture.'⁴⁴

This picture was almost always the depiction of a landscape where nature tightened its embrace over the friable ruin. Their seemingly calm symbiosis and delicate charm pleased the eye and at the same

⁴¹ Winckelmann 1793: I:368.

⁴² The term 'voyage pittoresque' was introduced in 1752 by Galloche, painter, rector, and chancellor of the Académie de peinture. See Munsters 1991: 70–71. The critic Millin gave the following definition of this term: 'This expression refers to any voyage undertaken by an artist to any country, to study all of nature's productions, and to collect those sites, views, and landscapes that are most likely to create beautiful effects.' A.L. Millin, *Dictionnaire des Beaux-Arts* (Paris, 1806), 3:882–83. Three important eighteenth-century depictions of Greek ruins and monuments are: A.C., comte de Caylus, *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques et romaines*. New ed. 7 vols. (Paris: Deraint et Saillant, 1761); Marie-Gabriel-Florent-Auguste, comte de Choiseul-Gouffier, *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce*. 2 vols. (Paris: J.J. Blaise, 1782–1822); Julien David Leroy, *Les Ruines des plus beaux monuments de la Grèce, considérées du côté de l'histoire et du côté de l'architecture*. 2nd ed. 2 vols. (Paris: Louis-François Delatour, 1770).

⁴³ Munsters 1991: 47.

⁴⁴ William Gilpin, *Observations on the River Wye . . . relative chiefly to picturesque beauty; made in 1770*, cited by Stoneman 1987: 136.

time elicited meditations on the fragility of things. It was in this context that the Greek landscape made its appearance first in the 'voyages pittoresques' and then in Romantic prose and poetry. Thus, the Hellenization of Greek geography was further deepened and enriched by the figurative depiction of its landscape engraved with ruins, the ubiquitous signposts of its past. In their picturesque setting history entered the realm of aesthetic contemplation.

By the end of the eighteenth century ruins became objects of analysis and moral-aesthetic valuation. Their very ambiguity hovering between art and nature, existence and non-existence, 'isolated and defined them in their own coherence . . . seeking the principle of their intelligibility only in their own development and abandoning the space of representation,' that is, the space of their origin.⁴⁵ The ruin became a metaphor for human life with its fragility and resilience, remembrance and oblivion.

*Tous les hommes ont un secret attrait pour les ruines. Ce sentiment tient à la fragilité de notre nature, à une conformité secrète entre les monuments détruits et la rapidité de notre existence.*⁴⁶

Ultimately, the ruin became the emblem of Romantic imagination because its indeterminacy created an asymmetry between the finite form and the infinite content thus rupturing the classical coherence between representation and its referent. The *plaisir de tristesse* they elicited 'led to a valuing of one's free and easy emotions for their own sake' and at the same time 'to a deepening of historical imagination.'⁴⁷

Thus, the meaning of Greece evoked by its *sémiophores*, the artistic and literary fragments of its past, became by the Romantic era too suggestive and polyvalent to be contained by its physical boundaries. The Hellenization of Greek geography that had given a territorial anchoring to the textual Hellenism of the humanists had been effected, mainly by travellers. Through the location and identification of monuments, they imposed an envisioned classical symmetry on

⁴⁵ Foucault 1973: xxiii.

⁴⁶ Chateaubriand 1966: II:40. The psychological and literary significance of the ruins has received extensive treatment. Some important works are: Jacques-Henri Bernardin de Saint-Pierre, "Plaisir de la ruine," *Etudes de la Nature*, in *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 5 (Paris: Armand Aubrée, 1834); Georg Simmel, "The Ruin," in Kurt H. Wolff, ed. *Essays on Sociology, Philosophy and Aesthetics* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1959); Jean Starobinski, "Melancholy Among the Ruins," in *The Invention of Liberty 1700-1789*. Trans. Bernard C. Swift (New York: Skira, 1987).

⁴⁷ Eisner 1993: 82.

the land. It was a fragile symmetry, however. No sooner had travellers affixed their identity than the monuments became signifiers of a different order. While Hellenizing the space of their origin, they were entering the culture of the ruin and the iconography of the 'voyage pittoresque.'

In a way, the Greece of images and ideas re-entered the abstract, textual space from where it had emerged during the Renaissance. But there was an important difference. These images, reflections though they were of a vanished world, had acquired a territorial anchoring and a spatial profile. As literary and artistic sensibilities changed, pictorial representations became partially disengaged from their territorial substratum and circulated in the transcendent space of art and poetry. By the end of the eighteenth century, the comingling of territorial and figurative Hellenism brought together the Greece of the Renaissance explorer with the Greece of the Romantic visionary. The geographic and ethnographic discoveries of travellers were absorbed and internalized by the Romantics, who, in turn, showed through word and image "how to experience places intimately." It is to them that "belongs the credit of changing our sensibility of geographical place from . . . curiosity . . . to sentimental valuation."⁴⁸

In the case of Greece, this valuation reached the heights of transcendental contemplation in Renan's "Prière sur l'Acropole." In it, induced vision immobilized the external world and in a moment of aesthetic sacrality Greek space stood between the visible and the invisible.

L'impression que me fit Athènes est de beaucoup la plus forte que j'ai jamais ressentie. Il y a un lieu où la perfection existe, . . . c'est celui-là. . . Or voici . . . le miracle grec, une chose qui n'a existé qu'une fois . . . mais dont l'effet durera éternellement, je veux dire un type de beauté éternelle, sans nulle tache locale ou nationale.⁴⁹

From text, to Hellenized geography, to the rarefied strata of aesthetic contemplation and spiritual meditation, this was the spatial trajectory of classical Greece, epitomized by Athens, in the accounts of travellers from the Renaissance to Romanticism. Their narrative and iconic representations contributed to the creation of its binary image: the Hellenized visible space and the invisible Hellenic ideal.

⁴⁸ Lutwack 1984: 8.

⁴⁹ Renan 1956: 47.

FRANCE AND THE TRANSMISSION OF LATIN MANUSCRIPTS

Ofelia N. Salgado

The study of the migration of manuscripts, as part of the history of libraries, is one of the most interesting chapters in the history of culture. It provides us with a clear picture of the contribution of every nation to the foundations of modern civilization. France is particularly interesting in such studies, since it was on its territory that a large number of ancient classical manuscripts were kept and copied in the Middle Ages.¹ Or, in Léopold Delisle's words, "Where the hearths that slowly prepared the progress of modern times shone for a long while."² Delisle uses the metaphor of 'foyers' ('hearths') for ancient manuscripts, which is also found in the writings of Jean de Gagny, the theologian from the University of Paris and chaplain of King François I.³ The deeper we enter these studies, the more we are amazed at the splendour of the mediaeval French libraries. Their magnificence was very early acknowledged by the Italian Renaissance, whose representatives searched for classical texts at old French monasteries in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries.

It was the French origin of some of the most beautiful manuscripts from the schools of Saint-Denis, Saint-Bénigne of Dijon, Lyons, Tours, Orléans and St-Benoît-sur-Loire that "the noted book-thief Libri" tried to suppress after stealing them from French libraries in the 1840s.⁴ With the help of expert calligraphers he altered the attribution of many manuscripts to give them a false Italian provenience.⁵ But those manuscripts, witnesses of one of the French glories, were subsequently reattributed to their original producers as documents of truly French origin, and they returned to France after an exile in England of about forty years.⁶

¹ Delisle 1888: lxxxv–vi.

² Id. lxxxvi.

³ Gagny 1537: fol. [α.3].

⁴ Lowe and Rand 1922: 44.

⁵ Delisle 1888: xiv, xx *et passim*.

⁶ Id. lxxxvi and xiv.

Ten of these manuscripts, now at the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris, are of classical Latin authors: Ovid (*De Remedio Amoris*) and Persius, thirteenth century (BN lat. 8246); Horace, twelfth century (BN n. a. lat. 1625); Solinus, twelfth century (BN lat. 6812); Vergil, eleventh century (BN n. a. lat. 1624); Statius, eleventh century (BN n. a. lat. 1627); Hyginus, tenth century (BN lat. 8728); Cicero, ninth century (BN n. a. lat. 454); Lucan, ninth century (BN n. a. lat. 1626); and Justin, ninth century (BN n. a. lat. 1601).⁷ Two of them, BN lat. 8246 and n. a. lat. 1601, had belonged to Pierre Pithou, the famous sixteenth-century man of letters and manuscript collector, while an Oribasius of the seventh or eighth century (BN n. a. lat. 1619) was in the possession of his younger brother François.⁸ Other collectors in the sixteenth and following centuries, such as the Dupuys, Petaus, Bouhiers and Fauchet, were also credited with ownership of some of the manuscripts later stolen by Libri, who “directed [them] on an interesting pilgrimage,” as E.K. Rand said of the *Codex Bellouacensis* or *Riccardianus* of Pliny’s *Epistles*, now *Ashburnhamensis* R 98 in the Laurentian Library in Florence, which suffered a similar fate at Libri’s hands.⁹

As Delisle comments, every time a new item from a mediaeval French library was catalogued by the staff of the Department of Manuscripts of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris it was an occasion for celebration because they could record along with a manuscript the name of a famous owner in the past.¹⁰ For, as Delisle says, we ought to thank not only French mediaeval ecclesiastical institutions for the preservation of both Christian and classical ancient manuscripts, but to express our gratitude to private collectors who diligently kept them safely in times of religious wars and civil unrest,¹¹ thus making it possible for those relics to continue on their silent career from late antiquity or the Middle Ages to modern times.

One of the glories of French mediaeval monastic and capitular libraries was that they had the wisdom to keep for centuries some of the most remarkable palaeographical monuments of antiquity, such as the famous *Schedae Vergilianae* (*‘Dionysianus’* or *‘Augusteus’*) in square

⁷ Id. xc and n. 1.

⁸ Id. lxxxix n. 1.

⁹ Lowe and Rand 1922: 44; cf. also Havet 1883: 251–254.

¹⁰ Delisle 1888: lxxxix.

¹¹ Id., *ibid.*

capitals of the fourth century; and the *Codex Romanus* of Vergil, in rustic capitals, of the fifth century—both from Saint-Denis, near Paris; Livy's *Third Decade*, in uncials, of the fifth century, from Corbie; and Pliny's *Epistles*, in uncials, of the end of the fifth or beginning of the sixth century, still surviving at Saint-Victor, in Paris, at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries.

The decadence of the mediaeval ecclesiastical institutions, rather than their "dispersion" in the sixteenth century, the customary complaint,¹² meant that those ancient classical manuscripts lost the secure home they had had for at least six or seven centuries since the time of their most likely importation from Italy during the Carolingian renaissance at the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth centuries, as did the pre-Carolingian or the Carolingian manuscripts that had been produced in those centres.

The "Codex Romanus"

For roughly a century or a century and a half, from Petrarchian times to the end of the fifteenth century, Italian and French humanists or their representatives were busy copying classical texts in French and German monasteries and capitular libraries. This is the time of the production of the "*recentiores*," which slightly precedes the diffusion of the printing industry. This also seems to be a time when manuscripts were jealously guarded by the librarians in charge of them. However there is a turning point some time in the second half of the fifteenth century, when valuable manuscripts start to leave French monastic libraries: the *Codex Romanus* of Vergil (Vat. Lat. 3867), which bears the *ex-libris* of Saint-Denis (*'Iste liber est beati Dyon'*, thirteenth century) and a press-mark of the Abbey—+901—of the fourteenth century, was recorded at the Vatican library as early as the time of Sixtus IV (1471–1484).¹³ It contains entries in French script from the fifteenth century and the names of "Jehan Courtoys and Bel-liure,"¹⁴ behind which could be hiding the story of the departure of the manuscript from its home library, although Pierre de Nolhac has concluded that signatures on manuscripts do not always indicate

¹² Cf. e.g. Bischoff 1994: 146.

¹³ CLA: I, 19; de Nolhac 1887: 86, n. 1.

¹⁴ CLA: I, 19.

ownership. According to him, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries it was a common practice among scholars to write their names in manuscripts that they were using, even if those manuscripts did not belong to them. As an example of this habit, de Nolhac mentions a signature on the *Codex Romanus*:

*Je saisis cette occasion d'identifier le personnage dont j'ai lu le nom sur le fameux Virgile Vat. 3867... avec le Claude Bellière dont parle M. Müntz... Ce voyageur lyonnais, qui visitait Rome vers la fin du règne de Jules II ou au début de celui de Léon X, n'était évidemment pas possesseur du manuscrit du Vatican; cependant il a cru pouvoir y inscrire son nom.*¹⁵

At the Vatican Library, Vat. Lat. 3867 was consulted by Angelo Poliziano, who used it to support the spelling 'Vergilius' (*Miscell.* 71, 77).¹⁶ At the beginning of the sixteenth century Pierio Valeriano gave it the name of "Romanus" because of the similarity of its characters to Roman epigraphic inscriptions and the characters on Roman coins.¹⁷

It is written in rustic capitals (*capitalis rustica*), the same script that is found in the famous codices of Plautus, Terence, the *Mediceus* and the *Vaticanus* of Vergil, and in surviving portions of Cicero, Sallust, Livy, Lucan, Juvenal and Aulus Gellius, "a score (i.e., twenty) or so of classical manuscripts."¹⁸ The origin of these manuscripts is undoubtedly Italian, and the number of extant codices or fragments of codices in this graceful script, which was used over five centuries as a normal book-hand, is meagre if compared to over four hundred surviving manuscripts in uncials.¹⁹ The *Codex Romanus*, with 309 folios—nos. 76 and 77 are lost—in a very expert script, is the finest and one of the most nearly complete examples of *capitalis rustica*. It is decorated with paintings—"picturis sat barbaris ornatus," as Ribbeck said, which are somewhat crude compared with those in the *Codex Vaticanus* 3225—and a portrait of the author.²⁰ It contains the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*, each book preceded by a summary of the plot in ten verses.

From France also came an excellent example of rustic capitals of the fifth century in the fragments of Sallust's *Historiae*, used for bind-

¹⁵ De Nolhac 1887: 303, n. 1.

¹⁶ Cf. Ribbeck 1866: 226.

¹⁷ Cf. Chatelain 1884–1892: 18 and Valerianus 1529: 7.

¹⁸ CLA: VI, xiv.

¹⁹ Id. xv.

²⁰ Ribbeck 1866: 226. Cf. de Nolhac 1884. Chatelain 1884–1892: 18. The portrait is reproduced in Daremberg & Saglio, III.ii (1904): 1188, fig. 4460, s.v. "Liber."

ings or overwritten in the seventh or eighth century in Fleury, of which one *bifolium* and one folio, not overwritten, belonged to Pierre Daniel (1530–1603), and are now in the Vatican (*Regin. Lat.* 1283B) Berlin (Lat. Q. 364) and Orléans (192[169]).²¹

The “Codex Parisinus”

Of the ancient classical manuscripts mentioned above, the *Codex Romanus* of Vergil was the first to leave French territory. It was followed by the *Codex Parisinus* of Pliny’s *Epistles*, which also returned in the first decade of the sixteenth century—to be precise, in 1508—to the country where it had been written about ten centuries earlier.²² As Edward K. Rand has demonstrated, the manuscript was in the vicinity of Paris in the ninth or tenth century, when it was used to produce the *Codex Bellouacensis* and the *Codex Florentinus* of Pliny’s *Epistles*; and it can be localized there again in the fifteenth century, as shown by the inscription or *probatio pennae* on fol. 51 ro, in one of the six surviving leaves of the *Parisinus*, now in the Pierpont Morgan Library in New York City (M. 462).²³ From Meaux, the town recorded in the *probatio pennae*,²⁴ or its neighbourhood, the codex moved at some point to the Abbey of Saint-Victor in Paris, where it was copied by the architect Giovanni Giocondo of Verona among others, in the first years of the 1500s. The manuscript was known at least to Janus Lascaris by the end of the year 1501, since he writes to Aldus Manutius from Blois on 24 December of that year, as follows: “Delo Plynio non ui prometo anchora, per che bisognaria reuederlo meglio, non so come haremo ocio” (Vat. 4105, f. 112). (“As for Pliny, I cannot promise it yet. It needs to be looked at more carefully; I do not know how to find the time.”)²⁵ Pierre de Nolhac sees here a reference to the codex containing Pliny’s *Epistles*,²⁶ which was eventually copied for Aldus by Fra Giovanni Giocondo, and given to the printer two years before the manuscript itself was brought to Venice by the ambassador Alvise Mocenigo. In the dedicatory

²¹ Cf. Delisle 1888: lxxiv; CLA: VI, 809.

²² Lowe and Rand 1922: 53.

²³ Lowe and Rand 1922: 44–54; 21, 41 and 53.

²⁴ The inscription of fol. 51 ro. is reproduced by Lowe and Rand 1922: 21.

²⁵ Reproduced by de Nolhac 1887a: 272.

²⁶ Id. n. 2.

epistle of his edition of Pliny the Younger (1508) Manutius thanks Mocenigo, the representative of the Venetian Senate in France, for bringing the codex, and also gives an account of Fra Giovanni Giocondo's help: a copy of the entire manuscript plus six other copies, handwritten or printed editions collated with old manuscripts.²⁷ Giocondo also contributed to this edition with the text of Julius Obsequens' *Liber Prodigiorum*, of which no manuscript has survived.

The volume bears the title *C. Plinii Secundi Novocomensis epistolarum libri Decem, in quibus multae habentur epistolae non ante impressae . . .*,²⁸ and it can certainly be considered an *editio princeps* since it contains 375 epistles divided into ten books, while the edition of Rome (1490) contained only 236 letters divided into nine books, and the editions of Venice (c.1471), Naples (1476) and Milan (1478) had just 122 letters, divided into eight books.²⁹

We mentioned above that Giovanni Giocondo was not the only one copying the *Codex Parisinus* at the Abbey of Saint-Victor. His countryman Pietro Marino Aleandro (Petrus Leander), second cousin of the famous Girolamo Aleandro, had made a quick and partial one, which he personally handed to the printer Girolamo Avanzi on his return to Italy.³⁰ In May 1502 Avanzi issued a hasty edition of Pliny's *Letters to Trajan*, including more than half of Book 10 of the epistles taken from the *Parisinus* text.³¹ According to Carlo Vecce, there might have been initial co-operation between Giovanni Giocondo and Pietro Aleandro in the discovery of the codex at Saint-Victor, since similar co-operation between them is recorded in epigraphical research at the monastery of l'Île-Barbe, Lyons, as evidenced in the *Silloge epigrafica* by Giocondo, third version (Venice, Bibliotheca Marciana, lat. XIV, 171 [4665]).³² A third copy of the *Letters* of which the *Parisinus* is the only source is found in a peculiar volume of Pliny's *Letters* in the Bodleian Library, Oxford, which consists of Beroaldus' edition of the nine books, published in 1498; the letters of Book 10 in Avanzi's edition; and the missing letters handwritten

²⁷ Lowe and Rand 1922: 37. See Thomson's chapter in this volume on Fra Giocondo's activities in Paris.

²⁸ *C. Plinii Secundi . . .* 1508.

²⁹ Firmin-Didot 1875: 304. See also G. Budé, *Annotationes . . . in Pandectas (Op. Om.* III, 56).

³⁰ Vecce 1988: 19–20.

³¹ Merrill 1910: 451s.

³² Vecce 1988: 19s. and plate I.

on inserted leaves.³³ The volume belonged to the famous Hellenist Guillaume Budé, who annotated and collated the text.³⁴ Budé also cited Giovanni Giocondo as the discoverer of the *Parisinus*, the oldest and most complete witness of Pliny's *Epistles*. In his *Annotationes in . . . Pandectas*, he cites from Book 8 of Pliny's *Epistles*, adding, "I have the first almost complete Pliny, first found in Paris by the efforts of Fra Giocondo, the distinguished antiquarian and architect."³⁵

According to Aldus Manutius the text of the *Epistles* in his new edition was highly emended by Giocondo: *Exeunt igitur hae Plinii epistolae in manus litteratorum et tua, et Iucundi nostri in illos benevolentia, emendatissimae . . .* ("Thus these letters of Pliny are put into the hands of men of letters greatly emended, thanks to the benevolence of you [in providing the text] and of our Giocondo [in editing it])."³⁶ Therefore there was probably no textual work by Aldus himself, and the credit for its improvement has to be given to Giocondo. Other scholarly achievements of Giovanni Giocondo included an edition of Sallust's *De coniuratione Catilinae* and *De bello Iugurthino* (Venice: Aldus, 1509), "from two very old manuscripts brought from Paris by him and Ianus Lascaris for me to print," as Aldus said in his dedicatory epistle to Bartholomeo Liviano (General Bartolommeo Alviano, "le glorieux compagnon d'armes de Gonzalve de Cordoue"³⁷):

*C. Crispi Sallustii de coniuratione Catilinae, et de bello Iugurthino, duo antiquiss. exemplaria è Lutetia Parisiorum Ioannes Lascaris . . . et iocundus Veronensis viri bonarum literarum studiosissimi in Italiam attulerunt, mihi que . . . excudenda dederunt.*³⁸

Giocondo also edited Vitruvius' *De architectura* (Venice, G. da Tridino, 1511; Florence, F. Giunta, 1513), Frontinus' *De acqueductibus urbis Romae* (Florence, F. Giunta, 1513), Caesar's *Commentaria* (Venice, Aldus, 1513), Cato, Terentius Varro, Columella and Palladius' *De re rustica* (Venice, Aldus, 1514), and Martial's *Epigrammata* (Venice, *in aedibus Aldi & Andreae Soceri*, 1517).³⁹ In Ambroise Firmin-Didot we learn that Giocondo also contributed "une grande partie inédite de Nonius

³³ Lowe and Rand 1922: 39.

³⁴ Id. 40.

³⁵ *Annotationes . . . in Pandectas* (*Op. Om.* III, 56). Cf. Lowe and Rand 1922: 40.

³⁶ *C. Plinii Secundi . . .* 1508: fol. *ii vo.

³⁷ De Nolhac 1898: 45.

³⁸ *C. Crispi Sallustii . . .* 1509: fol. [ai] vo.

³⁹ Cf. Brenzoni 1960: 75 and following, with facsimiles of title pages and dedicatory epistles of the editions.

Marcellus," published by Aldus a few months after Caesar's *Commentaria*, in 1513.⁴⁰ The *Nonij Marcelli Compendia* was printed in the same volume as *Nicolai Perotti Sypontini Cornucopiae*.⁴¹ On the title page, Aldus stated that the third part of the grammarian's work, unknown until then, was discovered by Giocondo in France:

Nonij Marcelli Compendia, in quibus tertia ferè pars addita est, non ante impressa, idque labore et diligentia Iucundi nostri Veronensis, qui in Gallia Nonium cum antiquis contulit exemplaribus.

As for the history of the *Codex Parisinus* and the text of Pliny's *Epistles*, a few observations should be made about some unfortunate misunderstandings to be found in current scholarship. 1) Gilbert Ouy has accused Giovanni Giocondo of having stolen the manuscript from the Abbey of Saint-Victor.⁴² As we have seen in Aldus' dedicatory epistle to the 1508 edition, Fra Giocondo had diligently copied the codex at the abbey in Paris, had taken that copy with him to Venice, and had handed it over to Aldus along with six other copies of the *Epistles*, handwritten or printed and collated with the manuscripts. The codex itself came to the Republic two years later, brought by the Venetian ambassador to Paris, Alvise Mocenigo.

2) By the same token the co-authors L.D. Reynolds and N.G. Wilson were wrong to state of the *Codex Parisinus* that "Aldus managed to borrow [it] from the abbey of Saint-Victor at Paris."⁴³ There is no evidence for this. Aldus had apparently asked Lascaris to produce a copy for him (see above) and subsequently received a copy—not the codex itself—from Giovanni Giocondo.

3) L.D. Reynolds and N.G. Wilson also repeatedly blame Aldus and "the age of printing" for the loss of most of the *Parisinus'* leaves,⁴⁴ and listed the *Parisinus* as one of the manuscripts "lost by the printer."⁴⁵ This is not supported by any evidence. Aldus did not own the codex, and it certainly was not lost. He says in the same dedicatory epistle that Mocenigo gave it over to him for publication, *Sed tibi in primis habenda est plurima gratia Inclyte Aloisi, qui exemplar ipsum epistolarum reportasti in Italiam, mihi que dedisti, ut excusum publicarem* (emphasis

⁴⁰ Firmin-Didot 1875: 455.

⁴¹ *N. Perotti* . . . 1513.

⁴² Ouy 1983: xvi.

⁴³ Reynolds and Wilson 1984: 95.

⁴⁴ Reynolds 1983: 317, 320.

⁴⁵ Reynolds and Wilson 1984: 95.

added).⁴⁶ But once the job was completed the codex would have returned to Mocenigo's library. Alvise Mocenigo, a member of the illustrious Venetian family of doges, is known (like Antonio Morosini and Daniel Ranieri) to have owned one of the richest manuscript libraries of his time in Italy.⁴⁷ From 1508 on the codex must have been in the Mocenigo family collections; it was in any case both extant and probably whole. The outer leaves of the fragment of the *Parisinus* at the Morgan Library, New York City (M. 462), show no sign of wear, which led Lowe and Rand to conclude that the codex was dismembered in modern times.⁴⁸ The last collector to own the fragment before J. Pierpont Morgan acquired it in 1910 was, in the nineteenth century, the Neapolitan Marchese Francesco Taccone (1763–1818).⁴⁹ The most likely scenario is that the *Parisinus* survived in the Mocenigo library until Venice was conquered by the French in May 1797, a victory which was followed by the wholesale looting of the city's treasures, including libraries. Subsequently the codex was dismembered and dispersed.

4) L.D. Reynolds says, “. . . through the influence of the Venetian ambassador in Paris, the Abbey of Saint-Victor was persuaded to part with its precious volume.”⁵⁰ Erasmus had a more down-to-earth attitude:

*Quod simul atque contigerit tum vero palam fiet, quantum adhuc bonorum codicum in abdito sit, vel retrusum ob negligentiam, vel suppressum quorundam ambitione, quibus hoc unum cordi est, ut soli sapere videantur.*⁵¹

The monks either neglected good codices in the ecclesiastical libraries, or kept them from others “so that they alone might seem to be wise.”

When he wrote these words, Erasmus was in Venice, working on his *Adagia* at Aldus' printing offices, and must have had first-hand information on the acquisition of the *Parisinus* by Mocenigo. The edition of the *Adagia* in which this passage appears was published by Aldus in September 1508, only two months before the issue of Pliny's *Epistles* in November 1508. In fact, in his long commentary on the

⁴⁶ *C. Plinii Secundi* . . . 1508: fol. *ii ro.

⁴⁷ Firmin-Didot 1875: 421.

⁴⁸ Lowe and Rand 1922: 6, 41.

⁴⁹ Id. iii, 41.

⁵⁰ Reynolds 1983: 320.

⁵¹ *Erasmii Roterodami* . . . 1508: fol. 114 ro.

adage *Festina lente* Erasmus refers both to Aldus' diligence in improving ancient texts through manuscripts sought from afar and to the imminent publication of Aldus' edition of the *Epistolae*, "... *Plinianae epistolae quae propediem ex Aldina officina prodibunt in lucem...*" With Erasmus as witness there is little doubt that the monks of Saint-Victor were "persuaded" to part with the *Parisinus* thanks to a sum of ducats which only a Mocenigo could afford. As the Venetian saying had it, '*Nè Balbi ricchi, nè Mozenighi poveri*.'⁵² Mocenigo family's library included a magnificent codex of nautical charts, *Carte di nautica MSS e miniate*, according to Cardinal Placido Zurla, in his work *Marco Polo e degli altri viaggiatori veneziani più illustri*.⁵³ The lost work by Girolamo Aleandro il Giovane, *De domo Mocenica*, would probably have told us more about their collection.⁵⁴

5) Finally, contra L. D. Reynolds, the copy of the *Epistles* owned by Budé, now in the Bodleian library, Oxford, was no more than his personal working copy, and, as such, could not have made any "decisive intervention in the history of Pliny's text,"⁵⁵ E.K. Rand has shown sufficiently that the best authority for the text of Pliny's *Epistles* rests now on the Morgan fragment of the *Parisinus*, not on Budé's copy.⁵⁶

The "Schedae Vergilianae"

We have commented so far on two of the most outstanding ancient classical manuscripts found in France. In chronological order their "discovery" was followed by that of the *Schedae Vergilianae* (*Dionysianus* or *Augusteus*) and the *Codex Puteanus* (Livy's *Third Decade*), of both of which we get the first notice in letters of Claude Dupuy (1546–1594). Writing to Vincenzo CorGianvincenzo Pinelli from Paris, 28 March 1574, Dupuy says:

J'ai mis parmi vos livres une feuille d'un Virgile fort ancien et escrit en lettres capitales, quas unciales vocabant, lequel a esté autrefois en l'Abbaie de Saint-Denis en France, et maintenant est espars çà et là tanquam Sibyllae folia; laquelle ie lui [i.e., à Fulvius] ai promis longtempz a. . . C'estoit bien autre chose que

⁵² Litta/Stefani 1868: Pt. I, Tavola I, Introduzione, n.p.

⁵³ Id. Pt. II, Tavola VI, n.p.

⁵⁴ Id. Pt. I, Tavola I, n.p.

⁵⁵ Reynolds 1983: 319.

⁵⁶ Lowe and Rand 1922: 40 *et passim*. Merrill 1907: 129–56.

*le Virgile de Carpi ou celui de Bembe, vestrorum hominum sermone et literis tam valde celebrati. (Ambros. G. 77, f. 55).*⁵⁷

Dupuy had promised this double folio to Cardinal Fulvio Orsini during his stay in Rome in 1570 and 1571, to thank the Roman archaeologist for his services and generosity in making his library and advice available to him (Dupuy).⁵⁸ But the French scholar and member of the Parliament of Paris had taken three years to fulfil his promise because, as he says in the same letter:

*Je me sentois piqué d'un refus qu'il me fit, un peu avant mon partement de Romme [sic], de certaine chose, laquelle il m'avoit offert et promis par plusieurs fois, comme il est homme fort liberal de promesses, à la Romaine.*⁵⁹

Dupuy sends the manuscript through Pinelli, with whom he has continued to correspond. One year later, at the insistence of Orsini, Dupuy sends him another *bifolium* of the same manuscript, pages 3, 4, 5, and 6, that fits inside the first *bifolium* and that Dupuy might have intended to keep as a specimen of a unique script.⁶⁰

In a letter to Pinelli dated 17 January 1575, he says, "J'accorde pour l'amour de vous au sr. Fulvio la feuille du Virgile qu'il demande, combien que je n'aie plus que celle-là."⁶¹ In exchange he asks from Orsini "qu'il me donne ou preste, comme il voudra, un exemplaire des Panégyristes escrit en papier assez recentemente, lequel il m'a presté autrefois."⁶² Dupuy was working then, and apparently did work for some time, on the *Panegyrici Latini*, which he never published.

The two *bifolia* given by Dupuy to Orsini are part of the famous *Schedae Vergilianae* and are now Vat. Lat. 3256, since Orsini bequeathed his library to the Vatican in 1600.⁶³ The entry in Orsini's library inventory is as follows: "3. FRAGMENTO di Virgilio in foglio grande, di lettere maiuscole antichissime, ligato in cipresso, coperto di corame verde, in pergamena." ("Nota di libri latini scritti a penna" [Vat. 7205 fol. 25]).⁶⁴ In the list it is preceded by two other equally famous

⁵⁷ Quoted by de Nolhac 1887: 85.

⁵⁸ De Nolhac 1887: 85. This is the answer to Nebbiai-Dalla Guarda 1985: 141, "Nous ne connaissons pas la raison de ce cadeau."

⁵⁹ De Nolhac 1887: 86.

⁶⁰ Id. 87.

⁶¹ Id., *ibid.*, n. 2.

⁶² Id., *ibid.*

⁶³ Id. 115.

⁶⁴ Id. 358. The inventory is reproduced by de Nolhac 1887: 334–396.

ancient manuscripts, the *Codex Bembinus* of Terence (Vat. Lat. 3226) <M.L.1>, and the *Codex Vaticanus* of Vergil (Vat. Lat. 3225) <M.L.2>.

Dupuy told Pinelli that this ancient manuscript of Vergil from the Abbey of Saint-Denis had been dispersed “tanquam Sibyllae folia” (*v. supra*). It was indeed: beside the two *bifolia* which he owned, one folio was in the possession of Pierre Pithou (1530–1596) and later of his descendant Claude le Pelletier, minister under Louis XIV; Dom Ruinart reproduced *Aeneid* IV, 302–5 from that folio, now lost, in his *Appendix* to Mabillon’s *De re diplomatica*.⁶⁵ In 1862 G.H. Pertz bought three more leaves at the van Limborch auction in The Hague for the Deutsche Staatsbibliothek in Berlin (Lat. Fol. 416). Pierre de Nolhac believed that the Berlin leaves might also have belonged to Pithou.⁶⁶ The Vatican and Berlin leaves together contain *Georgics* 1. 41–280 and 3. 181–220.

The script of these *Schedae Vergilianae* is a very rare specimen of *capitalis quadrata* (square capitals) of which very little has survived.⁶⁷ Dupuy described the manuscript as written in capitals, although he added, “quas unciales vocabant,” the distinction between capitals and uncials having yet to be established. He made clear that it was very different from two other famous manuscripts, “le Virgile de Carpi” (*Mediceus*; it was known among sixteenth-century philologists as “*Carpensis*,” although it did not belong to Rodolfo Pio, Cardinal of Carpi, who had kept it for a long time; today *Laurentianus* XXXIX, 1), or “celui de Bembe” (*Vaticanus*; it had been in the possession of Cardinal Pietro Bembo and of his son Torquato; today Vat. Lat. 3225), which he had obviously seen and probably studied in Italy.⁶⁸ “C’est bien autre chose,” he said to Pinelli. His Vergil from Saint-Denis is written in square capitals; the other two manuscripts of Vergil, so exceedingly celebrated by Italian humanists—*vestrorum hominum sermone et litteris tam valde celebrati*, as Dupuy said—are in rustic capitals. Moreover, it is a luxurious manuscript, 42.5 cm × 32.5 cm, with large blue, green and red initials.⁶⁹ Orsini was impressed by Dupuy’s gift because he did not expect to receive such a beautiful

⁶⁵ Mabillon 1709: 635–37; 1789: 657. Cf. Chatelain 1884–1892: 17; de Nolhac 1887: 86, n. 1.

⁶⁶ De Nolhac 1887: 87, n. 3.

⁶⁷ Cf. Ribbeck 1866: 277s. and CLA: IV, xiv.

⁶⁸ Chatelain 1884–1892: 17.

⁶⁹ Id., *ibid.*

item.⁷⁰ In a letter to Pinelli dated 27 July 1574 Orsini wrote, “Il foglio del Vergilio m'è riuscito maggiore dell'espettatione, che era grandissima, et voglio scriverne al Puteano et ringratiarlo” (*Ambros. D. 442*).⁷¹ One century later Mabillon would also excite the admiration of his friends by showing them the fragment of the *Schedae Vergilianae* inherited by Le Pelletier.⁷² No wonder, it being such a desirable item, that the codex itself had been dismembered at an unknown date, not later than 1570, when Dupuy promised Orsini one of his only two *bifolia*. To visualize the manuscript it would perhaps be useful to quote the descriptions given by E.A. Lowe, “. . . a manuscript de luxe with very wide margins. Ornamental coloured initial begins each page. No punctuation. . . script bold and regular, recalling lapidary style,” and by O. Ribbeck, “Vergilii folia membranacea pulcherrima litteris capitalibus scripta. . .”⁷³

Another specimen of this very rare script, *capitalis quadrata*, is found in *Sangallensis* Bibl. du Chapitre no. 1394: eleven folios in majestic lapidary, square capitals of the fourth or fifth century, with ample margins of what must have been another deluxe manuscript of Vergil's *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and *Aeneid*. In 1461 leaves of this codex were used to mend other manuscripts in Saint-Gall. The eleven extant folios were saved from destruction by Ildefonse d'Arx in 1822.⁷⁴ It is not known whether humanists were acquainted with this codex.

As for the denomination of the Vatican fragments of Vergil we have adopted the Latin *schedae* used by O. Ribbeck and later by E.A. Lowe.⁷⁵ When G.H. Pertz published the three van Limborch leaves that he had bought in The Hague, he suggested that they had been written at the time of the emperor Augustus, and therefore he called the codex *Augusteus*.⁷⁶ Ribbeck almost immediately challenged Pertz's weird idea:

*Omnes autem codices nostros, pulcherrimos etiam, ultimis imperii Romani saeculis multo rectius quam vel Augusteae aetatis elegantiae vel Hadriani Antoninorumque temporibus cultissimis tribui ipsis verborum formis et corruptelis satis probatur.*⁷⁷

⁷⁰ De Nolhac 1887: 86.

⁷¹ Quoted by de Nolhac 1887: 86, n. 2.

⁷² Ribbeck 1866: 227.

⁷³ CLA: I, 13; Ribbeck 1866: 233.

⁷⁴ Chatelain 1884–1892: 17; CLA: VII, 977.

⁷⁵ Ribbeck 1866: 227; Lowe and Rand 1922: 22.

⁷⁶ Pertz 1864; Pertz and Köhler 1864: 276.

⁷⁷ Ribbeck 1866: 233.

(All our codices, albeit beautiful, ought to be assigned to the last centuries of the Empire rather than to the age of Augustan elegance or the learned times of Hadrian and the Antonines, as is sufficiently shown by the form of the words and their corruption.)

Pierre de Nolhac also protested "l'idée singulière" of Pertz and proposed to call it *Dionysianus*, "L'*Augusteus*, qu'il serait mieux d'appeler à present le *Dionysianus* . . ." ⁷⁸ Delisle did not comment on Pertz's denomination but continued to refer to the codex as "les antiques fragments de Virgile." ⁷⁹ E.A. Lowe ignored Pertz and resorted to Ribbeck in his monograph on the Morgan Library fragment of Pliny's *Epistles*. ⁸⁰ Remigio Sabbadini cautiously entitled his facsimile edition of the fragments *Codicis Vergiliani qui Augusteus appellatur reliquiae* . . ., but a few decades later all good nineteenth-century warnings about Pertz's misleading dating and denomination of the codex had already been forgotten. ⁸¹ C. Nordenfalk could not find anything simpler than '*Vergilius Augusteus*' as the title of his facsimile edition of the fragments, an edition which adds virtually nothing to Sabbadini's, providing no grounds for the claim that it "has . . . superseded" the earlier one. ⁸²

The "*Codex Puteanus*"

The last of the four major classical manuscripts kept in France during the Middle Ages and brought to light in the sixteenth century was also in the possession of Claude Dupuy. It is today in Paris (BN lat. 5730) and is the only one among those priceless manuscripts that did not leave French territory since its importation from Italy in the early Middle Ages. It contains Livy's *Third Decade*. Only one folio of this codex left the country, again at the insistence of Fulvio Orsini, in 1580. ⁸³ Orsini received it in 1581, through Pinelli, a regular correspondent of Dupuy in Padua. ⁸⁴ However, he did not record it in the inventory of his library. The folio is now lost. It must have

⁷⁸ De Nolhac 1887: 86, n. 1.

⁷⁹ Delisle 1868–81: I. 262.

⁸⁰ Lowe and Rand 1922: 22.

⁸¹ Sabbadini 1926.

⁸² Nordenfalk 1976. Cf. Reynolds 1983a: 434, n. 12.

⁸³ Letter of Dupuy to Pinelli 21 January 21 1580 (*Ambros. T.167 f. 214*; quoted by de Nolhac 1887: 89).

⁸⁴ Letter of Pinelli to Dupuy 3 March 1581, quoted by de Nolhac 1887: 89.

been from either the beginning of Book 21 or the end of Book 30, where leaves are missing.⁸⁵ Dupuy signed the volume '*Claudii Puteanj*' and took careful note of the folios that were missing. While the codex was in his possession it consisted of only 469 folios. Folio 470 was added in the seventeenth century; it was found in the Abbey of Corbie in 1638 by Dom Anselme le Michel (1601–1644), when he was selecting the books that were going to be transferred from the monastery to Saint-Germain-des-Près, in Paris, of the congregation of St.-Maur. He wrote at the top of the folio a note of which only the following words remain: ". . . *nobili exemplari superesse hic apud Corbeiense coenobium,*" which provide the evidence that the manuscript was in Corbie before it entered Dupuy's library.⁸⁶ The *Puteanus* can thus be identified with the entry "*Titi Livii decada tertia*" in an old catalogue of the Abbey of Corbie.⁸⁷

This codex, written in uncials in the early fifth century, is a milestone in palaeographical studies because it is localized: at the end of each book a contemporary cursive hand wrote "*recognobi abellini,*" "*recognobi ubir,*" "*recognobi uor*" or "*recognobi.*" The phrases mean that the corrector read the book at the provincial city of Avellino, near Naples; "*ubir*" and "*uor*" might stand for another unknown Italian city where the corrector was, not far in any case from the place where the manuscript itself was written.⁸⁸ Therefore, besides being one of the oldest manuscripts in existence, "it can be used as a touchstone of Italian origin", as E.A. Lowe said.⁸⁹ The script "is a superbly calligraphic uncial of the oldest type," so that both text and marginalia can even be assigned to the fourth century.⁹⁰ As E.A. Lowe has remarked, "all our oldest mss of Livy—the *Vindobonensis*, the *Veronensis*, the *Lateranensis* and the *Bambergensis*—are in the same type of uncial and . . . [of] the same date as the *Puteanus*," with the exception of the *Palatinus* (Vat. Palat. lat. 24) in rustic capitals of the fourth century, a palimpsest *bifolium* containing a fragment of Book 91.⁹¹

While in Corbie the manuscript was lent to Tours, to make a direct copy of it in Caroline minuscules, today Vatican. Regin.

⁸⁵ Cf. de Nolhac 1887: 89–90.

⁸⁶ Delisle 1868–1881: II, 139; III, 208; CLA: V, 562.

⁸⁷ Delisle 1868–1881: III, 208.

⁸⁸ Chatelain 1894–1900: 7 and plate CXVI; CLA: V, 562.

⁸⁹ CLA: IV: xv.

⁹⁰ CLA: IV: xv.

⁹¹ CLA: I, 75.

Lat. 762. The work was distributed among eight scribes, who signed their names on the quires assigned to them. At the end of the quires there is crowding or spacing of the individual lines to fit the page length.⁹²

The *Puteanus* was considered for a long time the only source for the *Third Decade*, with two *lacunae* in the earlier manuscript of which this is a copy, in books 26 (41.18–44 inc.) and 27 (2.11–3.7).⁹³ These *lacunae* were filled with text from later manuscripts first published as a supplement to the Venice edition of 1498.⁹⁴ Johannes Fredericus Gronovius said in 1665, “. . . liber, quo de Tito Livio nihil nec antiquius nec sanctius Europa custodit . . .”⁹⁵ In the dedicatory epistle to Claudius Memmius, European delegate of the king of France, of his edition of Livy, Gronovius tells us that he has gone to Paris to see the *Puteanus*, then in the possession of the brothers Jacques and Pierre Dupuy, sons of Claude Dupuy.⁹⁶

Pierre and Jacques Dupuy, with their brothers and sisters, inherited the *Codex Puteanus* on the death of their father in 1594, along with his manuscript library, where it was no. 2. When Jacques Dupuy died, in 1657, it entered the Royal Library, along with 9 000 printed books, several hundred manuscripts, most of them old, and the 765 volumes of memoirs that the Dupuy brothers had collected with zeal over many decades.⁹⁷ The volumes of memoirs, “un abisme de doctrine, de curiosité et d’honneur,” as a contemporary said, today form the Collection Dupuy of the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris.⁹⁸ In the 1682 Inventory of the Royal Library (Nicolas Clément, *Catalogus Regius*), the *Puteanus* was no. 5255. The oldest and most precious manuscripts that came to the Royal Library with the Dupuys’ bequest were those collected by Claude Dupuy himself. They included the famous St. Paul’s *Epistles* in Greek and Latin (BN grec 107 & A) and a Statius of the ninth century (BN lat. 8051), both from Corbie; a collection of Tironian notes (BN lat. 8777); other collections from the Abbey of Saint-Victor in Paris (BN lat. 5096, 5717, 7823); and

⁹² CLA: I, 109. Chatelain 1894–1900: 7 and plate CXVII.

⁹³ Chatelain 1894–1900: 7.

⁹⁴ Thurot 1877: 384.

⁹⁵ Cited by Chatelain 1894–1900: 7.

⁹⁶ *Titi Livii* . . . 1644–5: I, fol. *6 vo–*7 ro.

⁹⁷ Delisle 1868–81: I. 423; III. 207.

⁹⁸ Cf. Delisle 1868–81: I. 423.

an old copy of the alphabetical table of the library catalogue of the same abbey, by Claude de Grandrue (BN lat. 14768). Claude Dupuy was not interested in illuminated manuscripts; he looked for good and correct texts, elegantly written. He read, and sometimes annotated them (BN lat. 7900A).

The "Codex Theodosianus"

In the small circle of scholars and manuscript collectors around the French court, Claude Dupuy was the one owning two of the rarest and most precious monuments of antiquity, one fragmentary, the other almost complete. Pierre Pithou, in the same circle, owned certainly one folio of the fragmentary one, possibly three more folios. An unalert reader of volume V of the *Codices Latini Antiquiores* would be induced to believe that Pierre Pithou also possessed another palaeographical monument, the *Codex Theodosianus* (libb. vi–viii) (BN lat. 9643), in uncials of the sixth century. In his entry for this codex E.A. Lowe stated that it belonged to Étienne Charpin, and that it was "acquired by Pierre Pithou: his note on fol. I says that the volume . . . was given to him by his uncle François Pithou in 1620. . . ."⁹⁹ Lowe overlooked the fact that after being in the possession of Charpin the codex belonged to François Pithou, younger brother of the famous Pierre II¹⁰⁰ and a celebrated scholar himself. Before his death in 1621 François, who survived Pierre by 25 years, gave the precious volume to his nephew Pierre Pithou III, son of his brother Antoine, as if he wished the codex to be kept within the family. From Pierre III it passed into the hands of his heir Rosny de Rosanbo. A full account of it is provided by Theodor Mommsen.¹⁰¹

Their father, Pierre Pithou I, had in his library a unique and precious codex containing *XLII Constitutiones* or *Novellae* of the emperors Theodosius, Valentinian, Majorian and Anthemius. After his death in 1554 the volume was communicated by his son, Pierre II, to the famous Cujas, for his edition of 1566. Pierre himself published the *Novellae* in Paris, 1571, in an edition dedicated to Cujas;¹⁰² five years

⁹⁹ CLA: V, 591.

¹⁰⁰ From now on we will refer to Pierre II as 'Pierre Pithou'.

¹⁰¹ *Theodosiani* . . . 1905: vol. I, pars prior, p. xliii.

¹⁰² Pithou 1571.

later he published in Basle Justinian's *Novellae*, with a Latin translation by Julian, from a manuscript in his own library.¹⁰³ Cujas thanked him in Book 13 of his *Observationes* for the work of Licinius Rufinus and calls him "guide et éclairer dans la recherche des monuments de l'Antiquité", "*Debemus Licin. Rufin. Petro Pithoeo, debemus & alia innumera,*" says Cujas.¹⁰⁴

In the dedicatory epistle to the 1571 edition of the *XLII Novellae Constitutiones*, Pierre Pithou says that he owes them all "à mon père qui a tiré des ténèbres cette importante collection, à mes frères qui l'ont conservée, à Cujas, qui a bien voulu la mettre en état de paroître. . . ."¹⁰⁵ He also says that his father's library "est une source inépuisable de richesses."¹⁰⁶ In the *Adversaria subseciva* (1565) we learn that his father was interested in ancient epigraphy as well, one inscription transcribed there coming from Roman Lugdunum.¹⁰⁷

From Lyons also came the *Codex Theodosianus*. Étienne Charpin, its owner around 1566, also possessed the manuscript of Ausonius in Visigothic minuscules (*Leidensis Vossianus lat.* 111), found at the monastery of l'Île-Barbe in the vicinity of Lyons. Pierre Pithou saw it while it was in Charpin's possession, as he says in the *Adversaria*, II, xiii: "Vidi ipse aliquando Lugduni exemplar manuscriptum apud Step. Charpinum," and from it proposed some amendments to the text published by Jean de Tournes from the *descriptio* made by Louis Le Mire.¹⁰⁸ It is worth noting that modern scholars attribute to J. J. Scaliger amendments to Ausonius' text that were actually published by Pithou in his *Adversaria subseciva*.¹⁰⁹ In the preface to his edition of Ausonius (1575–80) Elias Vinet says that not long after the publication of his Paris edition of Ausonius in 1551 he received from Étienne Charpin the news of his discovery of the manuscript in an old library in the area of Lyons.¹¹⁰ This was the manuscript that Jacopo Sannazaro saw at the monastery of l'Île-Barbe around 1501 or 1502.¹¹¹

¹⁰³ Pithou . . . 1576.

¹⁰⁴ Quoted by Grosley 1756: I, 99.

¹⁰⁵ Id. 124.

¹⁰⁶ Id. 10.

¹⁰⁷ *P. Pithoei* . . . 1565: II, fol. 38 vo.

¹⁰⁸ *P. Pithoei* . . . 1565: I, fol. 21 vo. and I, fol. 21 vo.–23 ro. Cf. also Ville de Mirmont 1917: 68–78.

¹⁰⁹ Cf. Ville de Mirmont 1917: 78.

¹¹⁰ Id. 46–47.

¹¹¹ Reeve 1983: 26.

However, since the publication in 1923 and 1925 by W.M. Lindsay of Sigmund Tafel's notes on the Lyons scriptorium the very existence of the monastic library of l'Île-Barbe has been denied.¹¹² From his re-working of the notes left by Tafel, a former student of Traube, Lindsay developed what he conceived to be Dr. Tafel's "arguments and conclusions."¹¹³ Among the conclusions are that, (a) it was "a quite false legend that Charlemagne's library was lodged at Île Barbe under Leidrad's care,"¹¹⁴ (b) "the forgery was as old as the fifteenth century, probably older,"¹¹⁵ and (c) he had been unable "to discover the slightest authority" for Delandine's statement that Antoine d'Albon, who was both Abbot of l'Île-Barbe and Archbishop of Lyons, "in the year 1562 . . . had the monastery's manuscripts conveyed to the Archives of his cathedral."¹¹⁶ The authority not found by Tafel/Lindsay was close to hand: the edition by the Archbishop d'Albon of Rufinus of Aquileia, *In LXXV Davidis Psalmos Commentarius*, from the manuscript retrieved from the monastery of l'Île-Barbe at the time of its destruction by the Calvinists.

In spite of all the documentary evidence that supports the existence of the monastery, including the letters patent on the privileges of the Abbey of l'Île-Barbe, issued by Charles VIII in 861 that were also available to Tafel/Lindsay, they maintained nonetheless that Lyons' Cathedral of Saint-Jean was the only mediaeval centre of scribal activity and preservation of manuscripts in the region, "Cathedral libraries *habent sua fata*. Three were fortunate: Lyons, Verona, Würzburg. Their treasures were to a wonderful extent preserved at the original home."¹¹⁷

Thanks to the authority of Lindsay and Tafel, twentieth-century scholars have avoided any reference to the monastery on the Saône island and even to other monastic centres in the area of Lyons, such as St. Irenaeus, where the *Codex Bezae* (Cambridge University Library, Nn.II.41) was found. Paraphrasing Tafel/Lindsay, Bernhard Bischoff said, "Only Lyons [cathedral] possesses a collection of ancient manuscripts that can rival Verona's."¹¹⁸ Again, "The cathedral library at

¹¹² Lindsay 1923, 1925.

¹¹³ Id. 66.

¹¹⁴ Id. 70.

¹¹⁵ Id. 72.

¹¹⁶ Id. 70.

¹¹⁷ Cf. Guigue 1915: 537 and following; Lindsay 1923: 69.

¹¹⁸ Bischoff 1994: 11.

Lyons was a treasure-house of very ancient biblical, patristic and legal manuscripts,” where the expression “treasure-house” clearly echoes Tafel/Lindsay’s “treasures . . . home.”¹¹⁹ Contra Bischoff, the *Codex Bezae* (biblical) was found not at Saint-Jean’s, but at St. Irenaeus’; Primasius Uticensis’ manuscript of his *In omnes D. Pauli Epistolas commentarij perbreves* (patristic) was found at the Abbey of Saint-Chef, near Lyons, in the Dauphiné, and Claudius Marius Victor’s commentaries on *Genesis*, in verse (patristic), was found at l’Île-Barbe, both by Jean de Gagny by 1536.¹²⁰ Rufinus of Aquileia’s *In LXXV Davidis Psalmos Commentarius* (patristic) was rescued from l’Île-Barbe by d’Albon, as we have seen. The *Codex Theodosianus* (legal) was probably from that monastery as well, according to the bibliographer of Lyons, H.L. Baudrier. In his entry for *Codicis Theodosiani Lib. XVI* . . . followed by the *Novellarum Theodosii . . . Libri V*, ed. Cujas, Lyons, Guillaume 1^{er} Rouillé, 1566, he says:

Le manuscrit du Code Théodosien, livres VI à VIII, utilisé pour cette édition, appartenait, in 1560, à Louis Le Myre, correcteur d’imprimerie à Lyon. . . . Après le décès de ce savant correcteur, le précieux Codex passa dans la collection d’Étienne Charpin qui le communiqua à Cujas. . . . Nous ajouterons que ce précieux Codex est probablement une épave de la célèbre bibliothèque de l’abbaye de l’Île-Barbe, malheureusement détruite par un incendie.¹²¹

Cujas himself states, in the dedicatory epistle of his edition, “*è quibus primam gratiam habeo Stephano Charpino homini mirè studioso et erudito et probo, à quo inventi et proditi sunthi libri VI. VII. VIII.*”¹²² However, if Étienne Charpin, priest at the cathedral of Saint-Jean, had actually possessed the codex, it did not belong to the cathedral library. He could very likely have got it from the monastery of l’Île-Barbe, from which he certainly got the manuscript of Ausonius.¹²³

Along with the roughly contemporary manuscript of Eucherius’ *Formulae spirituales* (BN lat. 9550), in uncials of the sixth or seventh century,¹²⁴ the *Codex Theodosianus* is considered a genuine product of Lyons. The Eucherius was used there in the ninth century by Florus Diaconus but came to the Bibliothèque Nationale de France in 1804

¹¹⁹ Bischoff 1994: 33.

¹²⁰ Delisle 1868–81: I. 162–163.

¹²¹ Baudrier 1912: 306.

¹²² *Codicis Theodosiani* . . . 1586: fol. *2 vo.

¹²³ *V. supra.*

¹²⁴ CLA: V, 589.

from the abbey of Saint-Oyan at Saint-Claude (Jura). The *Codex Theodosianus* must have been in its home library in the vicinity of Lyons from the time that it was written, in the sixth century, until the sixteenth century. In his description of these manuscripts, E.A. Lowe suggested Lyons as a “not at all unlikely” centre of origin for Eucherius and the “probable” one for the *Theodosianus* and in the introduction to *Codices Latini Antiquiores* vol. V that both “are probably products of Lyons, that ancient centre of Roman civilization.”¹²⁵ He also likes to tell us that Lyons was one of the great schools in pre-Carolingian France.¹²⁶ Following Tafel/Lindsay, and probably at the suggestion of Lindsay himself, Lowe published the catalogue *Codices Lugdunenses Antiquissimi*, which bears as a subtitle, *Le scriptorium de Lyon, la plus ancienne école calligraphique de France*.¹²⁷ This work was published in 1924, only one year after the first part of Tafel’s notes appeared. Parts I and II of these notes are an attempt to assign to the scriptorium of Lyons cathedral all the manuscripts known as provenient from the monastery of l’Île-Barbe, on the grounds that the very existence of the monastery was a myth;¹²⁸ nonetheless, later Tafel—and therefore Lindsay—continued to refer to manuscripts from l’Île-Barbe. Lowe, however, apparently on the authority of Tafel/Lindsay, erased l’Île-Barbe altogether as a mediaeval scriptorium. Did he read only the first eight pages of Tafel’s notes as published by Lindsay?

This process of “erosion” has led to the total disappearance from some maps of mediaeval European history of the city of Lyons itself as one of the most important centres of culture and learning, a centre that had a continuously recorded activity through late antiquity and the early Middle Ages. The most outstanding example is found in the standard work by L.D. Reynolds and N.G. Wilson, *Scholars and Scribes. A Guide to the Transmission of Greek and Latin Literature*. In the chapter “The Latin West” a map with the main cultural centres of mediaeval Europe is included.¹²⁹ At the confluence of the Saône and the Rhône, no name appears: Lyons has completely vanished. The map has been reproduced without change in all editions and reprints since 1968. Even in the revised French version by Claude

¹²⁵ CLA: V, 589; V, 591 and V, v.

¹²⁶ CLA: V, v.

¹²⁷ Lowe 1924.

¹²⁸ Lindsay 1923: 66–73.

¹²⁹ Reynolds and Wilson 1968: 70; 1974, 1975, 1978: 71; 1991: 80.

Bertrand and Pierre Petitmengin, with a preface by H.I. Marrou, the map still does not bear the name of Lyons.¹³⁰ Moreover, in the whole text there is only one entry for that city, and again not about monastic centres of production of manuscripts, as if none had existed there, but for an archaeological find (the *tabula Claudiana* [I.L.S. 212]), with the exception of a note on Ausonius' manuscript, 'Voss. Lat. F. 11' [sic] (*Codex Leidensis Vossianus Latinus 111*), which does not appear in the index.¹³¹

French scholars and manuscript collectors in the sixteenth century played a remarkable role in the preservation and transmission of ancient and mediaeval classical manuscripts. We have dealt here only with the ancient, i.e., those produced in late antiquity, mostly in Italy, that had the good fortune to be brought to France and to be kept there during the Middle Ages. However, in their treatment and study by modern scholars, there are inaccuracies and misrepresentations in the description both of the activities of the humanists themselves and of the production centres, as we have seen. To avoid getting a distorted picture of sixteenth-century classical scholarship, it would be highly desirable to look directly at the sources, such as the printed editions of classical authors produced in immediate view of manuscripts which we have today, as well as others that did not survive to our times.

¹³⁰ Reynolds and Wilson 1984: 57.

¹³¹ Id. 137 and 185.

RESOURCES FOR THE STUDY OF ANCIENT GREEK IN FRANCE

Gerald Sandy

Introduction

The title of an article by L. Delaruelle, one of the doyens of the study of the development of Hellenism in France, succinctly defines the subject of this chapter: *Comment on devenait Helléniste à la fin du XV^e siècle.*¹ I shall extend the subject to encompass approximately the first third of the sixteenth century. This period, from 1458 when Gregorio da Città di Castello (Gregorius Tifernas) began teaching ancient Greek in Paris to 1530 when the Collège royal (Collège de France) was founded and its two chairs in Greek were established, saw the developments that were to establish France as the pre-eminent centre of Hellenic studies in western Europe by the second half of the sixteenth century.

Although Petrarch's knowledge of ancient Greek never progressed beyond the most rudimentary stage, his unfulfilled desire for it remained passionate right up to his death in 1374. He transmitted his unrealized desire to Boccaccio. He in turn in the early 1350s hosted in his own residence in Florence a Greek-speaking Calabrian whom he and Petrarch had engaged to translate Homer into Latin, thereby initiating in a sense the teaching of ancient Greek in western Europe.² It is because of these precise circumstances that the Greek intellectuals who fled from Constantinople a century later found a ready market for the manuscripts of classical Greek authors that they carried with them to Italy, especially to Venice. At the time of their arrival cultured Italian patrons were already commissioning agents to search out Greek manuscripts. Lorenzo de' Medici, for instance, instructed his principal agent, the Byzantine Greek Janus Lascaris,

¹ Delaruelle 1935. *Les origines du Collège de France (1500–1560)* (Paris: Collège de France/Klincksieck, 1998), ed. M. Fumaroli, became available to me after I had written this chapter. It contains relevant chapters written by leading authorities.

² Pfeiffer 1976: 13–15 and 25. See also Geanakoplos 1962 and 1976.

whom we shall later encounter in Paris, to buy good Greek manuscripts “at any price whatsoever.”³ Others such as Francesco Filefo, a member of the Venetian embassy in Constantinople during the 1420s, and Giovanni Aurispa took advantage of their official postings or private travels in the Greek East to acquire significant numbers of Greek manuscripts. Lorenzo’s buying spree had been preceded by those of his grandfather Cosimo and by Pope Nicolas V, the latter of whom near the middle of the fifteenth century employed copyists and scholars to form at a stroke the department of classical manuscripts in the Pontifical Library.

The information in the preceding paragraph is familiar, readily available in much greater detail in countless studies of humanism and the Renaissance. What is generally less well appreciated is that France in the sixteenth century displaced Italy as the pre-eminent centre of Hellenic studies in western Europe. Educated French people of this period recognized that Hellenism had taken root in French soil within their own lifetime. Rabelais, writing in 1532, represents Gargantua as celebrating the event in a letter to his son, “Maintenant, toutes disciplines sont restituées, les langues instaurées: grecque, sans laquelle c’est honte que une personne se die sçavant.” The reality that Rabelais celebrates comprises such manifestations as the printing of the first Greek book in France in 1507, Girolamo Aleandro’s arrival from Venice in the next year to teach Greek in Paris and Orléans, Janus Lascaris’ mission to Venice in 1520 under the sponsorship of François I to recruit pupils for the king’s abortive Collège de jeunes grecs and to acquire Greek manuscripts for the king, the publication in 1529 of Guillaume Budé’s *Commentarii Linguae Graecae* and above all the appointment by François I in 1530 of the first two *lecteurs royaux* in Greek to the newly founded Collège royal.⁴ Abel Lefranc imagines a particularly piquant scene, “Was it not a unique moment in history when Calvin, Ignatius of Loyola and Rabelais . . .

³ Pontani 1992 and Knös 1945.

⁴ M. Jean-Louis Charlet has reminded me that Greek characters appear at an earlier date in the Parisian edition of Niccolò Perotti’s *Rudimenta Grammatices* (Paris: Gering, 1479) (Bibliothèque mazarine, No. 227). All the Greek characters in this edition appear on one page, folio 1^{vo}, and do not include accents or breathings, e.g. “Unde dicitur vox? απο του βοαω.” They are not used elsewhere in this edition, even for Greek words, e.g. “Graeca vero in ‘n’ genus suum servant: haec Syren, hie delphin.” The announcement of Jacques Toussain’s appointment as *lecteur royal* is dated 29 November 1529 (Omont 1903).

could have sat side-by-side at the foot of the same chair [of the professor of Greek Pierre Danès]?⁵ The private individual who did more than any other to bring about the state of affairs that I have outlined was undoubtedly Guillaume Budé. Although all his published works were milestones in the history of French classical scholarship, I shall mention here only one work. Without it France would not have attained the pre-eminent position in Hellenic studies that it came to enjoy. This is the *Commentarii Linguae Graecae* (1529), in the preface of which he reminds King François I of his promise to found a royal college for the study of ancient languages. François I fulfilled his promise in the next year, appointing three professors to the chairs in Hebrew, one to the chair in mathematics and Pierre Danès and Jacques Toussain to the chairs in Greek.

In the pages that follow I shall review the resources that were available to a French person desirous of learning ancient Greek in France in the late-fifteenth- and early-sixteenth centuries: teachers and teaching institutions, grammars, dictionaries, manuscripts and books.

Teachers

Italy provided France with the earliest teachers of Greek, whether they were Italians like Gregorio Tifernas and Girolamo Aleandro or Byzantine refugees resident in Italy like Janus Lascaris.⁶ Tifernas, the first of the teachers, had studied Greek in Greece.⁷ Thereafter, he flitted among the major centres of learning and patronage, attached to the courts of the kings of Naples and Sicily, spending part of 1456 in Venice and teaching Greek there in 1460. To his regret he also spent time in Paris, where the humanist Robert Gaguin studied the rudiments of ancient Greek with him. He also strikes the familiar chord of French inferiority vis-à-vis Italy. He pleads in a versified letter addressed to Enea Silvio Piccolomini at the time he became Pope Pius II in 1458 to be rescued from France:

While I wander about these barbarian shores
in this barbarian land three winters have
passed and a fourth is already at hand.

⁵ Lefranc 1893: 134.

⁶ Sandy 1992.

⁷ Delaruelle 1899 and Mancini 1925.

He goes on to complain of his daily fruitless quest for the salary that King Charles VII owes him.⁸ He was to remain in France until at least the middle of 1459 before he obtained a teaching position in Venice, where he is known to have been active in 1460.

Tifernas had no known lasting influence on Hellenic studies in France. The next known teacher of Greek in France, a Greek himself and one of many who had taken refuge in Italy, left a lasting impression that was not entirely flattering. George Hermonymus of Sparta arrived in Paris in 1476.⁹ Like Tifernas, he attached himself to various courts and wealthy and influential individuals, turning up in several centres of learning and political power in western Europe. He first appears in the pages of history in 1476, as Irigoïn puts it, "like a secondary character in a Shakespearean play, too late to figure in *Henry IV*, too soon to take a place in *Richard III*," as a member of the court of Pope Sextus IV, who had sent him from Rome to England to negotiate the release from prison of George Nevill, the archbishop of York. Hermonymus' political mission was successful, but he had to expend all the money that he had received in payment for that mission and still more to secure his release from the prison where he had been jailed on charges of spying on behalf of a Byzantine official serving King Louis XI in Normandy. His bankruptcy caused by his legal problems was to colour his relations with his French pupils in Paris, where he established himself in 1478. Something of his importuning mendacity can be seen in his Latin translation of the Greek poems of Phocylides that he was offering for sale. Addressing Guillaume Budé, he tactfully praises him for his bountiful generosity and learning, concluding, "Accept me myself, therefore, and command and rule me as you please."¹⁰ Budé, writing to his friend Cuthbert Tunstall, the bishop of London, summarizes his relations with Hermonymus thus:

26 years have passed since I first found a certain Greek . . . , or rather he found me, and I was fleeced mercilessly by him. I cannot tell you how much he made me suffer as he taught me each day the oppo-

⁸ Tifernas likewise complained of not being paid by Alfonso I, the king of Naples and Sicily (Delaruelle 1899: 14). In France Vatable and Toussain complained of not being paid by the Crown, and Danès, another *lecteur royal*, suspended his teaching because he was not being paid (Lefranc 1893: 129–130 and 136–137 and Gasnault and Veyrin-Forrer 1968: 29).

⁹ Omont 1885 and Irigoïn 1977.

¹⁰ Omont 1885: 91.

site of what I had previously known. . . . At first I took him for a savant, and he fostered my mistake and knew how to dazzle me by flipping the pages of his copy of Homer in front of my eyes and citing the names of the most famous authors. . . . When he ran out of lessons to give me, he pestered me to buy the books or manuscripts that he had copied and I was at a loss to haggle with him.¹¹

Erasmus confirms this unflattering portrait:

In Paris only George Hermonymus would babble in Greek, but he was the kind of person who could not have taught [Greek] if he had wanted to and would not have wanted to if he had been able to,

and, “For some months I took lessons from a Greek or rather a double Greek: he was always hungry and charged excessively for lessons,” as does Beatus Rhenanus, describing Hermonymus as “not so illustrious in knowledge as in his country of origin” and adding:

Hermonymus of Sparta, not at all an illustrious teacher, who was accomplished at cheating me out of money but was terrible as a teacher. I am not making this up. Everybody who has had anything to do with this miserable little Greek knows it.¹²

Erasmus’ “hungry” and Rhenanus’ “miserable little Greek” recall, of course, Juvenal’s *Graeculus esuriens* (*Satires* 3. 78). Early “northern” humanists appear to have held Greek teachers and copyists in contempt. The German humanist Willibald Pirckheimer asked a friend in Pavia to look for a “poor little Greek” willing to provide him with a word-for-word translation of Aristophanes’ comedies, and Erasmus delighted in recounting his deception of an unnamed Greek teacher whom he promised “‘a gift worthy of you,’ that is, a worthless gift.”¹³ Irigoien speculates that for the earliest pupils—Reuchlin, David Chambellan and Jacques Lefèvre d’Étaples—Hermonymus remained the admired figure who had opened their eyes to Greek but that for slightly later pupils of the same generation—Budé, Erasmus and Rhenanus—his efforts paled when seen in the light of the Greek books rolling off Aldus’ presses in Venice, of the vibrant Hellenism revealed to French and France-based humanists by the

¹¹ Budé 1557: I, 361.

¹² Erasmus: preface to *Catalogus Lucubrationum* and P.S. Allen (ed.) 1906–1958: I, 353; Beatus Rhenanus: A. Horowitz and K. Hartfelder (eds.) 1886: 26 and 405.

¹³ Mondrain 1992: 313; Erasmus: P.S. Allen (ed.) 1906–1958: I, 427, written to the “northerner” Thomas Linacre.

French military campaigns in Italy and of the rigorous Greek scholarship represented by Janus Lascaris.¹⁴

Hermonymus appears to have been more valued as a copyist and source of Greek manuscripts than as a teacher of Greek.¹⁵ I shall return to him in those roles later in this chapter, but first something should be said of the three early teachers of Greek in France who paved the way for the success of the enterprise. Beatus Rhenanus traces the sequence from Hermonymus to François Tissard and Girolamo Aleandro. He writes of his and his friend Michael Hummelberger's philosophical studies in Paris and of their introduction to Greek under the direction of "Hermonymus of Sparta, not at all an illustrious teacher," adding:

Afterwards, when I had returned to my homeland, my friend Michael found more erudite and illustrious teachers: first Tissard, then Girolamo Aleandro, under [the latter of] whom he made great progress in his Greek studies.¹⁶

François Tissard's return to his native France in the summer of 1507 from Italy, where he had been studying law and had also studied Greek with Demetrius of Sparta, marks the start of the public teaching of Greek in France.¹⁷ In the preface and postface of his *Liber Gnomagynicus* (Paris: Gilles de Gourmont, 1507), a collection of aphorisms, the Greek alphabet and rules of pronunciation and the first Greek book published in France, he appeals to "all those who are most well-disposed, studious and desirous of learning Greek" to study the language of the philosophers and poets and to rid France of its reputation among Italian intellectuals as a barbarian nation.¹⁸ Tissard's passionate appeal matches the mood of those who were eagerly awaiting the opportunity to study Greek at the University of Paris, which Tissard describes in the same book as "rich in knowledge and doctrine but ignorant of Greek." At the same time as Tissard was prevailing upon the printer Gilles de Gourmont's sense of public duty and personal esteem and profit he was teaching Greek at the Collège de Boncour. One of his pupils was Bruno Amerbach, a son of the

¹⁴ Irigoien 1977: 26–27; on David Chambellan see Grafton 1997: 149–150.

¹⁵ Grafton 1997: 148; see also Mondrain 1992: 311–312.

¹⁶ A. Horowitz and K. Hartfelder (eds.) 1886: 405–406.

¹⁷ Omont 1891 and Jovy 1899–1913.

¹⁸ Omont 1891: 5 and 39–43. Tissard's edition is based closely on an Aldine edition.

Basel humanist publisher Johannes Amerbach. In an exchange of letters that give a vivid impression of the life of a Parisian student in the early part of the sixteenth century Johannes in a letter dated 23 July 1507 reproaches his son for asking for more money to continue his studies in Paris. Son Bruno replies some three months later:

A few days ago someone [viz. François Tissard] came here from Italy to give Greek lessons in public at the college. . . . I have immersed myself deeply in this language, which I have finally found and . . . with which I shall fill the maw of my ravenous mind. . . . Therefore, Father, I ask you to send me a monthly installment of my allowance so that I can take some Greek learning home.¹⁹

In spite of Bruno's and Tissard's high hopes, Tissard abandoned teaching Greek by July 1508, as we learn from a letter written to the Italian publisher Aldus by Girolamo Aleandro, the most influential teacher of Greek in Paris before the establishment of the Collège royal in 1530.²⁰ In the words of Aleandro, whose ego seems to have matched his talent, potential French students of Greek were discouraged by the high cost of Greek books. They were "beginning to make a fuss about a Frenchman who knows Greek and has had [Greek books] printed. . . . I have ruined his plans, however, and I believe that he is no longer teaching."²¹

Aleandro was a member of Aldus' Sodalitas Φιλελλήνων in Venice, where he met among other humanists Janus Lascaris and Erasmus, the latter of whom provided him with a letter of recommendation and urged him to go to France. He soon met Budé there, who advised him to give Greek lessons privately to illustrious people rather than publicly, that is, at the University of Paris, where a large crowd of half-naked, lice-infested students would provide him with little income.²² Aleandro records in his journal:

On 27 July 1513 Charles Brachet, the dearest and best of my students, departed to study law, leaving me with a great longing for him.

¹⁹ Allen 1907: 742–744. Collège de Boncour: "Brunoni Amorbach Basiliens., Parrhisii in collegio bonae curiae commoranti."

²⁰ Omont 1891: 68. Other good sources of information about Aleandro include Godin 1990, Hoyoux 1969, Jovy 1899–1913, Omont 1896 and Paquier 1895 and 1900.

²¹ Omont 1891: 69. "Beginning to make a fuss": "comminciavano a far una secta."

²² Most of this information and the information that follows comes from Aleandro's letter to Aldus, quoted in Omont 1891: 68–70.

I pine not only for [the loss of] monetary gain, which was certainly not modest, but also because of his outstanding character and aptitude for language studies. The anointed flower of French youth, he has obtained for me the greatest honour by showing himself in public to be accomplished in the Greek language. In the month of August I sent Charles an annotated, literal translation of the *Iliad* so that he could make progress through my teaching even in his absence.²³

We learn elsewhere in Aleandro's journal that Brachet and the other pupils who studied Greek with him in Orléans, a total of six in the class in question, were drawn from a narrow circle of legal, educational, medical and religious professionals, that there was one member of the nobility, that the lessons in elementary Greek (*rudimenta Graecae*) commenced at 4:00 PM in the house of the schoolmaster of Orléans and that the pupils paid eight pieces of gold per month.²⁴ Some of the students in Orléans followed Aleandro to Paris, eventually making their own mark as men of letters, most notably Nicolas Bérault and Charles Brachet. In other words they were attached not to an educational institution but to a teacher. Aleandro in effect served as a private tutor in Orléans, setting (and forgiving) fees for his services. In his journal he carefully itemizes the fees that are owed and occasionally waived, as in this extract:

While I was returning to Paris the same person [viz. Mr. Bordineau] met me on the way. He opened his money-purse and wanted to pay me very liberally, but I generously forgave the debt because he was my very good friend.²⁵

Aleandro delayed teaching publicly until April 1509, meanwhile studying mathematics and Aristotelian philosophy with "el Fabro . . . nostro duce," that is, Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples, at the Collège du cardinal Lemoine, which was near his house and the principal of which "studied Greek."²⁶ Like Tissard, he complained all the while of the shortage of Greek books in Paris and with the Italian chau-

²³ Hoyoux 1969: 68–69. On Charles Brachet see Omont 1896: 20, n. 2.

²⁴ Hoyoux 1969: 60–62. "schoolmaster of Orléans": "Scholastici Aurelianensis."

²⁵ Hoyoux 1969: 58–62.

²⁶ On this college see Jourdain 1875. Four of the first six *lecteurs royaux* appointed to the Collège de France had been associated with it: P. Danès and J. Toussain (Greek), F. Vatable (Hebrew) and O. Finé (mathematics). Jean Chéradame, whom we shall meet later, may have taught Greek there as early as 1517 (Lefranc 1893: 98–99).

vinism that annoyed French humanists expressed scorn for Gilles de Gourmont's Parisian edition of Constantine Lascaris' *Erotemata* (elementary Greek grammar), which Tissard had edited in 1507 and which Aleandro had not actually seen, and for the perverse French custom of paying teachers in sous instead of ducats. As noted previously, Budé advised Aleandro to function as a private tutor to a limited number of wealthy and illustrious people. However, even this restricted, potentially lucrative teaching was hampered by the unavailability of Lascaris' Greek grammar:

After dinner I give lessons in Greek to some distinguished people, and others are very insistent that I instruct them in [Lascaris'] *Erotemata*. However, I have not yet done that because there are not any copies of Lascaris' *Erotemata* in this land and I am unwilling to expend my energy on one or two people since I prefer to conduct a class of 15 or 16.²⁷

This extract confirms that Aleandro was following Budé's advice. The situation was to change when Aleandro at last began to teach publicly 8 October 1509, as he records in his journal.²⁸ Beatus Rhenanus, one of Aleandro's pupils, captures the eager anticipation of the event in a letter to his friend Michael Hummelberger, "The University of Paris is at last going to be illuminated and emerge openly from the Cimmerian darkness in which it seems to have been buried for centuries."²⁹

In the event, to judge by his public lectures on Ausonius, the late-fourth-century Latin poet of Bordeaux, the results matched the anticipation. In 1511 Aleandro wrote to Michael Hummelberger:

On 30 July I began to read Ausonius in public. You know how eagerly those readings were awaited. The crowd was so large that neither the portico nor the two courtyards of the Collège de la Marche could contain all the auditors. And what auditors! All the people of the highest stations in life . . . , so many that the number is estimated to be 2 000. In fact, by my reckoning, I have never, either in Italy or in France, seen such a large gathering of cultivated people. Because I had had an inkling of this, I prepared a lecture that was not too bad. I became convinced of this because, although the reading lasted two-and-one-half hours, not one person, in spite of the suffocating heat, showed

²⁷ Omont 1891: 68.

²⁸ Omont 1896: 12.

²⁹ A. Horowitz and K. Hartfelder (eds.) 1886: 22.

the least sign of any inattentiveness. Moreover, after my peroration, they remained in their places waiting for I do not know what.³⁰

A letter of August 1511 written by Johannes Kierher to Michael Hummelberger confirms Aleandro's claim of success:

Our [teacher] Girolamo inaugurated his lectures on Ausonius with so much approving applause that I cannot describe it. . . . I wish that you could have seen the crowd. You would say that it was like a very large army. . . . People believe that he has been sent from heaven, and they shout. . . , "Vivat, vivat!"³¹

This was not a one-day wonder. Every day up to 500 auditors appeared for his lectures. On the third day of his teaching, seeing that all the seats were filled before his lecture was to begin, Aleandro arranged to teach Latin in the larger Collège de Cambrai in the afternoon and Greek in the morning at the Collège de la Marche.³² He wrote to Erasmus, in a letter otherwise expressing regret at his inability to avoid administrative duties at the University of Paris and his concerns about the uncertainty of income, that he was greeted with shouts of welcome whenever he returned to Paris after a short absence.³³

There are several factors that contributed to Aleandro's success. He was undoubtedly a charismatic teacher, and there was the pent-up desire of students in Paris and Orléans to learn Greek that we saw expressed by Beatus Rhenanus and Bruno Amerbach. His inspired decision to base his inaugural lectures on the native French Latin poet Ausonius must have helped to ingratiate him with the French establishment, "all of the highest station: members of Parliament, crown attorneys, state treasurers, former college deans, theologians, jurists, principals of colleges [and] regents of all the teaching orders."³⁴ This sensitivity to the composition of his audience is evident as well

³⁰ Horawitz 1875: 32–34. My "read" and "readings" translate the usual humanist Latin words for "to teach" and "teaching": *legere/praelegere* and *lectio/praelectio*.

³¹ Horawitz 1875: 30; see also Jovy 1899–1913: III, 18. For an example of an inaugural lecture, that of Demetrius Chalcondyles, the teacher of Janus Lascaris, upon taking up the chair in Greek at the University of Padua in 1463 see Geanakoplos 1976: 254–264.

³² Horawitz 1875: 34.

³³ Allen (ed.) 1906–1958: I, 506; see also Paquier 1900: 52.

³⁴ Horawitz 1875: 33.

in Aleandro's decision to augment his lectures on the Latin poet Ausonius with Greek and Hebrew examples:

For since I was obliged to defend the role of poetry and knew that there were many [auditors] who were very learned in Greek and several in Hebrew as well, . . . I was unwilling to have my lecture starved of Hebrew and Greek poetic authorities.³⁵

Finally, Aleandro had a practical side. Like Tissard, Aleandro was acutely aware of the difficulty of teaching Greek in France because of the shortage of suitable Greek textbooks. This had been brought home to him upon his arrival in Paris. Like many travellers today, he arrived at his destination, but his luggage did not. He was forced, therefore, to delay his teaching until his books arrived.³⁶ In the preface to a collection of Plutarch's works that he had prepared for his students he writes:

When I first began publicly to teach various languages [viz. Greek, Hebrew and Latin] in this famous university . . ., nothing so hindered and handicapped me and you, my students, as the absence of Greek and Hebrew books. . . . Indeed, we have the very best Greek books from Italy, where they are printed in a very attractive style. But the high costs of printing and transport have resulted in the presence here [viz. Paris] of very few and excessively expensive books. Instead of satisfying the needs of thousands of students here, there are scarcely enough books to accommodate three or four lovers of Greek.³⁷

He goes on to announce his intention to provide other school editions of Greek authors with Latin annotations *in nostram et auditorum utilitatem*. Aleandro abandoned Paris for Belgium before completing this intention but not before putting the teaching of Greek in Paris on a sound footing by ensuring that annotated Greek texts, a Greek grammar, a Greek dictionary and a publisher capable of printing Greek texts were in place.³⁸

Before leaving the subject of institutional teachers of Greek in France before 1530 I must add a few words about Janus Lascaris. None of his frequent visits to France while employed by the French Crown lasted long enough for him to teach publicly, that is, in the various colleges of the University of Paris. Instead, his teaching was

³⁵ Horowitz 1875: 33.

³⁶ Omont 1891: 68–69.

³⁷ Omont 1891: 54–55.

³⁸ On Aleandro's move to Belgium see Hoyoux 1969 and Omont 1896.

restricted to a few prominent humanists such as Lefèvre d'Étaples, Germain de Brie, the first two professors of Greek at the Collège de France, Guillaume Cop and, most notably, Guillaume Budé, the last of whom with Lascaris' aid was at last able to overcome the obstacles to learning Greek put in his way by George Hermonymus and thereafter make rapid progress in his studies. As Lascaris flitted between his Italian bases and France, performing services for Italian popes and publishers, his role is perhaps best summarized as *un ambassadeur de l'hellenisme*.³⁹

Teaching Methods

Whether the teaching of Greek was private or institutional, the methods of teaching were essentially the same. Even an outstanding teacher like Aleandro “reads” (*legit* or *praelegit*) the author being studied. During the Middle Ages and Renaissance one did not teach a course in ethics, for instance, independently of an authoritative classical text; instead, one “read” to the class a work such as Aristotle’s *Nicomachean Ethics*. Until recently it would have been impossible to provide precise details of the teaching of Greek in the sixteenth century, whether in France or elsewhere in western Europe. Recent publications demonstrate that the methods were similar to those described above by Aleandro in conjunction with the copy of the *Iliad* that he provided for Charles Brachet: translation and annotation.⁴⁰ Grafton quotes an account of studying Greek in Florence in 1493:

This is how Varino sets out to instruct us. First he gives the meaning of the text, elegantly and in a few clear words; after this first translation he finds the inflection of verbs and nouns, if it is fairly hard; he also provided the etymologies and other figures.⁴¹

This secondhand account of the method of instruction—paraphrase/translation and parsing—is directly documented in recently published interlinear and marginal notes taken by students at Parisian colleges

³⁹ Knös 1945.

⁴⁰ Melchior Volmar prepared an annotated edition of the first two books of the *Iliad* so that P. Rossetus (Pietro Rossetti), “poet laureate,” could continue his Greek studies independently. It includes passages translated into Latin by Erasmus and the conjugation of irregular Greek verbs. See below, n. 77, for additional details.

⁴¹ Grafton 1997: 145.

in the first half of the sixteenth century.⁴² The most extensive document of this sort is the one published by Reverdin, a volume containing six short Greek works that was sold in 1946 to the public library of Geneva by a member of the Budé family. It had probably been taken to Geneva by a member of Budé's family, who as Protestants moved there in 1549.⁴³ The six Greek texts, mainly speeches of Demosthenes, appear in a volume of the type that was published cheaply and simply in the sixteenth century to satisfy the pent-up demand for scarce Greek texts that Tissard and Aleandro had striven to satisfy. With their wide margins, large spaces between printed lines and interfoliated blank pages, volumes of this type were intended principally for student note-taking in class. An unnamed student took the notes in a Greek class taught by Pierre Danès. Danès' lectures extended from 24 October 1532 to 22 February 1533 during the infancy of the now illustrious college. The anonymous student's notes contain a wealth of information. We learn, for instance, that the class met at 1:00 PM on Mondays;⁴⁴ that on one occasion the student, as he apparently impatiently records, was still in the classroom at 6:00 PM; and that during a four-month period Danès "read" and commented on 83 pages of Greek text.

The Greek text of two speeches by Aeschines and Demosthenes was poorly edited by the German humanist Reuchlin and carelessly and hastily republished in Paris by Wechel, probably at the request of Danès to meet the immediate needs of his class. So part of Danès' lectures consisted of improving the printed text by collating it with a Greek manuscript at hand and by conjecture.⁴⁵

As Reverdin observes, explanations of historical and geographical references in the Greek texts comprised only a small portion of Danès' lessons, e.g. "Πορθμός qui est civitas apud Harpocratium non apud Steph. neque Strabonem" ("Porthmos, which is a city [found in/described by] Harpocraton [but] not Stephanus or Strabo."); it

⁴² Barroux 1954, Dionisotti 1983, Grafton 1981, Reverdin 1984, Sharratt 1977.

⁴³ E. de Budé, *Vie de Guillaume Budé* (1884; reprinted Slatkine Reprints, 1969), 289.

⁴⁴ The wording of a posted announcement of Danès' Monday afternoon lectures, which commenced in January 1534, has survived, summarized (and translated from Latin) thus by Lefranc 1893: 145, "P. Danès, professeur royal en langue grecque, le meme jour [viz. lundj], commentera au collège de Cambrai le livre . . . d'Aristote. Cet ouvrage, imprimé le plus diligemment possible, se vend chez Antoine Augereau."

⁴⁵ Reverdin 1984: 24–26 and 65–69.

is evident from this extract and others like it that Danès had consulted the standard lexicographic (Harpocration's *Lexicon of Orators* and Stephanus of Byzantium's *Ethnica*) and geographical (Strabo's *Geographica*) reference books.⁴⁶ His method of explaining historical references was to cite the ancient sources, e.g. "haec historia apud Plutarchum in vita Cymonis" ("This story/account [appears in] Plutarch's *Life of Cymon*"), without offering a critical assessment of the sources.⁴⁷

Danès, who had helped to prepare editions of Quintilian and Cicero's *Verrine Orations*, is known to have been interested in rhetoric. As Reverdin remarks, it is through the prism of Latin rhetoric that Danès analyzes the Greek speeches of Demosthenes and Aeschines, citing Latin rhetorical authorities instead of their Greek counterparts such as Aristotle and Longinus to explain the formal structure, figures of speech, tropes and elements of logic.⁴⁸

Grammar and syntax also figured in Danès' lessons, as he notes, for instance, the use of "praesens pro futuro" ("present tense in place of future tense"). Danès' emphasis fell, however, on the meaning of words. Most of the marginal and interfoliated notes deal with the comprehension of individual words and phrases, e.g. ἐν μέρει: "gradatim ordine" ("gradually in order") and, οὐκ ἔστιν: "non est possibile" ("it is not possible"). In this respect, Danès followed the lead of Budé, who had established the method of defining Greek words by taking examples from classical texts rather than from the ancient and Byzantine collections of rare words employed by Italians and their Byzantine teachers with scarcely a reference to a classical Greek author. Also like Budé, Danès used classical Latin for his definitions, labeling the occasional post-classical translation as "vulgar" ("vulgo") and adopting Cicero's Latin translations of Greek terms whenever possible, e.g. πρῶτανεῖον: "domus publica . . . ita Cicero vertit" ("public house . . . thus Cicero translates").⁴⁹ It is not surprising, of course, that Danès adhered to Budé's method since he was one of Budé's prized pupils.

⁴⁶ Reverdin 1984: 26–29.

⁴⁷ Reverdin 1984: 29–31.

⁴⁸ Reverdin 1984: 31–31. A. Billault devotes a chapter to Longinus elsewhere in this volume.

⁴⁹ Reverdin 1984: 37; and see the confirmation of all this by Pierre Ramus, cited Reverdin 1984: 39.

Students

We do not know whether the anonymous student who took notes at Danès' lectures went on to become a "professional" humanist or man-of-letters like Pierre Ramus and Henri Étienne or whether his Greek studies were part of a liberal arts programme in preparation for a career in government, law or the church like some of Aleandro's pupils in Orléans.⁵⁰ In the person of Jacques Amyot, whose career spans both categories, we can see the impressive results achieved by one of Danès' students.⁵¹ After receiving his maître-ès-arts in 1532 from the Collège du cardinal Lemoine, Amyot completed his studies at the Collège de France sometime before the autumn of 1533.⁵² Thereafter he served as tutor to the two sons of a secretary of state and to the future kings Charles IX and Henri III. In the spring of 1548 Amyot joined the French ambassador to Venice and stayed there consulting manuscripts until 1550. He continued his philological investigations at the Pontifical Library until June 1551 "grâce au crédit du cardinal de Tournon." Back in France his former pupil, King Charles IX, appointed him to the post of *grand aumônier* and the bishopric of Auxerre where he died while still its bishop in 1593.

Amyot holds a cherished place in the history of French literature because of his translations of Greek texts, above all Plutarch's *Lives* and *Moralia*. Ronsard did not overlook Danès' place in Amyot's success as a translator, "Amyot et Danez, lumières de nostre age." Like Danès dealing with the poorly edited text of the Greek orators, Amyot had to cope with the poorly edited *editio princeps* of the ancient Greek novel the *Ethiopian Story*. Amyot describes in the second edition (1559) of his translation his efforts to improve the Greek text

⁵⁰ See the interesting account by Henri de Mesmes of the place of his Greek studies in the 1540s in his social life and legal career (Grafton and Jardine 1986: 153). Oronce Finé, *lecteur royal* in mathematics, attended Danès' "reading" on 24 October 1532 (Reverdin 1984: 15). On Aleandro's pupils in Orléans see Hoyoux 1969: 59–61. Aleandro considered expelling one of them for unruly behaviour, "a second Catiline" (Omont 1896: 22). Delaruelle 1922 surveys the fortunes of the pupils whom Aleandro left behind when he moved to Belgium at the end of 1514.

⁵¹ L. Plazenet-Hau devotes a chapter to Amyot in this volume; see also Sandy 1984–1985.

⁵² On this college see Jourdain 1875 and above n. 26. As we saw earlier, Aleandro requested that Aldus have the books that he had ordered "directa ad me in el Collegio Cardinalis," which was close to his residence and the principal of which "studied Greek."

that he had used for the first edition (1547).⁵³ Like Danès collating the printed edition that he used in his Greek class with a Greek manuscript, Parisinus 2998, a manuscript described by Danès' auditor as a *vet(us) cod(ex)*, Amyot discovered at the Pontifical Library "un fort vieil exemplaire . . ., escrit à la main." He adds:

In comparing the printed edition with this old manuscript, I discovered that my conjecture[s] were not at all mistaken where I restored many incorrectly printed passage that I had corrected by judgment alone; but I also found in several places entire lines omitted from the [printed] Greek edition, which I transcribed in the margin of my [copy of the] printed book.⁵⁴

To appreciate Amyot's accomplishments fully one must bear in mind that he belonged to only the second generation of French Hellenists. This is strikingly illustrated by the fact that Budé dedicated his *De Philologia* (1532) to Amyot's two pupils, the sons of King François I's short-reigning successor. This king, whose last official act before his death in 1547 was to appoint Amyot to the abbey of Bellozanne, founded the Collège royal in 1530 with its first two *lecteurs royaux*, Pierre Danès and Jacques Toussain, both of whom taught Amyot Greek and had themselves been pupils of Janus Lascaris, Budé's teacher as well and the first competent teacher of Greek in France. Amyot belongs to the category of "sçavants translateurs" discussed by Du Bellay in his *Deffence et illustration de la langue française* (1540).⁵⁵ Amyot searched the libraries of Venice and Rome and there discovered previously uncollated manuscripts of Heliodorus, Longus and Diodorus Siculus that he used to produce vernacular translations that are based on the rigorous philological standards initiated in France by Budé and perpetuated in the classrooms of Danès and Toussain.

Study Aids

From the beginning and during the early stages of Hellenic studies in France and elsewhere in western Europe both teachers and stu-

⁵³ Fuller details in Sandy 1984–1985.

⁵⁴ Quoted from the preface of the second edition of Amyot's translation, *L'histoire aethiopique* (Paris: Estienne Groulleau, 1559). Amyot's annotated copy of the printed Greek text is housed at the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève in Paris under the catalogue designation Y.4^o.573. inv. 1066. On Amyot's rigorously philological efforts to establish accurate Greek texts see Cuvigny 1933: 70–76 and Sandy 1984–1985.

⁵⁵ Valerie Worth-Stylianou discusses French translations elsewhere in this volume.

dents were acutely conscious of the absence of adequate study aids. Budé in 1510 wrote to his son Dreux that it was easier for the younger generation to study the humanities, including Greek, “the wet-nurse and adorer of Latin,” than it had been for his own generation.⁵⁶ Budé was referring principally to the availability of books, a subject to which I shall return later in the chapter, but the students of Dreux’s generation still had to cope with cumbersome, and often inadequate dictionaries and difficult grammars.

Dictionaries

The German humanist Willibald Pirckheimer early in the sixteenth century wrote to a correspondent who had asked for a translation of some Greek passages, “I advance under that leadership [viz. under that of a Graeco-Latin dictionary], and in its absence my progress is blocked.”⁵⁷ We have seen that Girolamo Aleandro deplored the small number and high cost of Greek books available in France at the time of his arrival there in 1508. He placed an order with Aldus for, among other Greek books, six copies of the *Lexicon*, undoubtedly Giovanni Crastone’s Graeco-Latin dictionary, which had been the mainstay in western Europe since its publication between 1476 and 1478.⁵⁸ Crastone, a priest of the Carmelite order, received release from his vows so that he could devote himself to classical philology. He prepared a Graeco-Latin dictionary for his friend Franciscus Ferrarius, who encouraged him to refine it and have it printed. Until that time western Europeans were dependent on the necessarily limited number of hand-copied Graeco-Latin dictionaries such as those copied in Paris for aspiring students of Greek by George Hermonymus.⁵⁹ This copyist was unable to satisfy Reuchlin’s request for such a dictionary:

As for the lexicon, however, it does not belong to me but to a certain friend; the price will be six scuta (écus). . . . If the dictionary were

⁵⁶ Budé G. 1557: I, 286. Budé also wrote in 1521 and 1524 to his young protégés Claude and François Robertet of the difficulties of being an autodidact and of the previous shortage of Greek books (I, 322–324 and 441–442).

⁵⁷ Quoted from Mondrain 1992: 314.

⁵⁸ Delaruelle 1930.

⁵⁹ Omont 1885: 89–90.

in my power [to send to you], I would satisfy your desire, just as I did in the case of [Theodore Gaza's Greek] grammar.⁶⁰

When the Swiss humanist Glareanus (Heinrich Loriti) was living and studying in Paris in the 1520s he would go with his Swiss pupils to Guillaume Budé's residence there or to his house at Marly to consult the lexical notes that would eventually be incorporated into Budé's *Commentarii Linguae Graecae* (1529).⁶¹

Budé's influence is also evident in a Graeco-Latin lexicon prepared jointly by Guillaume du Maine and Jean Chéradame: *Habes tandem graecarum literarum admirator, lexicon graecum* (You have at last, lover of Greek literature, a Greek lexicon).⁶² The effusive title page goes on to claim that the lexicon is "much fuller than all the other [lexicons] printed previously in Italy, France or Germany: inasmuch as [it contains] more than 3 000 additions made to the lexicon published in Basel in 1522 by Curio, enlarged by more than 5 000 recent additions selected from the most authoritative edition, Guillaume du Maine and Jean Chéradame have jointly sweated very much on your behalf."⁶³ The prefaces by the two compilers convey important details of its genesis. Du Maine, in the epistolary preface addressed to François Poncher, the archbishop of Paris, records that the publisher Gilles de Gourmont knew of the "more than 3 000 lexical notes in excess of the German [= Basel?] edition of the lexicon" that he had compiled from Budé's teaching and from his own reading of Greek authors and importuned him "in almost daily loud and heated discussions" to add them to the lexicon for the benefit of students (*publice studiosorum utilitate*). "I would," du Maine continues, "have enlarged [the lexicon] even more if I had been able to be in Paris (*in urbe*) and if I had had the strength, but Jean Chéradame Hypocrates, a clever, trilingual and most learned young man who is well versed

⁶⁰ Omont 1885: 88–89.

⁶¹ Preface to Glareanus' edition of Budé's *Liber de Asse, & Partibus Eius* (Basel: M. Isigrinos, 1550). Marly: Budé G. 1557: I, 282. Glareanus wrote to Erasmus that at the time of his arrival in Paris in 1517, "I, who came to Paris to study Greek, have been greatly deceived, for there is no one who is teaching a significant Greek author, either publicly [i.e., at the University of Paris] or privately" (Allen 1906–1958: III, 37).

⁶² Paris: Gilles de Gourmont, 1512.

⁶³ I have translated *scriptor*, which should mean "writer" or "copyist," as "edition," since the context makes it clear that the compilers are referring to printed editions.

in Homeric diction, as every one knows, compensated for my failing strength by making [it] much more distinguished and complete with words chosen from Homer and Hippocrates.” Du Maine also explains that the compilers have used a symbol to designate their own additions and that they have prevailed upon the printer to use the iota subscript with omega.⁶⁴ Du Maine has addressed the needs of beginning students of Greek, “Why have we collected material from Budé, Isocrates, Lucian [and] Aristotle . . .? This material is, I admit, insignificant and too familiar to warrant inclusion, [but] we wanted to accommodate beginners who had scarcely touched Greek with the tips of their fingers and to ease the way for them so that they would not soon be frightened by the difficulty of beginning.” Du Maine concludes the preface by praising Budé, as does Chéradame in his epistolary preface addressed to François I. In spite of all their efforts, the lexicon compiled by du Maine and Chéradame remained an enlarged version of the lexicon originally compiled by Crastone, to which I now turn.

Printing increased the availability of Graeco-Latin dictionaries, of course, but not necessarily their quality. Crastone’s dictionary, as Delaruelle observes, was not created *ex nihilo* but was based on a Graeco-Latin glossary known from the seventh century, and others like it exist, including one copied in Paris by George Hermonymus.⁶⁵ The format of the earlier hand-copied glossaries and the printed version produced by Crastone are essentially the same, consisting of a Greek word in the left column followed by the Latin equivalent in the right column, e.g.:

ἀγιστεία. ἡ	<i>sacrificium. sacrum, purificatio. sanctimonia.</i>
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In Crastone’s version the Greek entries and their Latin equivalents usually occupy one line each in each column; the gender of nouns is denoted by the article, ἡ (feminine) in the example given above; and the declension, as in a modern dictionary, by the genitive singular, e.g. ἀγαθῆς. [sic] -ίδος. ἡ. *glomus*. Adjectives are represented in the masculine form only; verbs in the active voice and the present, future and perfect tenses only. The greatest deficiency by modern

⁶⁴ The curious can download the dictionary from the Gallica link of the Web site of the Bibliothèque nationale de France and view the printing innovations.

⁶⁵ Delaruelle: 1930: 228–232; Omont 1885: 89.

standards is the almost complete failure to cite sources. The exceptions to this statement underscore the inadequacy of Crastone's dictionary. The sources that he does occasionally cite are Byzantine and late-classical etymologies, lexica and onomastica that tend to focus on rare, unusual words.

Hellenists in Western Europe were acutely conscious of the limitations of Crastone's glossary and others like it. One of Aleandro's tasks in France was to enlist the aid of six of his students in a collaborative effort to augment Crastone's glossary.⁶⁶ Erasmus wrote to Budé in 1521 that he (Budé) would make a great contribution to Hellenic studies if he were to produce a really complete lexicon, one that not only listed words but that also explained idioms and peculiarly Greek turns of speech.⁶⁷ Budé replied some 15 months later that he had been considering doing so and that he had long ago compiled notes for doing so but that they were too widely and chaotically scattered to be of any use to his successors.⁶⁸

Before Budé actually managed to assemble the material that was to become the *Commentarii Linguae Graecae* various humanists consulted his notes. We saw above that Glareanus and his Swiss pupils consulted the notes in Paris in the 1520s. Budé's pupil Guillaume du Maine, who, he writes in the epistolary preface addressed to François Poncher, the bishop of Paris, progressed in his study of Greek under Budé's tutelage "while I suffered for several month on his torture rack worse tortures than those suffered by Ixion," contributed 3 000 additions, some of which he had got from Budé (whom he ranks as a source with Isocrates, Lucian and Aristotle) to a Graeco-Latin lexicon that was essentially an enlarged version of Crastone's glossary (Paris: Gilles de Gourmont, 1523).

Budé's *Commentarii Linguae Graecae* (1529) in some ways represents the crowning achievement of French Hellenism in the first third of the sixteenth century, not least of all because in the preface he reminds King François I in remarkably blunt terms of his earlier, unfulfilled promises to establish a royal college with *lecteurs royaux* in Greek.⁶⁹ It is probably not a coincidence that the king did so one year later.

⁶⁶ Jovy 1899–1913: III, 27. The dictionary was published by de Gourmont at the end of 1512.

⁶⁷ Allen (ed.) 1906–1958: IV, 579–580.

⁶⁸ Allen (ed.) 1906–1958: V, 153.

⁶⁹ Conveniently available in Gasnault and Veyrin-Forrer (eds.) 1968: 26.

Budé's Graeco-Latin dictionary differs from modern dictionaries of ancient Greek in its absence of alphabetical arrangement. Instead, the Greek words are classified by (unheaded) topics such as legal terms, boxing (*pugiles intendere pugnos plagasque*), the structural components and surfaces of buildings, the human body and the prows of ships, and geometrical terms. In the absence of alphabetical arrangement the dictionary is equipped with two alphabetical indexes, an "Index of Greek Words and Phrases Explained in These Commentaries" and an "Index of Latin Words and Subjects." The difference between Crastone's glossary and Budé's "commentaries" is immense. In the example cited above from Crastone's glossary four isolated Latin words serve to define ἡ ἀγιστεία. Budé devotes some thirty entries to matters relating to sacrifice. For each entry he cites several sources; each source is quoted so that the word in question can be viewed in its syntactic context; he notes syntactic peculiarities such as the use of the dative or genitive with a verb or noun, and figurative uses of words such as "the sacred rites of Love" in Plato's *Symposium*; at times Budé even corrects the transmitted text, e.g. "where perhaps . . . is to be read instead of . . ." The younger Robert Étienne published the definitive edition of this dictionary in 1548, "enlarged by more than one third, and corrected and improved in many places," making use of Budé's marginalia *propria manu*.⁷⁰

Grammar Books

French Hellenists as well as their counterparts throughout western Europe now had one of the two tools needed for the productive study of ancient Greek, a dictionary based on rigorous philological principles. Another desideratum noted by Aleandro when he first arrived in France was Greek grammar books. The much abused George Hermonymus had the good sense to provide copies of the Greek grammars of Manuel Chrysoloras and, especially, Theodore Gaza, one of which belonged to Jacques Toussain.⁷¹ Aleandro placed an order with Aldus for at least 12 copies of Constantine [Lascaris']

⁷⁰ Armstrong 1986: 112–113.

⁷¹ Omont 1885: 87–89; Pertusi 1962 provides the most comprehensive study of the subject. Chapter 5 in Grafton and Jardine 1986 surveys the Greek grammars of the period as does Stevens 1970: 242–245.

Erotemata. The title (Ἐρωτήματα, *Questions*), which was borne by other elementary Greek grammar books as well such as that of Manuel Moschopoulos, is indicative of the typical question-answer format, e.g. "Question. How many vowels [are there]? Answer. Seven, namely. . ."⁷²

There was general agreement among French and other humanists that of the two leading Greek grammar books that of Chrysoloras was more suitable for novices than that of Gaza. Melchior Volmar can serve as a representative of this view. He was a member of the German-Swiss group of humanists who, like the better known Glareanus, went to Paris to study Greek in the early 1520s. A native of Rottweil (Red Village, hence the latinized "Rufus" and the hellenized "Erythropolitanus" of his "professional" name), he attended schools in Bern and university in Tübingen and operated a private school in Orléans that Calvin attended.⁷³ He studied Greek in Paris for a year from April 1521 to May 1522 with Nicolas Bérault. In the preface of his edition of still another Greek grammar, that of Demetrius Chalcondylas, Volmar states on the authority of Pierre Danès that Chrysoloras' grammar is the best available for beginning students of Greek.⁷⁴ In the expanded preface of the same work published at a later date Volmar reaffirms the suitability of Chalcondylas' grammar for beginners, this time on the authority of "the great Budé."⁷⁵ Gaza's grammar is so difficult and compendious that not even Apollo could interpret its fourth book, he adds. His compatriot Glareanus agrees, stating in the preface of his edition of the *Grammatices Urbani* that Gaza's grammar appears to have been intended for teachers rather than for pupils.⁷⁶

The authorship of the Greek grammars accounts for some of the difficulties experienced by western students. They were all written in

⁷² Pertusi 1962: Table XXIX. Both Tissard and Aleandro edited versions of Chrysoloras' grammar during their teaching careers in France.

⁷³ Feld 1975.

⁷⁴ *Demetrii Chalcondylae Grammaticae Institutiones Graecae* (Paris: Gilles de Gourmont, 1525); On Chalcondylas see Geanakoplos 1976: 231–264.

⁷⁵ *Erotemata, sive Institutiones Grammaticae*. This volume, published in Basel in 1546, is a *Sammelband* or omnibus volume, containing in addition to the grammar of Chalcondyles, which, he writes in the expanded preface, Budé urged him to edit, earlier Italian editions of the elementary grammar of Chrysoloras (1544) and Guarino's abridgement of the same work (1543).

⁷⁶ Hodius 1742: 73–75. The full title of the grammar is *Institutiones Graecae Grammaticae*. It was written by Urbano Bolzanio (Venice: Aldus, 1497) and is the first Greek grammar prepared by a westerner, i.e. non-Greek (Pertusi 1962: 327–328).

Greek by Greek refugees in Italy who had been accustomed in their native land to teaching Greek-speaking pupils who were already familiar with the syntax and morphology. For his pupils in Italy Chrysoloras compiled an elementary grammar (*Ἑρωτήματα*) that, like the other grammars of the time, was based on the second-century grammar of Dionysius Thrax, which had served native speakers of the language for some thirteen-hundred years. Volmar was not exaggerating when he wrote that Chalcondylas' grammar was not suitable for the students of his own time. Guarino da Verona, who had accompanied Chrysoloras to Constantinople and had spent five years there collecting Greek manuscripts, provided an abbreviated version of Chrysoloras' Latin translation of his Greek grammar to make "hoc opusculum magis ad Latinorum utilitatem quam ipsorum Graecorum necessitatem" ("this work more useful [for students] in the Latin West than as a tool exclusively for Greek-speakers").⁷⁷

Guarino's intervention set the pattern for what in France became a collaborative enterprise to make Greek grammar accessible to western students. We can see this in the case of Chalcondylas' grammar. Volmar borrowed a copy of it from Pierre Danès, which, as was customary at the time, probably contained Danès' marginal annotations. Volmar was staying at the time with Nicolas Bérault, who had been one of Aleandro's pupils in Orléans. Volmar also produced an edition of the first two books of Homer's *Iliad*, only the first book of which he was able to annotate, expressing the hope that he would be able to do the same for Book 2, "Another opportunity will be provided to treat these matters more fruitfully, I hope, under [the guidance of] my most eloquent and learned teacher Bérault."⁷⁸ Jean

⁷⁷ "Pertusi 1962: 324. This volume, printed in Venice in 1472, has the honour of being the first book printed anywhere in Greek, antedating by almost five years the printing of Constantine Lascaris' grammar, which is sometimes mistakenly given that honour.

⁷⁸ Melchior Volmarius Erythropolitanus (ed.), *Homeri Iliados Libri Duo* (Paris: Gilles de Gourmont, no date; epistolary preface dated October 1523), folio liii^{ro}. The unnamed owner of this volume, which is housed in the Bibliothèque nationale de France (RES-Y8-169), has glossed almost every word, e.g. Μηνιν *iram* (wrath). Volmar himself obtained an explanation of a Doric verb form from Jacques Toussain, "homo Graece et Latine impense doctus" ("a person immensely learned in Greek and Latin") (folio liii^{ro-v^o}). Volamar was staying at the Collège de Tours ("collegio nostro Turonensi") when he wrote the epistolary preface. This volume can be downloaded from the Gallica link of the Web site of the Bibliothèque nationale de France. On Budé's volume of Homer, annotated and glossed *propria manu*, see Grafton 1998: 135–183.

Chéradame edited a Greek grammar on which Jacques Toussain collaborated.⁷⁹ Similarly, Jean Vatel edited a version of Theodore Gaza's advanced grammar.⁸⁰ This edition exemplifies the collaborative efforts of western-European humanists to render it useful for students based in the West. Like Guarino, Vatel provided a Latin translation that accompanies the Greek text *e regione*, that is, in parallel columns of facing Greek and Latin text. His goal has been to rival the Latin translation provided in the Aldine edition of Constantine Lascaris' grammar.⁸¹ "I have," he writes, "assembled [material] . . . from many copies belonging to learned men." He is indebted to Erasmus for notes on Books 1 and 2; for Book 2 to Budé, "who from his reading of Theodore [Gaza's] works has provided very many explanations that he has generously assembled for this joint enterprise for the benefit of students"; to Jacques Toussain for Book 3 and to Richard Croke for Book 4. Vatel adds that he has benefited from (probably annotated) copies of Gaza's grammar that belonged to Glareanus, Pierre Danès and Mustellius, and he calls upon Bérault to testify to the accuracy of his efforts.⁸²

A common theme in the prefaces of the Greek grammar books that were prepared for publication in France is the difficulty inherent in explaining a foreign language in that language.⁸³ This difficulty

⁷⁹ *Grammatica Isagogica* (Paris: Gilles de Gourmont, 1521). Chéradame also received help from Georgius Hopylius, of whom I know nothing. The little that is known of Chéradame, who may have been a *lecteur royal* in Greek for a short term beginning in 1543, is available in Lefranc 1893: 98–99 and 353–354 and Delaruelle 1922: 132–135.

⁸⁰ *Gmmmaticae Institutiones Libri Quatuor* (Paris: Josse Bade, 1521). See also Delaruelle 1922: 60–62.

⁸¹ The Latin translation had been first prepared by Giovanni Crastone, the compiler of the Graeco-Latin glossary previously described, for the Milan edition of 1480; the Aldine edition is that of 1495 (Pertusi 1962: 326–327). The Greek-only Milan *editio princeps* (1476) of Constantine Lascaris' grammar has been reprinted in facsimile: *Constantinus Lascaris: Greek Grammar* (Amsterdam: Hakkert, 1966). Erasmus in 1501 searched in vain for a copy of it for his friend Jacob Voogd (Allen [ed.] 1906–1958: I, 367). Erasmus ranked it second only to that of Gaza, and "Budé is said to have valued it highly" (Hodius 1742: 245).

⁸² Richard Croke studied Greek in Paris with Erasmus and Aleandro and had a successful teaching career at Cambridge and especially in Germany. I know nothing of Mustellius. Glareanus studied Greek in Paris from 1517 to 1522 and benefited there from the support of Budé, Guillaume Cop and Lefevre d'Étaples (Allen 1906–1958: III, 36). Like Volmar, he was associated with Basel and took some twenty pupils from there to study in Paris, one of whom was Volmar (Büchi 1928).

⁸³ E.g. Melchior Volmar's preface to Demetrius Chalcondyles, *Grammaticae Institutiones Graecae* (Paris: de Gourmont, 1525).

was eventually overcome by the provision of Latin translations. As we have seen, Vatel put considerable effort into this provision. A difficulty that persisted throughout the period, however, was the system of grammatical analysis used by post-classical Greek grammarians. Succinct to the point of brusqueness, the Greek grammars consist of little more than definitions of parts of speech and countless paradigms and did not explain syntax.⁸⁴ Just as the Graeco-Latin lexicons were based on a lexicon that existed as early as the seventh century, the Byzantine grammarians based their textbooks on the second-century grammar of Dionysius Thrax and the fourth-century grammar of Theodosius of Alexandria. In the scheme of the latter grammarian nouns, for instance, are grouped in 56 declensions. Chrysoloras reduced the number of declensional patterns to ten based, as in modern grammar books, on the genitive-singular endings, which, in the words of Pertusi, “non fu piccolo risultato!”⁸⁵

Both Volmar and Vatel recognized that the grammars that had been prepared by Byzantine Greeks for Greek pupils were not appropriate for western students and enlisted the aid of the most knowledgeable authorities in the West to elucidate the subject. There are two notable features of Vatel’s enterprise in particular. First, there is the international composition of the team of collaborators, which gives the impression that Paris was already the centre of Hellenic studies in the West outside of Italy. Second, the scholars who contributed their knowledge to the subject represent the progress of the study of ancient Greek in France from its informal beginnings in the person of Budé to what would become the institutionalization of the subject at the highest level in the persons of the first two *lecteurs royaux*, Pierre Danès and Jacques Toussain.

Greek Books and Manuscripts

As Delaruelle puts it, “Pour faire du grec, il fallait des livres.”⁸⁶ We have seen that Tissard and Aleandro were handicapped in their teaching by the shortage in France of Greek books. In Orléans he waived the teaching fee of 12 duodenarii owed to him by one pupil

⁸⁴ Grafton and Jardine 1986: 103.

⁸⁵ Pertusi 1962: 344; see also p. 333.

⁸⁶ Delaruelle 1922: 59.

in exchange for a work of Lucian.⁸⁷ On the eve of his departure from Paris to Liège near the end of 1514 he left behind at Blois “in the large new room, in a large wooden chest, the key of which is in the safekeeping of the housekeeper of the bishop of Paris” 62 books, one of which, a volume containing speeches of the Greek orators, belongs to Guillaume Cop, “the royal physician, but he himself has my two leather-bound volumes of Homer, in addition to which I owe him eight francs.”⁸⁸ The letters of humanists throughout Western Europe abound in requests for books and manuscripts. Budé, for instance, in response to Janus Lascaris’ report that he has sent to him from Milan the Aldine edition of Plutarch, asks Lascaris to obtain for him some works of Galen that their mutual friend in Milan, Demetrius Chalcondyles, the teacher of Lascaris and editor of Galen’s *On Anatomy*, is likely to possess.⁸⁹ We have seen that Volmar and Vatel, for instance, borrowed books from humanist friends. As late as the early 1550s Denis Lambin, a future *lecteur royal* in Greek (1561–1572), while, like Amyot, in Italy as a member of Cardinal François de Tournon’s entourage, repeatedly requests books for the cardinal or for himself.⁹⁰ He thanks a friend for sending a copy of Aristotle’s *Ethics*, which, unlike the Florentine edition, is clearly printed; asks for a copy of Aristotle’s *Physics* with the commentary of John the Grammarian and a copy of Homer; again for Aristotle’s *Ethics*, this time with Lefèvre d’Étaples’ commentary in spite of the poor Latin translation; and remarks that of all the books sent to him from Germany only the annotated edition of Plato’s *Timaeus* is worthwhile.

When George Hermonymus arrived in Paris in 1476—at a time when the Pontifical Library had more than 800 Greek manuscripts, the Medici in Florence possessed more than 600 and Cardinal Bessarion had donated almost 500 to St. Mark’s Library in Venice—“la librairie du roi très chrétien n’en possède pas un.”⁹¹ Some twenty years before Aldus had begun printing Greek books in Venice and some thirty years before de Gourmont had established the first press

⁸⁷ Omont 1896: 18.

⁸⁸ Omont 1896: 33. 31 of the 55 volumes that can be identified with certainty were printed in Paris (Hoyoux 1969: 46). Aleandro also got two prescriptions from Cop, including “the royal medicine, which the most Christian Louis XII regularly used.”

⁸⁹ Gasnault and Veyrin-Forrer (eds.) 1968: 33–34.

⁹⁰ Potez 1906: 458–498 and 658–692.

⁹¹ Irigoin 1977: 23; see also Omont 1889: i–iii.

in France capable of printing Greek (and Hebrew), again in the words of Irigoien, "Avoir rassemblé . . . un tel trésor . . . voilà quel a été . . . le premier mérite d'Hermonyme."

In the face of a shortage of Greek books and manuscripts, the ones that were available tended to be communal; hence the motto of de Thou's collection of books, *Ut Prosint Aliis* (To Benefit Others), and that of Jean Grolier, *Io. Grolierii et Amicorum* ([The Property] of Jean Grolier and His Friends).⁹² Underscoring the limited supply of Greek texts in France at this time, it is probably not a coincidence that Budé's earliest translations, three of Plutarch's essays and a letter of St. Basil the Great to St. Gregory of Nazianzus, correspond exactly to a manuscript copied in Paris by George Hermonymus.⁹³ At this early stage of Hellenic studies in France one had to make do with the limited resources available, which would account for Budé's odd selection of Greek texts for translation. R. Doucet has studied the inventories of 185 private libraries and nine book dealers in Paris in the sixteenth century up to 1560. His analysis shows that only some dozen of the inventories are indicative of owners capable of reading Greek.⁹⁴

Also at this early stage of Hellenic studies if Greek works were not available in France, envoys or agents would sometimes be sent to Italy to search for manuscripts in the libraries of Venice, Florence and Rome. The classical literary riches of Italy had become known to French intellectuals in the course of the military campaigns waged in Italy between 1492 and 1518. Until that time, to rephrase Petrarch's famous assessment, Greek works were scarcely known in western Europe outside of Italy. Janus Lascaris accompanied or followed King Charles VIII in 1495 from Naples to France. Thereafter, during his intermittent stays in France, among other duties to French kings from Charles VIII to François I, he managed Louis XII's library at Blois and later, along with Budé, that of François I when it was transferred in the late 1520s to Fontainebleau.⁹⁵

At Blois Janus Lascaris collaborated in the management of the library with Claude de Seyssel, who produced several French translations of Greek works for Louis XII.⁹⁶ De Seyssel had studied Greek

⁹² Coron 1988: 101 and Charon-Parent 1988: 87.

⁹³ Irigoien 1977: 26.

⁹⁴ Doucet 1956: 44-45.

⁹⁵ Thibault 1989: 24-25.

⁹⁶ Thibault 1989: 26-32.

in Italy at the University of Pavia and was thus able to appreciate the value of the library of the dukes of Milan that Louis XII took to Blois after the military campaigns of 1499 to “recover” his duchy. The preface to his translation of Xenophon’s *Anabasis* and *Life of Cyrus* reports that Janus Lascaris, who had been hired by Louis XII to catalogue the Greek manuscripts in the collection, provided a translation “de grégois en latini” that de Seyssel in turn rendered in French. De Seyssel’s translation of Diodorus Siculus’ *History* (or *Bibliotheca*, as it is now called) underscores the rarity of Greek manuscripts in France at this time. He and Lascaris were able to provide the translation of only Books 18–20 (of the total of 40 books), which they complemented with Plutarch’s *Life of Demetrius*, because the other books were not to be found.⁹⁷ De Seyssel’s French translation of Appian was also based on Lascaris’ Latin version.

The Greek nucleus of the library at Fontainebleau comprised some 40 manuscripts brought to France in 1508 by Janus Lascaris.⁹⁸ François I commissioned the Italian Gerolamo Fondulo to search in Italy for other Greek manuscripts. By 1529 this enterprise had enriched the royal collection at Fontainebleau by some 50 Greek manuscripts.⁹⁹ François I also made use of various ambassadors to Venice, which as the principal point of entry to Italy for Byzantine refugees and as the beneficiary of Cardinal Bessarion’s legacy of Greek works was especially well endowed with Greek exemplars readily available for copying. Like Jean de Pins, Georges de Selve and Georges d’Armanac, who were prelates as well as ambassadors, Guillaume Pelicier, the bishop of Montpellier, took advantage of his ambassadorial posting to Venice to acquire Greek exemplars, employing on occasions at least twelve copyists. He seems to have been an especially benevolent employer, asking François I several times to provide him with money so that he could pay the copyists, “Lesquels pour estre pauvres et chassés de leur pays de Grece ne peulvent attendre longuement leur payement.”¹⁰⁰ During his first ambassadorship (1539–1542),

⁹⁷ Thibault 1989: 28–29. Jacques Amyot discovered in Venice during the period 1549–1550, and in 1554 had published his French translation of, the previously unknown (in the West) Books 11–15 of Diodorus’ *Bibliotheca* (Sandy 1984–1985: 22). Budé informs us that Janus Lascaris had in 1521 copied in Venice some books of Diodorus as a gift for François I (Budé 1557: I, 421–422, 311–312 and 422–423).

⁹⁸ Omont 1889: iii.

⁹⁹ Balayé 1988: 34, and Omont 1889: iv–v.

¹⁰⁰ Omont 1886: 9 and 1889: v–vii.

Pelicier supervised the production of 136 Greek manuscripts, most of them secular and representing a rich cross section of ancient Greek literature, ranging from Aristotle and his commentators, medical and military writers to Homer and his commentators, Pindar and Aristophanes. Like Napoleon in Egypt almost 300 years later, the ambassadors were often accompanied by scholars who assisted in the enterprise of uncovering and interpreting the riches that were previously unknown in France. For instance, Pierre Danès joined Georges de Selve in Venice in 1535 and helped him to procure Greek manuscripts.¹⁰¹ At Fontainebleau itself the French Crown employed the illustrious copyist Angelo Vergecio, who designed the Royal Greek types that were later (1552) purchased and used by Robert Éstienne. The result of these and other efforts was that by the time of François I's death in 1547 the royal collection contained between 500 and 600 Greek works that would eventually enable the Bibliothèque nationale de France to house the largest number of ancient Greek manuscripts in the world.¹⁰²

Finally, under this heading of books and manuscripts a few words should be added about the printing of Greek books in France since the topic is inextricably linked to the availability of Greek books there. We saw earlier that both Tissard and Aleandro felt handicapped by the shortage of Greek books when they began teaching in Paris and Orléans in 1507. Aleandro acknowledged that Chrysoloras' *Erotemata* and Theocritus had recently been printed there. He had not seen them but believed that "they are neither attractive nor good."¹⁰³ The edition of the *Erotemata* to which he refers is the one edited by Tissard and printed by de Gourmont, the latter of whom is promoted in the preface of the volume as "the first, most accurate and the most faithful . . . printer of Greek characters." Aleandro elsewhere expresses national pride in "the very best Greek books . . . from Italy, created in the most attractive type."¹⁰⁴ For Tissard it was

¹⁰¹ Forget 1936 and 1937.

¹⁰² Balayél 988: 35 and 31.

¹⁰³ Omont 1891: 69.

¹⁰⁴ From the preface of his edition of Plutarch printed in Paris in 1509; available in Omont 1891: 69.

a matter of national pride to exculpate his native land from the Italian accusation of barbarism. He adds:

And so at last each of you, once you have had a foretaste of the elementary instruction [offered in this book], with study and practice will far surpass the gymnasium of the Greeks and the Academy of Athens, so much so that the Italians will readily surrender primacy in Latin and Greek literature and will at last give way to the French.¹⁰⁵

The two names that were to become synonymous with the printing of Greek in France in the sixteenth century are Josse Bade and the Éstiennes. A native of Asche in Belgium (hence the Ascensius of his latinized name Jodocus Badius Ascensius), Bade, who, like Aldus, was a humanist as well as a publisher, had studied Greek and Latin at Italian universities before establishing printing businesses first in Lyon (1492) and then in Paris (1499).¹⁰⁶ In spite of the prodigious output of close to 800 editions and re-editions from 1492 to 1535, his presses produced fewer than ten Greek texts.¹⁰⁷ However, he did make one particularly notable contribution to the printing of Greek in France, the use of refined Greek types that incorporated breathing marks and accents. Aleandro had previously been successful in persuading de Gourmont to develop Greek types with breathing marks and accents for his edition of Crastone's *Lexicon* (1512) but in the preface of the same volume complains of the "miserable state of Greek printing in this city" that is characterized by the use of coarse letters, the lack of ligatures and even of some letters and badly formed accents.¹⁰⁸ At the urging of Budé, Bade obtained the refined Greek type from Germany and used it in his edition of Budé's *Epistulae Priores* (*Earlier Letters*) (1520), for which, in contrast to Aleandro's complaints, Budé offered his congratulations to the printer.¹⁰⁹

The son-in-law of a Lyon-based German printer, Bade became in turn the father-in-law of four Paris-based printers, most notably the elder Robert Étienne (Robertus Stephanus), whose father, the elder Henri, had established a press in Paris near the beginning of the

¹⁰⁵ From the postface of his edition of the *Liber Gnomagryicus* (1507), the first Greek book printed in France; available in Omont 1891: 43.

¹⁰⁶ Lebel 1988 is a convenient source of information. Moreau (ed.) 1972– is the most comprehensive inventory of Parisian editions in the sixteenth century.

¹⁰⁷ Lebel 1988: 3–4.

¹⁰⁸ Omont 1891: 7–8; Jovy 1899–1913: III, 27–28.

¹⁰⁹ Gasnault and Veyrin-Forrer (eds.) 1968: 31.

sixteenth century. The Éstienne family was to be intimately involved in Greek printing and scholarship both in Paris and Geneva throughout most of the century, starting with the elder Henri's attendance at the lectures of the first two royal readers in Greek at the newly founded Collège royal.¹¹⁰ As royal printer (*librarius regius*), the elder Robert Éstienne was reimbursed by the French Crown for the cost of the Greek Royal Types that had been designed in 1540 at Fontainebleau by François I's Greek scribe Angelo Vergecio and executed by the French engraver Claude Garamond in 1541. These types, the *typi regii*, were to be the model throughout Europe for approximately two centuries.¹¹¹ Robert Éstienne used these types to print eight *editiones principes*, beginning with Eusebius' *Ecclesiastical History* in 1544 and concluding with the Appian of 1551.

The latter date takes us from Paris to Geneva, where the elder Robert set up his printing business. The younger Robert maintained presses in Paris, but it was in Geneva that this French family of publishers achieved even more remarkable success in publishing Greek works. The younger Henri took over the business in Geneva at the time of his father Robert's death in 1559. Under his direction the press published 74 Greek texts, including 18 *editiones principes*. The three publishing ventures that stand out among his accomplishments are (1) the discovery and publication in 1554 of the so-called *Anacreontea*, which caused a literary sensation, (2) his edition in 1578 of Plato that still serves as the basis for page references and (3) the publication in 1572 of the *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae*, which continued to be a valuable resource into the nineteenth century and is probably his greatest claim to fame.¹¹² The last two works also led to the final 20 years of his life being spent in poverty.

Conclusions

In the preceding pages I have attempted to answer the question posed by L. Delaruelle that I quoted at the outset: In France, how could one become proficient in ancient Greek in the fifteenth century? The answer, as I have attempted to explain, is: with difficulty.

¹¹⁰ Armstrong 1986: 3–10.

¹¹¹ Armstrong 1986: 124–125; Irigoin 1992: 27.

¹¹² S. Rosenmeyer discusses the *Anacreontica* elsewhere in this volume.

Basic resources such as Greek manuscripts and printed editions, dictionaries and grammar books were often in short supply, expensive and inadequate for the needs of beginners. French people aspiring to learn ancient Greek were dependent on the haphazard private lessons provided by sometimes incompetent foreign teachers until 1507, when François Tissard, who was to be displaced within a short time by the Italian Girolamo Aleandro, began to share with his compatriots the knowledge of the language that he had acquired in Italy. In addition to syphilis King Charles VIII took back to France from his military campaign in Italy in 1495 the accomplished Greek scholar Janus Lascaris. This Byzantine Greek, who had been and would continue to be an influential Hellenist in Italy, helped Guillaume Budé to overcome the difficulties of learning ancient Greek in what at the time seemed the barbarian North. Once Budé had mastered the language and taught it to the first two holders of the chair in Greek at the Collège de France, which he himself had been instrumental in founding, the institutionalized study of ancient Greek in France became securely established and well documented.¹¹³

¹¹³ I am grateful to the Hampton Fund of the University of British Columbia for providing me with the financial resources needed to conduct research for this chapter.

GUILLAUME BUDÉ: PHILOLOGIST AND POLYMATH.
A PRELIMINARY STUDY

Gerald Sandy

Introduction

In a letter of 28 May 1533 a student named Peter Schriesheimer (Petrus Siderander) writes to his former teacher in Strasbourg:

I happened to want to see what was going on at the Sorbonne yesterday and when I was at the door and was contemplating the pictures and statuettes that are sold there, I was fortunate to catch sight of Budé coming out. I left the college and followed the man so that I could study him to my satisfaction.¹

The young man adds that he regularly questions Budé's two sons with whom he is studying about the scholarly activities of their celebrated father. Schriesheimer's veneration is suggestive of the current lionizing of celebrities in athletics and popular entertainment.

Schriesheimer was approximately sixteen years old at the time of writing and can be forgiven for his impressionable adulation. However, the mature intellectual community of western Europe lavished equally effusive praise on Budé. For Calvin, "Guillaume Budé [is] the leading ornament and support of literary affairs. Because of his service our France now lays claim to pre-eminence in erudition." Jean Chéradame praises the support afforded by King François I to men-of-letters, "among whom you [viz François I] have Guillaume Budé . . . , who distinguishes not only France but all Europe."² Claudius Baduellus acknowledges that many people of his time (i.e., the 1550s) deserve praise for their industry and contributions to the scholarly community.

However, Guillaume Budé has laboured in such a way in each of the two languages, both Greek and Latin, that . . . of all these people he

¹ Schmidt 1845: 206–207.

² G. du Maine and J. Chéradame, preface to *Lexicon Graecolatinum* (Paris: Gilles de Gourmont, 1523). See my other chapter in this volume for more details. Calvin is quoted from Tilley 1900: 458.

is judged to have attained the highest renown for intelligence, knowledge and study. Indeed, he has embraced the study of Greek with such zeal [and] persisted with such diligence, work and application that . . . he appears to be ranked above all others.³

As a source for Greek lexicography Guillaume du Maine and Jean Chéradame ranked Budé with Isocrates, Lucian and Aristotle, and Erasmus cites him as an authority equal to the time-honoured classical authors.⁴ Antoine Pichone praised Budé's written Greek, "So precise an observer of Attic Greek is our Budé, the glory of our France, that . . . he does not err [even] when erring. I do not think that Demosthenes himself and the rest of the Greek authorities are more Attic."⁵ These accolades, which culminate with J.J. Scaliger calling Budé "the greatest Greek in Europe," could easily be multiplied.⁶

At first glance Budé seems an unlikely candidate for the adulation. He could be prickly in his personal relations, as when he was annoyed by Erasmus' pun on his name;⁷ chauvinistic, as evidenced in Erasmus' assessment that he single-handedly wages war with the Italians for public recognition of French scholarly achievements.⁸ His style of writing was notoriously laboured, given to excessive development of metaphors and comparisons, discursive and even at times intentionally obscure, as, once again, Erasmus affirms and as Budé himself acknowledges in comparing himself with his Dutch colleague.⁹ In his own words, "I shall not easily be persuaded to lower my style of writing to the insignificant level of ordinary people, since I write about dignified topics rather than the common sort"¹⁰ The topics on which he chose to write are unremittingly serious, as again he acknowledges, the occasional interjections of sarcastic humour being at the

³ Preface to *Lexicon Graecolatinum* (no place of publication: Crispinus, 1554). Baduelus incorporated in his edition of the dictionary Budé's marginalia *propria manu*.

⁴ See above, n. 3, and my other chapter in this volume; Erasmus: Allen (ed.) 1906–1958: II, 367.

⁵ Preface to Pichone's Latin translation of Budé's Greek letters: *Budae Epistolae Graecae . . . Latinae Factae* (Paris: Johannes Benenatum, 1574). The Alsatian humanist Beatus Rhenanus also praises Budé's mastery of Attic Greek style (Horawitz and Hartfelder [eds.] 1886: 120).

⁶ Kelley 1967: 813.

⁷ Allen (ed.) 1906–1958: VII, 494 and 434–435.

⁸ Allen (ed.) 1906–1958: II, 366.

⁹ Allen (ed.) 1906–1958: II, 368–370 and 394–401. See also La Garanderie de 1973.

¹⁰ Allen (ed.) 1906–1958: II, 397. Conversely, he steels himself in the *Annotationes . . . in Pandectas* to descend to the level of universal comprehension (*Op. Om.* III, 207).

expense of his intellectual enemies and of the type that Budé would have called a whip lashing.¹¹ He appears in his mature years to have been unremittingly obsessed with his scholarship as well. A biographer reports that when a servant excitedly entered his study to sound the alarm that there was a fire in the house, Budé coldly replied without even lifting his eyes from the book that he was reading, "Go and alert my wife. You know perfectly well that I do not concern myself with domestic matters."¹² An earlier biographer records that Budé restricted himself to "only" three hours of study on the day of his wedding and that a neighbour and close friend said that in ten years he had never seen him at leisure, even on holidays.¹³

His early years did not show a lot of promise. Born in 1468 into a wealthy, landowning Parisian family, members of which had been for three generations occupying increasingly elevated positions in the royal bureaucracy and which was ennobled in 1339, like the sons of many such families, including his brother Dreux, Budé was sent from home by his father Jean to study law at about the age of 15. He spent three years doing so in Orléans, where, as he admits, he wasted his time.¹⁴ Returning home, he devoted himself to the pleasures of youth: riding and falconry. At the age of 23, however, he decided suddenly to abandon his indulgent pastimes and to resume the study of the law books that he had skimmed at law school. He was disgusted by what he considered to be the barbarism of the mediaeval legal commentators writing in the scholastic tradition of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries and turned to the original classical sources.¹⁵

As the accolades quoted previously confirm, Budé, though self-taught and a late learner, was considered the leading Hellenist of his time in western Europe. He clarifies his claim to be ἀντομαθής

¹¹ Allen (ed.) 1906–1958: II, 398–399. "Whip-lashing," e.g. *digna . . . flagris ignorantia* (because of ignorance worthy of a whip lashing) (*Op. Om.* III, 72).

¹² De Budé 1884: 22.

¹³ L. Le Roy (Ludovicus Regulus), *Gulielmi Budaei . . . Vita* (1540), conveniently available in *Op. Om.* I, page 5 of the unnumbered pages of the preface.

¹⁴ Allen (ed.) 1906–1958: II, 571. The Budé exhibition catalogue, eds. Gasnault and Veyrin-Forrer 1968, assembles most of the documents pertaining to the family and Guillaume's youth. La Garanderie de 1967, Gueudet (1969) and McNeil 1975: 3–5 provide biographic details.

¹⁵ I have combined what Budé writes in the letter cited in the previous footnote with what he writes, *passim*, in his commentary on the *Pandectae* (1508), which will be discussed later in this chapter.

τε καὶ ὀψιμαθῆς by adding that George Hermonymus of Sparta tutored him (badly) in Greek.¹⁶ He continues:

Finally, the state of literary affairs in this country [viz. France] brightened within a few years [of my studies with Hermonymus] because of contact with Italy, and gradually books in each of the two [classical] languages began to arrive. I undertook to repair the damage of my youth spent in ignorance and spared no expense in the purchase of expensive books or labour in learning them by heart by doing a day and a half of work each day and by depriving myself of all vacations. I first reached the point where I determined to unlearn what I had been taught badly, [namely], the rudiments [of Greek], which I had laboured hard to learn; for I had learnt nothing except the first elements and even they were wrong and misunderstood. . . . Meanwhile, I have gone to Rome twice and to the famous cities of Italy where I saw a few learned men through the latticework and greeted professors of the humanities, from the doorstep as it were, that is, as a person passing rapidly through Italy who has not been excused from official business.¹⁷ But at home I have occasionally enjoyed the intimate company of learned people, among whom I have especially cultivated the friendship of the Greek Janus Lascaris. He is very knowledgeable in each of the two [classical] languages [and] has now been put in charge by the pope of the Greek school in Rome. . . . A man of great courtesy, he willingly did what he could, periodically giving me lessons when he was [in Paris], which occurred not more than twenty times, and during his absences entrusting and leaving in my care shelves of books. [However,] it is true to say that I did not serve my apprenticeship under a teacher.¹⁸

Course of Studies

Budé concludes his intellectual biography thus, “There . . . you have my course of studies, which I began without any restraints from my indulgent and generous father.” We are fortunate to be able to wit-

¹⁶ Allen (ed.) 1906–1958: II, 571–572. I provide fuller details in my other chapter in this volume.

¹⁷ My ponderous translation of the phrase “*nec libera legatione*” is intended to convey the notion that the two words “libera legatio” reflect the Roman practice of granting licence to senators to visit provinces as private individuals on personal business and to go to Rome without resigning office. Budé has used the technical term accurately. “Through the latticework” (*per transonnam*): Budé uses the same phrase of his hurried inspection in Florence of the fabled “Pisan *Pandectae*” (*Op. Om.* III, 66).

¹⁸ Allen (ed.) 1906–1958: II, 572–573. On Lascaris see my other chapter in this volume.

ness some of the preparations that enabled him to attain scholarly prominence. The bountiful generosity of his father and the trust of Janus Lascaris allowed him to acquire and consult books, including expensive and scarce Greek books.¹⁹ In spite of poor health, the demands of a large family and professional duties in the court of the French Crown, Budé read the books voraciously and made copious notes. Almost everything that he published was a work in progress, as he continued to annotate his own copies of his publications, the annotations sometimes being incorporated into printed re-editions by Budé himself and on other occasions by later editors. This practice of revisiting and modifying an already published work begins with his first published title, what he calls “the first fruits of my muse,” a Latin translation of Plutarch’s *De Placitis Philosophorum* (*On the Opinions of Philosophers*) (Paris: Josse Bade, 1505).²⁰ The Bibliothèque nationale de France possesses a copy of this work with marginal corrections in Budé’s hand.²¹ Moreover, two of the manuscripts of Plutarch’s *Moralia* copied for him by George Hermonymus of Sparta sometime between 1477 and 1502 contain annotations in Budé’s hand that he incorporated in his published translation.²² His *De Asse . . .* (1515), a treatise on ancient monetary values, weights and measures, was re-issued in 1541 in a version that was based on Budé’s notes.²³ The 1556 edition of his *Annotationes . . . in Pandectas* (1508), the work that established his reputation throughout western Europe, claims “to have been enlarged and improved in several places from the [annotated] exemplar of the author himself.”²⁴ His annotated copy of his

¹⁹ On the bibliomania of Budé and other members of his family see Grafton 1997: 148–149 and Guedet 1968: 598; on the scarcity and high price of Greek books in France during the early part of the sixteenth century see my other chapter in this volume.

²⁰ This is one of only two original publications where I have seen the latinized form of the family name rendered as Budeus instead of the Budaeus that becomes customary starting with the publication of the *De Asse . . .* (1513), the other being a letter of 1510 as transcribed by Legrand 1885–1906: II, 333. There is no doubt that the French form of the family name was Budé rather than Budée, the latter form being the usual rendering of Latin or latinized words ending in *aeus*, e.g. Athenée. See Rebitté 1846: 140.

²¹ Omont 1885: 83, n. 1 and Gasnault and Veyrin-Forrer (eds.) 1968: 10. The epistolary dedication of the original publication to Germain de Ganay is dated 1 January 1502. This is almost certainly “old style” for 1503.

²² Omont 1885: 81 and Irigoien 1977: 26.

²³ Gasnault and Veyrin-Forrer (eds.) 1968: 16.

²⁴ Delaruelle 1907: xxii.

Commentarii Linguae Graecae (1529) served as the basis of the edition of 1548, “enlarged by more than one-third,” by Robert Éstienne.²⁵

Budé seems to have been an inveterate note-taker. With great difficulty he managed to assemble the Greek lexical notes that were to become the *Commentarii Linguae Graecae* (1529) and that, he wrote to Erasmus in 1522, were too widely and chaotically scattered to be of use to his successors.²⁶ Seven of his notebooks, which are usually designated collectively as the *Adversaria*, confirm his haphazard, eclectic note-taking habits.²⁷ These notes, which would otherwise warrant no more than a footnote, reveal some details of his method of independent study. In the notebook headed “ex literis sacris excerpta” (excerpts from the *Scriptures*) he records, for instance, from the vulgate *Isaiah* the metaphor *ordiri telam* (to lay the warp). He explains the phrase as a metaphor for “to begin, to undertake” and complements it with citations from Cicero and Homer. He uses it at a later date in one of his Latin letters and in the treatise *De Philologia*. The attention devoted to this metaphor is a harbinger of the laboured use of metaphors and similes that were to colour Budé’s later published works and earn Erasmus’ criticism.²⁸ We see the determined young philologist at work in his interpretation of the statement, *Vinum tuum mixtum est aqua* (Your wine has been mixed with water), also from the vulgate *Isaiah*. Budé, like St. Jerome, explains the statement as a metaphor for “spoiled, corrupted.” He then cites technical writers such as the elder Pliny and Dioscorides glossator to define precisely the Latin words such as *mulsum*, *vappa* and *lora* for various kinds of wine and their metaphorical use.²⁹ Another notebook is devoted to grasses, shrubs and pigments. Here, too, he turns to technical writers such as the elder Pliny, Theophrastus, Vitruvius and the medical writer Celsus.³⁰ Budé’s early philological interest in the subjects represented by these writers was to continue. He later augmented his early interest in Vitruvius with specialized architectural tutoring from the Italian monk, architect and humanist Fra Giocondo (*Iucundus sacerdos*, *Op. Om.* III, 167) and was to write expansively on Greek

²⁵ Gasnault and Veyrin-Forrer (eds.) 1968: 27.

²⁶ Allen (ed.) 1906–1958: V, 153.

²⁷ Gasnault and Veyrin-Forrer (eds.) 1968: 42 and Delaruelle 1907: 246–277.

²⁸ Delaruelle 1907: 249–250. Erasmus’ criticisms will be considered later in this chapter.

²⁹ Delaruelle 1907: 250.

³⁰ Delaruelle 1907: 252–253.

and Roman architecture in his commentary on the *Pandectae*. We know from some of his later publications that he continued closely to study the elder Pliny, noting periodically variant readings in manuscripts that he possessed, two of which, annotated in his hand, have been identified.³¹ Throughout these commonplace books one observes the attention to linguistic, historical and cultural details that were to set Budé at the forefront of the Hellenists of his generation and to characterize his published works.

Published Works

In the pages that follow I shall consider in detail only two of Budé's published works: his translation of part of Plutarch's *Moralia* (1505) and his *Annotationes . . . in Pandectas* (1508). They adequately characterize the two aspects of the accomplishments that I have chosen as my topic: philology and polymathy. They are also his two earliest publications. His other philological publications, *De Asse et Partibus Eius Libri Quinque* (1515) and *Commentarii Linguae Graecae* (1529), have attracted more scholarly interest.³² The major so-called philosophical publications, namely *De Studio Literarum Recte et Commode Instituendo* (1532), *De Philologia* (1532) and *De Transitu Hellenismi ad Christianismum* (1535), have recently been translated in editions that include scholarly introductions; and substantial parts of Budé's correspondence with many of the leading European intellectuals of the time are also available in modern translations.³³ In my discussion of the two philological works I have made more use of translation and paraphrase than would normally be warranted because neither work has been translated or been the subject of extensive scholarly discussion.

³¹ Delaruelle 1907: 223–227. Fra Giocondo also provided Budé with manuscripts of books of the younger Pliny's *Letters* that had not yet been printed or were not widely known at the time Budé quoted from them in the *Annotationes . . . in Pandectas* (*Op. Om.* III, 56). One of them, annotated in Budé's hand, has been identified (Merril 1907: 150–155). For additional details see Ciapponi 1988.

³² Cooper 1990, La Garanderie de 1968, Margolin 1984. I comment on Budé's Greek lexicon in my other chapter in this volume.

³³ La Garanderie de (trans.) 1967 and 1988, La Garanderie de and Penham (trans.) 1993, Lebel (trans.) 1973 and 1989, Lavoie (trans.) 1977. A full listing of all Budé's publications is most conveniently available in Gasnault and Veyrin-Forrer (eds.) 1968.

The First Fruits of My Muse

In his first published work, which appeared in 1505 under the title *Plutarchi Cheronei de Placitis Philosophorum* (Plutarch of Cheronea, *On the Opinions of Philosophers*), Budé was obliged for the first time publicly to perform as a journeyman rather than as an apprentice. In the epistolary preface addressed to Germain de Ganay he recounts that in 1501 Ganay had asked Janus Lascaris to translate into Latin Plutarch's works on natural history. Lascaris undertook to do so but was unable to find the time to satisfy the request because of his responsibilities to the French Crown. "Two months ago [i.e., November 1501], when I had returned after an absence to Paris, you [viz. Ganay], immediately bent my shoulders to the burden of this undertaking to which they are not equal," Budé begins. He goes on to enumerate some of his difficulties in addition to being deprived of Lascaris' guidance. Like many before him, he found that Latin was not equal to the richness of the Greek language and was forced to consult many of the best Latin authorities for the correct Latin words.³⁴ We see here already the sense of linguistic propriety that was to impel him a few years later to attempt to restore the textual integrity of the *Pandectae*. Achieving the correct balance between literal and idiomatic translation was also a major challenge. Citing Horace's familiar scorn of the *fidus interpres* (the faithful, i.e., literal translator), Budé describes his efforts to achieve the balance between faithfulness to the original language and respect for Latin idiom that all translators face and that, he avers, can be appreciated by only those who have read Greek. He does so by developing a metaphor from the world of monetary transactions that is especially appropriate for the future author of *De Asse*:

I can affirm that this short work waged against me a war that is to be evaluated as greater than the [small] number of its pages. I had to labour so that I would not be a "faithful translator," since I was unwilling to translate all the words literally and there were some words that I was unwilling to translate according to sense. Sometimes I ventured to add a bonus of words and phrases rather than count out the required payment; conversely, I sometimes ventured to counterbalance the weight of the Greek locutions with, so to speak, an overpayment of words.

³⁴ The printed text reads *auctoribus . . . classiaris* (naval authorities), which is almost certainly a misprint for *auctoribus . . . clarissimis* (the best known authorities).

Budé was later in his *Annotationes . . . in Pandectas* to criticize a translator who wanted to have the same number of Latin words as Greek, i.e., a word-for-word translation (*Op. Om.* III, 57), and, as we shall see, he was prone in his later works to develop long and sometimes obscure comparisons.

Another difficulty faced by Budé that, like his concern for the integrity of classical Latin, anticipates his later and better known works, is his recognition of the need of textual integrity:

However, if there is among the stumbling blocks of this sort one or another that I can plead in my defence, it is this. You [viz. Ganay] know fully that I have sweated to emend the Greek exemplar and that this was not an insignificant part of my work. For in the absence of [printed] books I found only one exemplar, which had faded letters.³⁵

Budé's determination to acquire the most accurate readings possible will be more fully documented later in this chapter. It is appropriate to mention at this point that he continued to show scholarly interest in Plutarch. His mentor Janus Lascaris helped to edit the first printed edition of the *Moralia* (1509) and sent it piecemeal from Italy to Budé as the fascicles appeared in print.³⁶

French humanists suffered from feelings of inferiority vis-à-vis their Italian counterparts at the beginning of the sixteenth century.³⁷ Budé was to challenge them directly in his first major publication, the *Annotationes . . . in Pandectas* (1508), as I shall explain later in this chapter, and in other later publications such as the *De Asse* (1515) (*Op. Om.* II, 20–33). They are an unnamed presence lurking in the background of his “first fruits of my muse.” He begs his reader not to

³⁵ The two-volume manuscript edition of Plutarch's *De Placitis Philosophorum* that George Hermonymus of Sparta copied for Budé is now in the library of the University of Leiden (Codex Vossianus Graecus in Quatro No. 2). It is heavily annotated in Budé's hand but cannot have been the “one exemplar” of which he speaks because all the letters and words in the Vossian copy are perfectly clear and legible. I am grateful to the library of the University of Leiden for allowing me to examine this manuscript and others once owned by Budé. He uses the same word (*exolescentibus*) of the fabled (and faded) “Pisan *Pandectae*” that was to ignite the study of ancient law during the late mediaeval period (*Op. Om.* III, 66).

³⁶ Legrand 1885–1906: II, 330–332. Pontani 1992: 387–391 and 401–403 has published two of Lascaris' letters written to an unnamed recipient in Paris in 1526 in which he writes of sending copies of Plutarch. The letters also throw light on to Lascaris' continuing efforts to be paid by the French Crown for his services after François I's defeat at Pavia and imprisonment in Spain.

³⁷ See, e.g. the preface of François Tissard's *Liber Gnomagryicus* (1507), quoted in my other chapter in this volume.

disdain his “merchandise” (*merx*). Once again showing his mastery of specialized Latin idiom, Budé adopts the terms used jocularly by Plautus of his Latin renderings of Greek plays:

My merchandise . . . is Cisalpine and domestic, not imported or newly arrived, not, as Plautus says, exotic. I use words and figures of speech that were born within these walls, not just within this precinct.

He also responds to the imaginary objection that he has not, unlike his contemporary French humanists, had at least part of his advanced education in Italy:

Where did you get the nerve and the confidence to translate [from Greek]? You have never spent a night away from your native land, never, as the saying goes, gone more than the length of a toenail from your mother’s side.³⁸

Budé replies:

If the circumstances and arrangements of my life had permitted me to spend my time with learned professors, you certainly would have had a more cultivated and elegant translation.³⁹

The final point emerging from Budé’s first published work (and the first published original translation of Greek by any French person) actually takes us to his *Annotationes . . . in Pandectas*. He responds here to criticisms that his translations were based on others’ previously published translations, that, in other words, he had plagiarized. Budé interprets the criticism as resentment that a person who has not been educated outside of France (*Parisiensis . . . nulla doctrina fetus peregrina*) has dared to undertake studies thought to be the preserve of (Italian) humanists (*Op. Om.* III, 107). His added rejoinder that there were no published translations of Plutarch in existence before his underscores the scarcity and sometimes complete absence of the philological resources available to the first generation of France Hellenists

³⁸ Budé had in fact visited Venice in 1501; see McNeil 1975: 13–14. In 1505 while travelling in Italy on official business as a member of a French delegation to Pope Julius II he translated Plutarch’s *De Tranquillitate Animi* and dedicated it to the pope. He worked on the translation in the evening and early-morning hours while staying at inns (*Op. Om.* I, 472). See also my translation of a portion of his letter to Cuthbert Tunstall that refers to his two visits to Italy.

³⁹ Budé makes a similar apology in the translation referred to in the previous note, “Perhaps my book would step forth more neatly and elegantly if it were being fashioned in my stationary office at home where I have proper resources rather than those that are available to the traveller.”

and the enormity of his accomplishments: this autodidact and late-learner has single-handedly mastered ancient Greek.

*Annotationes in Pandectas*⁴⁰

In recounting the story of his early life and the course of his studies to Cuthbert Tunstall in 1517 nine years after the publication of the *Annotationes in Pandectas*, Budé, who resists Tunstall's blandishments "not to cease to explain passages in the law and to correct the errors that have prevailed," succinctly characterizes his intention to counter the influence of the misguided individuals who were "greater experts in the law as explained by Accursius than in civil and Roman law."⁴¹ Accursius (Francesco Accorso, 1182–1260) was the most influential of the so-called glossators, the professors of law at various Italian universities, especially that of Bologna, who, beginning in the late eleventh century, explained Roman law in marginal and interlinear notes added to the manuscripts. The law that they were explaining was contained in the *Digest*, the codification of law published at the order of the emperor Justinian on 16 December 533 under two titles: Latin *Digest* and Greek *Pandectae*.⁴² Because the Roman Empire by the early fourth century had, de facto, been cleaved into the Roman West, which became the base of Germanic peoples, and the Greek East, which became the Byzantine state, the codification of Roman law by Justinian, who governed from Constantinople, was heavily influenced by Greek law and culture in addition to being interpreted by professors of law at universities in the Greek East, especially at Beirut and Constantinople. In the Roman West during the early part of the Middle Ages, where the

⁴⁰ I use this composite title to designate the two works that were published separately under the titles *Annotationes . . . in Quattuor et Viginti Pandectarum Libros* (Paris: Bade, 1508) and *Altero Editio Annotationum in Pandectas* (Paris: Bade, no date; probably 1526). The first edition appeared in no fewer than six versions, all of which contain minor additions and corrections. The first version of the earlier work, which was printed in part in Budé's house because of his illness, abounded in printing errors caused by the haste in which it was printed and by the difficulty of reading his writing (Gasnault and Veyrin-Forrer [eds.] 1968: 11–12). Both editions are available as a single work in *Opera Omnia* III, 1–399, followed by an index.

⁴¹ Allen (ed.) 1906–1958: II, 573.

⁴² *Pandectae*: from Greek πάν δεχέσθαι, "to include everything," glossed by Budé as *omnium receptacula* ("receptacles of all things"). I have found Kunkel 1966 most helpful on the Justinianic background.

so-called *Lex Romana Visigothorum* prevailed, the *Digest* was scarcely known. The revival of the study of Roman law in Italy at the end of the eleventh century is probably linked to the discovery at that time of a manuscript, *Codex S(ecundus)*, containing the *Digest*. Thereafter, legal studies flourished at the universities of northern and central Italy. As their counterparts in the Greek East had done previously, the Italian professors of law provided exegesis of the laws on a title-by-title and sentence-by-sentence basis, their explanations being known as glosses. The compilation of glosses compiled near the middle of the thirteenth century by Accursius became the pre-eminent ancillary to the teaching and interpretation of Roman civil law in Italy. This was followed by the end of the century by extensive commentaries on points of Roman civil law that the *Digest* could not accommodate. The writers of these commentaries, Bartolus de Saxoferrato being the most prominent, based their work at least as much on the Accursian glosses as on the original Justinianic law code.

Humanists in the late-fifteenth and early-sixteenth centuries such as Budé, the Italian Andrea Alciato and the German Ulrich Zasius, the great triumvirate, as they are often called, endeavoured to penetrate the mediaeval layers of glosses, commentaries, prolixity and scholastic hairsplitting to reach the Justinianic core. They, practitioners of what is sometimes called elegant jurisprudence, applied philological methods and their knowledge of ancient history and culture to try to strip away the unhistorical encrustations.

In the discussion that follows I have made abundant use of translation and paraphrase in order to try to convey an impression of an unjustly neglected work that does not exist in translation and has attracted minimal modern scholarly interest.⁴³

Love of Words

Budé's commentary on the Justinianic *Digest*, which established his scholarly reputation beyond his base in Paris, is above all philological. It deals with such issues as manuscript readings, Latin idiom and Greek lexicography. These kinds of concerns, evident in his pri-

⁴³ The only detailed modern scholarly studies known to me are Delaruelle 1907: 93–129, Kelley 1967, Maffei 1964, Reulos 1973 and Stevens 1954. Much of what Margolin 1984 has to say about Budé's *De Asse* is applicable to his *Pandectae*. Michèle Ducos discusses ancient law elsewhere in this volume.

vate notebooks, the so-called *Adversaria*, where, for instance, he recorded and defined the Greek and Latin names of plants, persist when he turns to the task of correcting corrupted readings in the *Pandectae*. Commenting on the reading “*cannape*,” he writes, “[For ‘*cannape*’] *cannabis* should be read. Hemp is a plant from the outer layer of which ropes are woven” (*Op. Om.* III, 188).

A fuller example will illustrate Budé’s intense focus on words, that is, philology and at the same time his notorious discursiveness. Commenting on the word “*magidem*” in the *Pandectae*, he states, “*Magis* is included among the kitchen utensils [in the second-century *Onomasticon*] of Pollux” (*Op. Om.* III, 181). He then quotes the passage in Pollux, which includes as well the *mactra* (μάκτρα) and the *scapha* (σκάθη). He adds:

The *mactra*, however, as Aulus Gellius explains, is a bread basket, which Greeks call by a different word, namely κάρδοπος. The vernacular language [i.e., French] calls the *mactra* “*hucha*” [i.e., *huche*], [the container] in which both bread and dough [are placed], whether wheaten dough or what in Greek is called τὰ φύραμα [dough].⁴⁴

Budé continues in this vein, providing Greek and Latin equivalents that lead him to the word “*magnata*,” a word “that physicians use for small amounts of unguents as though they were small loaves of bread and that [the elder] Pliny . . . interprets as ‘dregs’.” Budé then cites the ancient lexicographer Pollux again and the medical writer Dioscorides, the latter of whom he frequently cites in his *Adversaria*, being led at this point to music by an unrelated but similar-looking word, μάγαδις, a musical instrument of 20 strings, which in turn prompts him to explain a musical metaphor in one of the Greek Christian writers.⁴⁵

Budé’s obsessive lexicography has blinded him to the stated purpose of his commentary on the *Pandectae*: he has neither clarified ancient law nor improved the transmitted text. The same is true of the six pages of comments occasioned by the phrase “*ensor machinarius*” in the *Pandectae* (*Op. Om.* III, 174–179). They do, however, provide a fuller representation of the wealth of erudition that he

⁴⁴ In the second of the notebooks known as the *Adversaria* Budé compiles lists of classical Greek and Latin words and phrases for common household utensils (Delaruelle 1907: 252–256).

⁴⁵ Delaruelle 1907: 252–256.

brought to bear on his enterprise and reinforce the impression that no sphere of daily, banausic activity, be it pastry-making or land-surveying, was beyond his ability to explain and illustrate from a wide range of classical and contemporary authorities.⁴⁶

Budé first cites the early-third-century lawyer Ulpian to confirm that the *ensor machinarius* was an instrument used by Roman land-surveyors. The Greek historian Herodotus, he adds, calls the device a *gnomon*, which Lorenzo Valla correctly translates into Latin as *norma*, which in vulgar Latin is known as the *quadra*, that is, the square (*squerra*). Leo Battista Alberti (Leo Albertus) in Book 3 of his *De Aedificatoria* borrows from the Roman architectural writer Vitruvius the information that Pythagoras invented the instrument, Budé continues. He then enumerates units of geometric measure, which is in character for the future author of the *De Asse*, pausing over the word *orgyia* (ὄργυια), but not before informing the reader that surveyors in France use measuring rods of six feet, “which perhaps we can call *hexapedae*, just as the ancients said *decempedae*,⁴⁷ for just as the Greek [stem] is *decapus*, so the word *hexapus*; unless it is safer to say *hexapodem*, like *tripodem*.” According to Herodotus, Budé continues, the *orgyia* is a measure of six feet, which Theodore Gaza in his translation of Aristotle sometimes renders as one pace and Lorenzo Valla sometimes renders as three paces in his translation of Herodotus. The Byzantine encyclopaedia the *Suda* states that the *orgyia* is the distance between the hands when the arms are outstretched. In vulgar Latin this is called *brassa*, as though it were an embrace. [*Orgyia*], moreover, is a trisyllabic noun, the penultimate syllable being a Greek diphthong.” The unit of land measure known as the *doron* (δῶρον), i.e., the breadth of the hand or palm, reminds Budé that the same word also means “gift,” which in turn reminds him that Hesiod uses the word “δωροφάγοι,” “those who [greedily] consume gifts.” Budé editorializes that in his own time there are some officials who can be moved “to take action only by offers of delicacies and game; otherwise, they delay more (*cunctatores*) than academics and Fabius

⁴⁶ From Budé's *De Philologia*, folios 43^{vo} to 59^{vo} in the original publication of 1532, L. Leroy produced a French translation as an extract under the title *Traité de la vénerie*, which Budé wrote in the first place as an exercise in using classical Latin to describe contemporary activities. See Lebel 1989: 145–187.

⁴⁷ Budé indulges his interest in units of measure elsewhere in the *Pandectae*, e.g. *Op. Om.* III, 104–115 and 177.

Cunctator himself.” “[But] to return from gifts to units of land measure [i.e., to return to the subject],” Budé decides that “architecture must be defined. . . . Architecture consists of an understanding of all the disciplines and, what may cause some surprise, of a high degree of practical experience in laws and regulations.” It should not be surprising, he adds, that human nature can master so many disciplines, remember them and recognize that all disciplines are interjoined and interrelated. These qualities of interdependence and interconnection characterize an encyclopaedia, “as though it were a circular succession of subjects and as though it were a bound and connected thread composed of many branches of learning.”⁴⁸

Although Budé does not say so himself, it should be evident from the selection of material presented above that the *Annotationes . . . in Pandectas* is the fruit of his encyclopaedic storehouse of knowledge.⁴⁹ No topic is too commonplace or recondite, be it pastry-making or music or architecture or medicine or linguistics or botany or land-surveying, for inclusion in his *omnium receptaculum*.

Ignorance of Accursiani

Budé was motivated to undertake the study of the *Pandectae* in the first place by the *Elegantiae* of Lorenzo Valla, the most accomplished Latin literary critic and philologist of the first half of the fifteenth century:

Valla's eulogy [of the *Digest*] impelled me to read the *Digest* more diligently. As I reread it I found that many passages in the volumes were either mutilated or full of mistakes. I also noticed what I judged to be much more shameful. Many words, not only of the common sort but also of ancient and proper mintage, had been transformed by the ignorance of the [Mediaeval] times into alien usage.⁵⁰

⁴⁸ Budé also uses the analogy of an encyclopaedia at *Op. Om.* III, 5 and 211, in the latter case using of the ignorant the phrase “*crassa Minerva*” (“stupid patron of knowledge”) that he uses of the ignorant at *Op. Om.* III, 177.

⁴⁹ I use the term “storehouse” advisedly: Erasmus criticizes Budé for his tendency in the *Pandectae* to be like a wealthy householder who wants to put all his possessions on display (Allen [ed.] 1906–1958: II, 368–369).

⁵⁰ *Op. Om.* III, 13. Budé is referring to the preface to Book 3 of Valla's *Elegantiae*: Valla 1540: I, 79–80. Valla's discussion and emendations of passages in the *Digest* occupy pages 216–235. On the Latinity of Budé and other French humanists see Ijsewijn 1973.

Budé set out over a period of three years to improve the text. Words, however, are the images of things (*verba rerum imagines* [*Op. Om.* III, 14]). Therefore, he must also explain the “things,” the culturally, institutionally and historically specific references in the *Pandectae* that are inseparable from the words. Accursius and the other glossators had introduced many errors into the text because of their ignorance:

I use the term “Accursiani” for those who are not as clever as Accursius and Bartolus and others . . . , men [who would be judged to be] of extraordinary industry if they happened to live in better times and had not fallen into the ignorance of their own time. I use . . . [the term] for those duller people who were ignorant of their own Latin writers and wanted to be thought able with their eyes shut to interpret the most eloquent Latin writing of the *Digest*.⁵¹

The pages of the *Annotationes . . . in Pandectas* abound in exuberant references to the ignorance of Accursius and his ilk. Commenting on the ignorant interpretation that makes Tarquin the Proud the son of Demaratus of Corinth, Budé writes, “In this passage Pomponius was hallucinating, or the error is that of an over confident emendator.”⁵² Budé continues in his customary fashion to cite from a wide range of classical and post-classical sources to demonstrate that Tarquin the Proud was the son of Tarquin Priscus.

He is not yet finished with this law title or corrupters of the text of the *Pandectae*. The same law refers to Gnaeus Flavius, who is reported by the Pomponius mentioned above to have used a subterfuge to purloin from the priests to whom it had been entrusted a book containing legal formulas and to have revealed its previously secret contents to the Roman people. Budé recounts this story and explains the expression used by Cicero for the subterfuge: *cornicum oculos confingere*, literally, “to transfix the eyes of crows,” a Latin proverb, Budé explains, employed to mean, “To deceive the most wary,” and he includes its use by St. Jerome, who expressed the desire to deceive the Jews, the self-proclaimed guardians of the

⁵¹ Budé softens his criticism of Accursius in versions subsequent to the first edition of 1508, e.g., “Accursius laid the foundations of this error because of ignorance worthy of the lash,” adding in subsequent editions, “or rather because of excessive confidence, for allowances must be made for the ignorance of the times” (*Op. Om.* III, 72–73).

⁵² *Op. Om.* III, 26. Pomponius was a second-century jurist.

Scriptures, as Flavius had deceived the priestly guardians of Roman law. Budé continues:

Would that another [codifier and promulgator of law like] Tribonius would appear . . . and employ subterfuge against the jurisconsults of our time . . . but in such a way . . . that we shall not have to endure the persistent tedium of incompetent people who by citing Bartolus, Baldus . . . and other interpreters of law have convinced the uneducated and stupid masses that they occupy the citadel of learning.

Budé regularly singles out for blame Accursius' ignorance of both Greek and Latin idiom. "Accursius wanted the word '*praestitum*' to be understood instead of '*praestandum*,' although the usage of Latin speakers opposes this" (*Op. Om.* III, 126), and, "Accursius seems to have misunderstood this, however," confusing *suggilare* (to beat black and blue) with *sigillare* (to stamp with approval)." There are many other things of this sort," he continues, "that I must pass over in silence because, I believe, they are known to all except the most uneducated" (*Op. Om.* III, 126–127). "'*Praeceptae*,' says Accursius, 'that is, accepted ahead of others': Let me [viz. Budé], however, affirm that '*receptae*,' not '*praeceptae*' ought to be read . . . because no speaker of Latin has ever said otherwise" (*Op. Om.* III, 138). "Accursius is uttering nonsense here, as he customarily does in all the passages in which [correct interpretation] must be derived from [knowledge of] antiquity, because he relied on inspired guesses rather than an understanding of the facts" (*Op. Om.* III, 103). As though he were giving a lesson in Latin to beginners Budé explains:

What Accursius reads, '*dari curari*,' neither Latin usage nor the habitual practice of [Roman] jurisconsults permits. . . . If by any chance there is anyone who does not know the rules of this grammatical construction he should consult the chapter on gerunds in Book 1 of Valla's *Elegantiae* (*Op. Om.* III, 179–180).

I conclude this summary of Budé's efforts to cleanse the *Pandectae* of ignorant Accursian accretions with an example that highlights the emergence of France in the new learning and his place in it. For the Accursian gloss "*si quis ludo sedens praetor*" (something like, "if any praetor sitting at a publicly financed spectacle") Budé cites several classical Latin sources to demonstrate "that the reading should without any doubt be, '*si quis ludos edens praetor*'" ("if any praetor stages publicly financed spectacles") (*Op. Om.* III, 181–182). Among the

sources quoted is Plautus' *Persa* 159, where the slave Toxilus and the parasite Saturio have this dialogue:

Sat. πόθεν *ornamenta*? To. *aps chorago sumito*. ("Where [shall we get] the trappings?" "Get them from the person who pays for the cost of the chorus".)

Budé explains correctly that πόθεν is a Greek word, the equivalent of the Latin *unde* (whence). Under the same heading he includes another instance of Accursian ignorance that turns on the passage quoted from Plautus, where the word "chorago" appears. "From this word the word '*perissochoregia*' (περισσοχορηγία) is derived in the following law about the Alexandrian grain supply in Book 11 of the Justinianic *Pandectae*."⁵³ Budé then vilifies Accursius in the language of Plautus:

In this passage, to borrow the vocabulary of the comic stage, Accursius *purus putus ipse est . . . , id est ipsissimus et sui simillimus* (something like, "Accursian out and out, that is, Accursius being very much himself and very true to form");

for Accursius has interpreted the word as though it were a compound of the Greek preposition περί (around, next to) and the Latin word *rex* (king), to mean that "he who occupies this office is next to the king," that is, a high-ranking official closely associated with the king. Budé adds that he could easily demonstrate that there are at least 300 words in the *Pandectae* alone that (Mediaeval) professors of law have either misunderstood or ignored because of their ignorance of classical antiquity. He hopes that if health permits him to complete his study in a timely fashion he will be able to convince of this those who are more committed to the authority of the ancients than to the words of Mediaeval scholars. If any scholar should achieve this goal before Budé does, he will feel that what he has already accomplished will be a source of fame. He has laboured to ensure that the ignorant of his own time do not perpetuate the ignorance of Accursius and his ilk. He concludes:

Perhaps it will help to use bad authors [as examples of what not to do] before [Latin] *belles-lettres* are inundated and sunk by approximately 800 years of neglect. For we shall look all the more eagerly upon the

⁵³ The word refers to an entitlement to free grain over and above the usual allotment.

light of Latin *belles-lettres* that began to glitter within living memory in Italy [and now does so] on this side of the Alps in our [country] (*Op. Om.* III, 183).

Contemporary and Earlier Scholarship

Budé's reference in the passage quoted above to the humanism that flourished in Italy serves as a reminder that he was not working in a scholarly vacuum.⁵⁴ As he acknowledges, Valla's *Elegantiae Latinae* (1471) provided him with the impetus to apply philological criticism to the text of the *Pandectae* (*Op. Om.* III, 13). He cites Valla's work several times as the best guide to classical Latin usage. In a passage that also underscores his determination to reach the unsullied Justinianic core of the *Pandectae* Budé commends Valla's textual notes on the *New Testament* but adds that if Valla had been as knowledgeable in Greek as he was in Latin he would not have left intact a passage in the *Gospel* according to Luke for which Budé has seen a different reading "in a Greek exemplar . . . of apparent antiquity in [the library of the abbey of] St. Victor" (*Op. Om.* III, 56). After offering several clarifications of the same *Gospel* Budé concludes:

For these are [only] a few of the many matters [in need of clarification] that fell into my hands from only one of the evangelists, which, however, Valla did not address (*Op. Om.* III, 58).⁵⁵

Erasmus was so impressed by Budé's interpretation of the *Gospel* according to Luke that he inserted at the last minute a long eulogy of him in his *Novum Instrumentum* (1516).⁵⁶

Politian (Angelo Poliziano, 1454–1494), the last of the great productive scholars of the Italian Quattrocento, was a more accomplished Hellenist than Valla and had the added advantage of access to the legendary "Pisan *Pandectae*," which had been discovered in the twelfth century. Like Budé, he was a voracious reader and tireless note-taker. Budé consulted his notes in his copy of the *Pandectae* when he was staying in Florence with Politian's pupil Pietro Crinito (Ricci). Among the books that he was permitted to handle—he was permitted

⁵⁴ See Kelly 1967: 816–819.

⁵⁵ Valla's textual analysis of the *New Testament*, based on his "collation of various manuscripts in each of the two [classical] languages," occupies pages 803–895 in Valla 1540.

⁵⁶ Allen (ed.) 1906–1958: II, 229–230; La Garanderie de (trans.) 1967: 53–56 and Appendice 1.

only to view the “Pisan *Pandectae*” in its protective case—Budé chanced to find a volume with a few notes written by Politian that he committed to memory (*Op. Om.* III, 66–67). He complains that the notes were intentionally illegible so that no one could read them: “Such was the character of the man, a character for the most part of cold and contemptible excessive scrupulousness” (*Op. Om.* III, 67).⁵⁷

Budé is even more critical of Politian’s plagiarism. He is discussing the pseudo-Plutarchean *Life of Homer*, “which has supposedly not yet been translated into Latin, although Politian, that famous man of outstanding learning but ignoble spirit, summarized in a word-for-word transcription the contents of that work as though he were plucking flowers and did not blush to publish as his own a work in which he produced nothing other than a transcription and translation” (*Op. Om.* III, 212).

Budé expresses unreserved admiration for at least one Italian humanist, Fra Giocondo, the Franciscan monk, antiquarian and architect who spent approximately ten years in Paris (1495–1505) as royal architect supervising the construction of the pont Notre-Dame.⁵⁸ Fra Giocondo was a frequent guest at the house of Germain de Ganay, the dedicatee of Budé’s first published work and a promoter of humanism in France, where, like Lefèvre d’Étaples, Budé probably met him. In an admitted digression (“to return to the subject”), Budé, after proposing the reading “*exhedra*” for Accursius’ gloss “*senestram*,” remarks that the *exhedra*, as Vitruvius explains, was a component of *palaestra*, “which were Greek rather than Roman buildings” (*Op. Om.* III, 167). Predictably, he goes on to describe various architectural components, citing Vitruvius as his principal ancient authority and adding:

It was my good fortune to obtain as my excellent teacher [in architectural matters] Fra Giocondo, the royal architect at that time and a very accomplished antiquarian. He used illustrations as well as verbal explanations to help me understand [ancient architectural concepts]. With his help I also spent that period of time during moments of

⁵⁷ Budé records variant or supplementary readings from Politian’s notes at *Op. Om.* III, 116 and 128 and cites him neutrally as an authority at *Op. Om.* III, 122, 124, 128, 150 and 175. In *De Assæ* (folio XXII^vcr^{so} K of the 1541 edition printed in Paris by Michael Vascosanus) Politian is designated as “an exceptionally erudite man.”

⁵⁸ Ciapponi 1988.

leisure in very fruitfully emending my copy of Vitruvius and [my copies of] other ancient writers.⁵⁹

Elsewhere in the *Annotationes . . . in Pandectas* Budé quotes a passage from Book 8 of Pliny's *Letters* and adds:

This letter and several others are not read [i.e., included] in the printed editions. However, I have a complete edition, the first to be found in Paris, because of the efforts of the famous antiquarian and architect Fra Giocondo (*Op. Om.* III, 54).

Other figures associated with the Italian Quattrocento and early humanism elsewhere in western Europe cited by Budé include the elder Filippo Beroaldo (1453–1505), who is often credited with establishing the *lex commentandi* (the prescribed method of writing commentaries on classical authors such as Suetonius) and who was active in Paris from late in 1476 until the early part of 1479;⁶⁰ Theodore Gaza (1400–1475), principally as a translator of Greek technical terms (e.g. *Op. Om.* III, 167 and 176), whom Budé criticizes for linguistic antiquarianism (*Op. Om.* III, 62);⁶¹ Leo Battista Alberti as an authority on architecture (*Op. Om.* III, 174); Cardinal Bessarion's work on Plato, "or rather [that of] the very accomplished Latinist who translated his book into Latin under Bessarion's sponsorship" (*Op. Om.* III, 70 and 174);⁶² Lapo da Castiglionchio's Latin translation of the pseudo-Plutarchean *Life of Homer* (*Op. Om.* III, 211); Nicholas of Lyra, who was unable to understand a word-for-word translation in the vulgate *Gospel* according to Luke: "It is not surprising," Budé adds, "for the translator did not retain the weight of the sense [of the Greek words] since he wanted to have the same

⁵⁹ *Op. Om.* III, 167. Budé also remarks that the existing printed editions of Vitruvius were filled with printing errors, which is why "he is read by very few people" (*ibid.*). Budé's study of ancient architectural terms was to bear additional fruit in his *Commentarii Linguae Graecae* (1529).

⁶⁰ *Op. Om.* III, 166. On Beroaldo and the date of his stay in Paris see the chapter by Douglas Thomson in this volume.

⁶¹ Praised in the *De Asse* by Budé as a man "not only most knowledgeable in Latin but also a physician" whose rendering in Latin of the Greek word for "small intestine" Budé champions against the criticisms of Ermolao Barbaro (folio XXII^{verso} I in the 1541 edition printed in Paris by Michael Vascosanus).

⁶² The wording on these two pages is identical, suggesting that Budé had developed a system of cross-referencing. "The book" was probably Bessarion's *In Calumniatorem Platonis* (1469), from which Budé recorded notes in his *Adversaria* (Delaruelle 1907: 265–266).

number of words in Latin as there were in Greek”,⁶³ finally, he expresses some doubt about one of the more than five-thousand emendations proposed by Ermolao Barbaro (1454–1493) in his *Castigationes Pliniana* (1492–1493) and criticizes him for confusing *polluctores* (providers of sumptuous offerings) and *pollinctores* (undertakers).⁶⁴

Establishing the Text

The principles of establishing accurate texts of ancient authors had already been formulated in Italy by the time of Budé’s first published work, for which, as we have seen, he had to resort to conjectural emendations of a single, scarcely legible manuscript. In the *Annotationes . . . in Pandectas* he repeatedly cites variant readings found in manuscript and printed editions of this work and other ancient works. One of his principal criticisms of the “Accursiani” is that they either relied on inspired conjecture to emend a faulty reading or tried to make sense of a corrupt reading in need of emendation (e.g. *Op. Om.* III, 103, 166 and 182). As he puts it in the *De Asse* (*Op. Om.* II, 74), “To divine is not to emend.” He himself proposes an inspired conjecture to supply missing Greek words but adds, “Although it is fortune-telling (*hariolari*) to be willing to fill gaps of this sort without [consulting] an ancient manuscript . . .” and remarks elsewhere that some missing Greek words can be restored only by consulting the Florentine *Pandectae* (*Op. Om.* III, 169 and 148). As we have seen, he shared with his contemporary humanists reverence for the “Pisan *Pandectae*” (*Op. Om.* III, 16, 66–67), and he congratulated himself for the good fortune of having been able to consult the variant readings that Politian recorded from it (*Op. Om.* III, 67, 116 and 150).

On several occasions Budé sought out manuscripts that would help to establish the text, for instance, “I have [seen] this passage in a

⁶³ *Op. Om.* III, 57 and 281. See Kelley 1967: 820, n. 50. Budé recorded notes from Nicholas of Lyra in his *Adversaria* (Delaruelle 1907: 249). I have been unable to identify “the Spanish people” who explained to Budé a method of fishing used in Spain (*Op. Om.* III, 161).

⁶⁴ *Op. Om.* III, 163 and 190. There is no recorded instance in classical Latin of the use of the substantive “polluctor,” but Budé is correct in distinguishing between the two cognate verbs. Erasmus singles out Budé’s “castigation” of Barbaro’s *Castigationes Pliniana* in the latter’s single-handed and ultimately victorious campaign to secure for French humanism its rightful recognition vis-à-vis that of Italy (Allen [ed.] 1906–1958: II, 366 and 460). Budé is also critical of Barbaro in the *De Asse* (folio XXII^{verso} I in the 1541 edition printed in Paris by Michael Vascosanus).

Greek compendium of civil law that is indexed alphabetically and is housed in the Pontifical Library in Rome" (*Op. Om.* III, 138), and, "I read in . . . an ancient manuscript" (*Op. Om.* III, 150).⁶⁵ Similarly, he avers that a portion of the text that contains many "barbarian" Latin words cannot be emended without the availability of Greek manuscripts (*Op. Om.* III, 150). In one of his more benign moods he acknowledges that the volumes of the *Pandectae* had become badly corrupted as "they [passed] from the time of Justinian to that of Accursius through many centuries of ignorance, were then copied by one copyist after another and, above all, [fell into] the hands of people ignorant of [classical] Latin" (*Op. Om.* III, 277). As this statement implies, Budé, unlike the "Accursiani," recognized that scribal error and practices were responsible for some of the textual corruption. Proposing the reading "*agrum colendum lictatori*" for the transmitted text "*agrum pollicitatori*," he observes that scribes frequently used abbreviations that could be misunderstood, in this case, misconstruing "*agrum col. lictatori*" (*Op. Om.* III, 204). Elsewhere, he enumerates a number of pervasive generic scribal errors such as confusing "*existimatio*" with "*aestimatio*" and "*angustius*" with "*augustius*" (*Op. Om.* III, 278–281). Similarly, he expresses his belief that "it seems possible to emend this [mutilated] passage in such a way as to restore the word omitted by scribal error and to replace the other word in its proper location" (*Op. Om.* III, 281).

Budé's goal in consulting variant readings and trying to detect scribal errors was, of course, to restore the textual integrity of the Justinianic *Pandectae*, which, he states several times, had been corrupted by centuries of ignorance of classical languages, history, culture and institutions. His tools, in addition to collation, comprised expertise in Greek and Latin grammar, style and idiom, knowledge of ancient institutions such as the Roman Senate and of banausic activities such as land-surveying and bread-making and, finally, although he mistrusted it when done by others, inspired conjecture, all based on his prodigious command of ancient sources and the scholarly work of the Italian Quattrocento. In the end, his efforts had little effect. Only a small number of his proposed emendations are overtly acknowledged by Theodore Mommsen, the first modern scientific editor of the *Corpus of Civil Law*.⁶⁶

⁶⁵ See also *Op. Om.* III, 164 and 189.

⁶⁶ Kelley 1967: 820–821 and Delaruelle 1907: 106, n. 6.

Digressions

In the passage paraphrased above, where he refers to the ignorance of what we would call the Middle Ages, Budé concludes that, unlike those who believe that the authority of Accursius is sacrosanct, "I am not accustomed to do so as an adherent either to the authority of jurisprudence or that of philology" (*Op. Om.* III, 277). It is principally in the role of philologist that Budé has been criticized for lack of focus.⁶⁷ "In a modern reader," avers Delaruelle, "the absence of a plan [and] the disarray of topics cannot fail . . . to provoke a deep feeling of annoyance. . . . Budé does not seem to know the art of controlling his thoughts."⁶⁸

Modern readers will have to decide for themselves. However, there is no doubt that Budé was in control. By most standards, both modern and those of his time, the ten-page listing of Greek and Latin specialized theatrical terms occasioned by the change of "*Labeo*" to "*album*," which Politian had previously proposed, seems excessive.⁶⁹ One should not, however, overlook the basic research that Budé has done, "I have [seen] this passage in a Greek compendium of civil law that is indexed alphabetically and is housed in the Pontifical Library in Rome" (*Op. Om.* III, 138), and, "I read in . . . an ancient manuscript" (*Op. Om.* III, 150). Furthermore, this basic research has widespread application in the interpretation of ancient civil law:

So that this passage and some other passages of the law will be better understood, I have grouped together in one place a compendium of the types of public performances that the ancient Greeks and Romans produced (*Op. Om.* III, 130).

concluding:

These things must be said in this one place about ancient games and contests not only because they pertain to this passage but to many other passages in the *Pandectae* and the Justinianic *Code*. I shall add other comments to these if the plan (*ratio*) [of my study] requires the interpretation of [other] passages (*Op. Om.* III, 138).

⁶⁷ On the subject in general see Céard 1981 and, with emphasis on the *De Asse*, Margolin 1984.

⁶⁸ Delaruelle 1907: 126.

⁶⁹ *Op. Om.* III, 128–138. Budé also expresses reservations about what Politian claimed in his *Miscellanea* to have read "in the Florentine archetypes" (*Op. Om.* III, 128).

That Budé had a plan (*ratio*) that he was capable of following becomes evident from his discussion of the contest known as the pancration, “I spoke at length elsewhere [viz. *Op. Om.* III, 128–138] about ancient athletic events. I held back the word ‘pancratation’ for discussion here” (*Op. Om.* III, 163).⁷⁰

The perceived need to clarify the vocabulary of a specialized topic such as ancient athletic events often moves Budé to expand at length and to the point where for many modern readers it is not always clear whether commentary has become digression or digression functions as commentary.⁷¹ For instance, “This passage compels me to expand more broadly on the subject of the Roman Senate” (*Op. Om.* III, 72). What follows is a thirty-page, unfocused excursus on the comparison of ancient and contemporary institutions of government.⁷²

A simple one-letter change (“*concratitium*” for Accursius’ “*congratitium*”, *Op. Om.* III, 206) prompts Budé to provide a compendium of Vitruvian architectural terms and a justification of his own discursive practices:

So that the Vitruvian vocabulary, which perhaps is not comprehended by many people, will be understood, I must add something to explain these words. This is especially so since I have affirmed more than once that the plan of this work is this: I shall as far as my native intelligence and memory permit address and incorporate into the systematic progression of discussion whatever words and subjects occur that must be recovered [from my knowledge of] antiquity. And if additional matters that appear to be relevant to the matters at hand come to mind at the moment of impassioned writing, I am unwilling to have my memory censured as a repository of knowledge of antiquity. In these matters it is very often my custom to check my pen, fearing that I may seem excessively to indulge my passion to write and that I seek absurd diversions in the form of writing about matters in addition to those that I am currently treating, as though I had found an unproductive subject. In fact a crowd of subjects insisting that they must be

⁷⁰ Again the scholarship is comprehensive. Budé cites several ancient sources, the Byzantine encyclopaedia *Suda* and Barbaro’s *Castigationes Plinianaes*, admitting that he could not find the Italian humanist’s source for grouping together the pancration and the pentathlon.

⁷¹ I am referring, of course, to the title of the chapter by Margolin 1984.

⁷² *Op. Om.* III, 72–102. “unfocused”: [(*errorum*) *quibus nunc*] *hallucinamur* (*alucinamur*). See Kelley 1967: 823 on Budé’s “comparatist” analysis of ancient and contemporary institutions and practices. A good example is his discussion of the post-Ciceronian evolution of the meaning of the word “*fiscus*,” which plays to his established lexicographic interests and was to play a part in his *De Asse* (*Op. Om.* III, 114–116).

discussed and mentioned carries me away from port, so to speak, like a surging sea back into deep waters (*Op. Om.* III, 207).

Budé uses a similar metaphor elsewhere for his discursive writing after criticizing contemporaries who would have the very name of humanism abolished, “I shall now reef the sails. For I fear that . . . I am being carried back into deep waters” (*Op. Om.* III, 218). Even then, he cannot refrain from additional criticism of those who are “distended with tumours of barbarian [Latin],” finally concluding, “I shall now call myself back to my office and duty, later, I feel, than I should have.”⁷³

Like many other humanistic writers of his time, Budé saw the avowed topic as little more than a blank slate to be filled with the knowledge of ancient history, politics, culture and language that he had gleaned from his prodigious reading. When he writes discursively, as he often does, he is in no less control of his subject. His letter of 1517 to Cuthbert Tunstall is instructive (Allen [ed.] 1906–1958: II, 560–575). He is replying to Tunstall’s urging that he continue his efforts to correct errors in the interpretation of ancient civil law. He declines the suggestion because he has turned his attention to other matters, adding:

My preference is to write on subjects that are not circumscribed by narrow boundaries. The mind, when frisky and feeling its oats as a consequence of being stuffed, as it were, by a mash of prolonged and varied reading, cannot rouse itself and frolic unless it has expansive material like [a horse] running to an open field. I understand that this is sometimes the fault of an intemperate mind that indulges itself too freely, but if I take it into my head to subject my writing to a standard of harsh restraint and to moderate it wilfulness, I will deprive it of acuity of thought and perhaps make it undernourished and parched and also be unfaithful to my genius and my muse Minerva (Allen [ed.] 1906–1958: II, 574).

Similarly, Erasmus remarks on Budé’s “very erudite as well as pleasing digressions” (παρέκβασεις *eruditissimas simul et amoenissimas*), on which he lingers too long, or, in a word, “What do your [remarks] have to do with the ‘as?’” [i.e., the subject of the *De Assè*]. The digressions, Erasmus warns, may offend the more fastidious reader

⁷³ More typically Budé concludes digressions with a colourless phrase such as “to return to the point,” e.g. *Op. Om.* III, 52, 63, 65, 167 and 176.

(Allen [ed.] 1906–1958: II, 369). Budé acknowledges the truth of the criticism and claims it as a strength:

Its [viz. that of the *De Asse*] purpose, I want you [viz. Erasmus] to understand, was to unlock and expose all the sealed tombs of antiquity . . . and to disperse and offer . . . their wealth . . . to the public. . . . In my judgment these matters [i.e., the philosophical discussion in the last book of the *De Asse*] are closely related to the subject of my treatise . . . , just as light blends with shadows in a picture, if only I have managed to achieve what is called harmony along with symmetry and balance. . . .⁷⁴ I do, however, pray that you will not think that I have been guilty of a mistake if I have digressed excessively in a few places and inserted there, as though they were added to the gaps in a mosaic, the digressions that would not have found a suitable place in a treatise of the same scale devoted to them (Allen [ed.] 1906–1958: II, 397).

Defence of French Classical Scholarship and Humanism

The history of French classical scholarship and of the rekindling of Italian-fired humanism in France benefits from Budé's incorrigible habit of unlocking the political, historical and cultural secrets of classical antiquity and putting them into the context of his own times as part of his campaign to hasten the demise of Mediaeval scholasticism and to gain for France her rightful place in the world of learning in western Europe.⁷⁵ We have already seen that he insists that the mastery of classical Latin has blazed forth on the French side of the Alps (*Op. Om.* III, 183).⁷⁶ He stakes the claim to be made for humanism perhaps most fervently in a passage that begins inconspicuously with reference to the citation of Homer by the early first-century A. D. jurist Sabinus to explain the law dealing with a contract to purchase (*Op. Om.* III, 209). Budé explains that the passage cited comes from Book 6 of the *Iliad* and recounts the famous episode of Glaucus' demented exchange of his gold armour valued at 100 oxen for Diomedes' bronze armour valued at nine oxen. This Homeric episode gave rise to the proverbial *Glaucci et Diomedis permutatio* to denote a foolish purchase. Budé adds that Justinian in the preface of the *Pandectae* quoted the passage, "For this is the reading in the

⁷⁴ On this metaphor see La Garanderie de 1968: 479 and Margolin 1984: 5.

⁷⁵ See Delaruelle 1907: 119–125.

⁷⁶ See also *De Asse* folios XXV^{recto} to XXVII^{verso} in the 1541 edition printed in Paris by Michael Vascosanus.

archetype of the Greek version of the *Pandectae*” (*Op. Om.* III, 210). The discussion to this point is what one has come to expect in Budé’s unlocking of the secrets of classical antiquity, as is the denigration of Accursius that follows:

It is worth the effort . . . to read the fantastic absurdity of the divinely inspired Accursius because of whose ignorance that famous and very beautiful passage has long lain in obscurity (*Op. Om.* III, 210).⁷⁷

Budé warms to the task as he takes issue with Accursius’ claim that in law suits the authority of poets, that is, creative writers, is admitted “although it is sometimes refuted” (*Op. Om.* III, 211). Budé, in his customary manner, cites several classical and Byzantine authorities in support of the principle that the secondhand testimony of creative writers has an honoured place in the courtroom, not without equally characteristic excursions on lexicography (the misuse of medical terminology by ignorant contemporary doctors [*Op. Om.* III, 210]) and the faults of Italian humanists (Politian’s plagiarism [*Op. Om.* III, 212]), concluding:

Is there anyone who would claim after so much evidence that the authority of poets is irrelevant or that Accursius is a [good] judge [in these matters]? Surely, there is no doubt, is there, whose authority ought to prevail, that of Quintilian . . . or that of Accursius, [the latter of whom is] not a bad person other than that he has never read the poets or the orators or any Latin authors except the juriconsults, whose elegance and learning he has imprinted with the many muddy footsteps of his own ignorance.⁷⁸ In his footsteps followed a cohort of 500 legal experts who subscribed to the same errors and at various times added others and in a period of approximately 300 years seem to have reduced the subject to the level of extreme unworthiness. . . . And so I act unwillingly in order constantly to change my direction and attack with my hostile pen those envious detractors of humanism. It would not otherwise be important to me to be willing or able to profess [my commitment to] poetry or oratory or any part at all of humanism. Indeed, I am not untainted by delight in the study of each of the two [classical] languages. I know with certainty that some people

⁷⁷ The word that I have translated as “divinely inspired,” *divinaculus*, is unattested in classical Latin. It refers, probably, to Accursius’ tendency, criticized elsewhere by Budé, to rely on instinct rather than reason and knowledge and, possibly, to Homer’s statement that the god Zeus snatched away Glaucus’ wits, that is, afflicted him with divinely inspired foolishness.

⁷⁸ I read “*lutulentis* (. . . *vestigis*)” (“muddy footsteps”) for the “*luculentis* (. . . *vestigis*)” (“bright footsteps”) of the printed edition of 1557 (*Op. Om.* III, 212).

have maligned me for this. Come, let us see what judgment of Homer some of the more prominent writers have made in order to irritate those people at length. It [may] even give pleasure to vent a few words of my annoyance against those who are angered by tolerance of *belles-lettres*, thinking that they thus brand me with the greatest amount of grief (*Op. Om.* III, 211–212).

The entire diatribe, extending some ten pages (*Op. Om.* III, 209–218), which, Budé acknowledges, has taken him beyond his immediate task (*Op. Om.* III, 218), contains the most impassioned and sustained defence of humanism to be found in the work. He focuses on the moral authority of poets and philosophers. Reactions to Homer, whose “famous and very beautiful passage” has been sunk into oblivion by Accursius’ ignorance, serve as the principal battleground of the forces of ignorance and enlightenment. Budé summarizes many of the ancient tributes to Homer such as that of Cicero in the *Pro Archia*, where he recounts the story of Alexander the Great standing at the tomb of Achilles on the plain of Troy at Sigaeum and declaring, “Fortunate young man to have obtained Homer as the herald of your bravery” (*Op. Om.* III, 212). “And so,” Budé continues, “let the enemies of *belles-lettres* rage . . . and burst with anger and jeers” (*Op. Om.* III, 213).

“What,” they are imagined to say, “do we have to do with Homer, whether the one from Maeonia or the one from Mantua [i.e., Vergil]? With the charm of speech, with the delight of study, with more polished literature . . .? Do you [viz Budé] not have any regard for yourself?,” they say. “Do you not refrain from that insane desire of yours for philology?” (*Op. Om.* III, 213).

Budé replies that the greater challenge is for those who “have been driven headlong into the envious disparagement of *belles-lettres*” (*Op. Om.* III, 213). He adds that a short time ago some members of Parliament, “aping the Stoics” (*Stoicorum simiae*), decreed that all poets should be burnt and that poetry ought to be sent back to the other side of the Alps, i.e., to Italy, whence, to the ruin of France, it came. Even the insane emperor Caligula, he says, did not dare to carry through with his plan to banish the works of Homer and Plato. “Nor,” he continues, “has what they say about those who study ancient Greek escaped my attention” (*Op. Om.* III, 214). This statement leads to familiar passages from Cicero and Quintilian that affirm that Greek is the matrix of Latin eloquence. “They [i.e., the opponents of the humanities],” he continues, “should consider more

closely whether the [French] judiciary can be administered correctly and justly in the current state of affairs" (*Op. Om.* III, 217). Finally, he affirms the necessity of humanistic and encyclopaedic, that is, comprehensive learning (*Op. Om.* III, 217–218).

Similarly, in what is indexed as a "digressio in latinitatis contemptores" ("a digression against those who scorn [classical] Latin") (*Op. Om.* III, 171–172), Budé promotes humanism in opposition to those who "think that humanism is trivial and shameful" and uses the phrase "elegant humanism" (*elegantis humanitatis*), which is emblematic of the "elegant jurisprudence" that characterizes the humanistic study of Roman law. He again voices the view that the French legal system would be administered better if magistrates "not only observed but also imitated . . . the many images of the bravest men" left by Greek and Roman writers and expresses regret that "in France humanism is jeered as if it were a bad play being hissed out of the theatre."

Conclusion

Erasmus' assessment in 1517 of Budé's accomplishments as a man of letters provides a fitting conclusion (Allen [ed.] 1906–1958: II, 460):

I have for some time now had an inkling that you were engaged in a very glorious but certainly most difficult competition with Italy. To be blunt, I despaired of your success. I now see, however that you have been so successful that I do not believe that there is any Italian at this time who is so perverse or arrogant that he would be foolhardy enough to join arms and do battle with Budé for recognition in his field of accomplishment. . . . For who would be willing to enter the competition now that we have seen Ermolao Barbaro and Angelo Politian, those outstanding heroes held by all to be inimitable, completely vanquished by you in the prodigious mastery of each of the two [classical] languages? Fortunate indeed is France and how high she would carry her head if only she knew her own treasure!⁷⁹

⁷⁹ I am grateful to the Hampton Fund of the University of British Columbia for providing me with the financial resources needed to conduct research for this chapter.

ERASMUS AND PARIS

Douglas F.S. Thomson

What would have become of Erasmus if he had not found his way to Paris? It is idle to speculate; but in all probability he would have remained a blamelessly cloistered Augustinian canon, with a strong interest in Latinity and a pleasing talent for making Latin verses. But his fortunes turned out otherwise, and in the event he spent in Paris two major periods of his life, each of several years. They can be sharply distinguished. From 1495 to 1499, he was nominally a candidate for a theological degree, but secretly hoped for a literary life (though his struggle for the means of existence hardly gave him time for this). After 1500, his prospects altered for the better. His intellectual powers were at last fully extended; and the chief instrument of this extension was his determination to acquire Greek. 1500 was a pivotal year also because it saw the birth of his most important Humanistic creation, the *Adages*; the development of this work reflects his growing knowledge of the Greek authors, and to some extent therefore we must follow it, as we shall do presently.¹

The earliest-dated letter in the correspondence of Erasmus may appear to be no more than a complaint concerning a matter of property from a youth to his legally appointed guardians. As such, it contains little to excite the reader's interest. Nevertheless, from it there emerge several important keys to the Parisian episodes in Erasmus' life. He writes:²

I am anxious, and keenly afraid, that the end of a brief and fleeting period of time may find our property not yet safely secured but long since needing to be secured, late as it may be. My opinion therefore is that we must vigilantly apply our entire talent and care and diligence to ensuring that our property suffers no loss. Perhaps you will

¹ In English, the title *Adages* is used loosely to cover both the first edition of 1500 (*Adagiorum Collectanea*) and the greatly enlarged editions (*Adagiorum Chiliades*) from 1508 onwards.

² Ep. 1.

say that I am one of those 'who worry in case the sky should fall.'³ This I should admit, if the sum were already stored in treasure-chests and available for use. But your wise judgment will take especial care to account for our interests. As for the books, they have still to be offered for sale; still to look for a purchaser; still to set eyes on a bidder. You can see how far they are from being bought. We have yet to sow the seeds from which we are to eat our bread in the future; and meanwhile 'time slips by on swift feet,' as Ovid puts it.⁴ I absolutely cannot see what degree of benefit will be gained by delay in this matter; but I certainly can see how much loss will be occasioned by the delay. Moreover, I am told that Christian⁵ has not yet returned the books in his possession.⁶ Let his tardiness be overcome by your insistence. If he procrastinates when he is simply asked for them, he ought to send them once he is ordered to do so.⁷

Here are two characteristics of the youthful Erasmus: a taste for maxims, or adages (and the wisdom to be found in them), and a literary concern with *copia verborum*, or abundance of style. The second of these is illustrated here by an instance of *variatio* in the sixth sentence, where a single notion is expressed in three ways.⁸ The letter is dated by Allen at the end of 1484; how old was Erasmus when he wrote it? We see him here giving voice to impatience at the long delay in handing over books apparently bequeathed by his father. If Erasmus was born at the end of October 1469, as many scholars believe (and as was implicitly recognized in the celebrations of his quincentenary that took place in 1969), then he was hardly 15 at the time of writing, only a short while after—at the age of 14, we are told—he lost his father to the plague. This leaves little room for irritation at a long delay. Moreover (though the argument, for

³ This expression was to be later adopted by Erasmus as one of his adages (*Adagiorum Chiliades* I. v. 64); it comes from Terence, *Heaut.* 719).

⁴ *Ars Amatoria* 3. 65.

⁵ See Allen, Ep. 1. 13 n., for the possibility that 'Christian' is to be identified with the Prior of Steyn himself.

⁶ Since these books were evidently regarded by the young Erasmus as forming part of his small patrimony, it is probable (though not certain) that they had belonged to Erasmus' father (see below, p. 111). Allen suggests that they were lodged in the priory at Steyn, near Gouda (below, p. 112), and that Erasmus may have expressed a preference for that particular monastery on the grounds of their presence there.

⁷ I have translated Erasmus' letters, or parts of the letters, and other source material for this article without reference to previously published translations.

⁸ Although the *De copia*, the final word on the subject, was not published until 1512, it clearly had an early forerunner in the *Familiarium colloquiorum formulae*, the nucleus of which was composed in 1497; and its leading ideas had almost certainly been germinating in Erasmus' mind for some considerable time before that.

a precocious youth, is not in itself conclusive) the concerns expressed here, and the playing with a literary device, suggest the older age consequent on fixing the birth-date in 1467 or (somewhat less likely) 1466: see Excursus 1, where the arguments for both earlier and later birth-dates are summarized; despite one difficulty, the date 1466, or more probably 1467, should, I believe, be accepted.⁹

It is clear that at this stage of his life Erasmus thinks of himself as ready for a university education;¹⁰ and it is for this purpose that he is concerned to establish a secure financial base. Here as elsewhere, he is conscious of unusual intellectual powers, and his ambitions clearly already lie in the field of the liberal arts.¹¹ In Ep. 1, not only does the young Erasmus quote, easily and from memory, both Ovid and (by implication) Terence;¹² not only does he use a highly literary expression for 'sowing seed' (it is found in Virgil, Ovid, Cicero and Columella); he is already deploying, even in a "business" letter, a mature and beautiful Latin style of his own forging. To the university, then, he ought to go; and, as circumstances brought it about, he went to Paris: evidently with little reluctance on his own part (since the University of Paris was acknowledged as supreme in Northern Europe), but always with the recurring hope of crowning his studies there by a spell in Italy.¹³ And in fact, as we shall see, he had first dreamed of going directly to Italy itself. Italy, after all, as the cradle of the New Learning, had early affected him in various ways. His father Gerard had made his living there by transcribing Greek as well as Latin manuscripts,¹⁴ and the legacy of books mentioned in Ep. 1 had certainly included those that had been in the father's possession. Moreover, Rodolphus Agricola, the most eminent humanist in the Netherlands, of whom Erasmus in boyhood stood in great awe both for his writings and as the teacher and inspirer of Alexander Hegius¹⁵ (whose lectures Erasmus attended at school in Deventer) had studied in Italy under Battista Guarino,¹⁶

⁹ See Excursus 1.

¹⁰ Ep. 447. 97–98, 163–166; cf. Ep. ii. 48–51.

¹¹ Ep. 296. 19–20; cf. Ep. 1436. 62 <*Respondi me*> *eruditionis amore flagrare*.

¹² See above, n. 3.

¹³ Erasmus hoped for this from the very beginning: his statements concerning this constant ambition are grouped together, for convenience, in Excursus 2.

¹⁴ Ep. ii. 19–20. He knew Greek well: *ibid.* 22.

¹⁵ Ep. iii. 79–86; Ep. 23. 56–64; *Adag.* I. iv. 39.

¹⁶ Ep. ii. 24.

and had brought home not only an enthusiasm for good letters but also a knowledge of Greek.¹⁷ In Paris also, where Filippo Beroaldo had quite recently taught for two years,¹⁸ the Italian influence had by this time grown considerably.

Since it is with Erasmus' acquisition of Greek that we are especially concerned here, it may be in place to observe that only the merest elements of the language came his way during his school years in Holland.¹⁹ His letters of a slightly later period, when he entered the Augustinian convent at Steyn, are sometimes peppered with Greek words; but these were probably inserted many, or at least some, years later, when the material was revised by him, in order to impress his correspondents not so much with his knowledge of the language as with his consciousness of the importance for many reasons of having Greek at command.²⁰ At Steyn, though there were some classical books in the library (it was either here, or possibly even earlier, at Deventer, since he is described as *puer*, that he learnt all of Terence and also of Horace by heart),²¹ no further progress was really made in Greek, though he had not lost interest; he headed an ode to Cornelis Gerard²² with the recipient's name in Greek letters,²³ a phenomenon linked with a very early stage in the acquisition of the language.

Erasmus came to Paris, as a student of theology, in the late summer of 1495.²⁴ His first misfortune was to be placed in the Collège de Montaigu, whose recently appointed head, the monastic reformer

¹⁷ Ep. 23. 56–64. Hegius was his pupil (Ep. iii. 82); see however n. 19 below.

¹⁸ From late 1476 until the end of 1478 or more probably the beginning of 1479 (Anna Rose, *Filippo Beroaldo der Ältere und sein Beitrag zur Properz-Überlieferung* (Munich and Leipzig: Saur, 2001, part I, section 9 "Pariser Aufenthalt 1476–1479," where it is shown *inter alia* that Beroaldo was present at many events in Paris in 1478).

¹⁹ *Rodolpho Agricolae et Alexandro Hegio, quibus ego sane minime debebam*, 'I owed very little to Agricola and Hegius' (*Spongia*, in ASD IX-1: 196. 786–788; elsewhere he says that he got 'the merest taste' of Greek along with the Latin of his schooldays (Ep. i. p. 7. 19 *Ad Graecas literas utcumque puero degustatas iam grandior redii*; cf. Dibbelt 1950: 56). See also Ep. 149. 15–16.

²⁰ See, for 1501, Ep. 143 *passim*; earlier, Epp. 64 (1497), 105, 108, 113, 114; note also the Greek metaphor in 49. 21–22 *a teneris (ut Graeci dicunt) unguiculis*.

²¹ Terence: Ep. iii. 84–85, Terence and Horace iv. 540–541; On Horace, see also *Ciceronianus* in ASD I-2: 703. 28–30.

²² See Gaguin 1903: II. 23–24.

²³ Ep. 23. 112.

²⁴ Allen 1902 and Gaguin (ed. L. Thuasne) 1903 give the wrong date, 1494. The proof for 1495 is set out by Allen in Ep. 43 introductory note

Jan Standonck, was one whose judgment in human affairs by no means matched his zeal. Standonck knew no Greek, and in addition he had little sympathy with the spirit of Humanism.²⁵ On the other hand, Erasmus began his life in Paris armed with two introductions from both of which he derived enormous benefit. On the strength presumably of his already established reputation as a Latin poet, he was introduced—by Robert Gaguin, of whom more presently—to Fausto Andrelini, the principal exponent in France of the new Humanistic Latin poetry. In point of fact, Erasmus already had heard of Fausto from Pietro Santeramo,²⁶ a Sicilian friend in the household of his own patron, the Bishop of Cambrai. It is possible²⁷ that Sante-ramo also arranged Erasmus' second introduction, to the widely influential Minister General of the order of Trinitarians, Robert Gaguin, who was strongly disposed in favour of the humanistic movement.²⁸

The point must be made that in his earliest Paris years Erasmus had a remarkably limited circle of friends, as distinct from mere acquaintances; and, apart from the pupils he began to acquire in 1496–97, the circle scarcely expanded. Perhaps by chance, those closest to him were of Netherlandish (or Italian) origin; so was the humanist printer Josse Bade, who for us appears on the scene in 1505,²⁹ though Erasmus must surely have encountered him much earlier through Gaguin.³⁰ Later he was to meet two French Hellenists, Guillaume Budé (probably through Fausto, about 1500) and Lefèvre d'Étaples (in 1511, apparently: his letters first mention Lefèvre in October 1514, and their friendship began about 1519). At this time Erasmus exchanged many letters with one very close friend and compatriot, Jacob Batt, who had himself studied in the Arts faculty at the University of Paris—without acquiring Greek, however—and in 1492 had returned to his native land (Erasmus probably owed to

²⁵ Standonck's reign (see Renaudet 1958: 114–161) at the Collège de Montaigu was a hard one, as even the Scots admitted ('A frugal house, but not an undistinguished one,' is how the politic Hector Boece describes it); and Erasmus with his weak health could not stand it. He left after one year, and lived more comfortably in a lodging where he supported himself by private teaching.

²⁶ Ep. 326. 1–27; see Tournoy-Thoen 1985: 54.

²⁷ See Schoeck R.J. 1990, *Erasmus of Europe I* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press): 194 n. 23.

²⁸ See Gaguin 1903 *passim*: e.g. (I: 340) his praise of Briçonnet (below, n. 34) for encouraging good letters and men of learning.

²⁹ Ep. 183.

³⁰ See below, pp. 115–116.

Batt his appointment as secretary to the Bishop of Cambrai, and hence his move to the University of Paris).

For Gaguin, Erasmus cherished a deep veneration, based on reports he had received; thus he approached Gaguin as a patron and a senior person, whereas with Fausto and Bade he was on a more or less equal footing. All three were deeply committed to the cause of Humanism, and in particular to that of classical Latin style (Gaguin pronounced that 'only well-written works will endure');³¹ but they differed greatly in character. Such human variety, however, was good for Erasmus (his brethren at Steyn, whose companionship had solaced the privations of his cloistered years, were mentally much more of a pattern), and this fact both stimulated his keen intelligence and also lent an edge to his social life. Gaguin (for some time past the *doyen*, or elder statesman, of Paris Humanists) helped Erasmus in many ways: *inter alia*, he lent him books for the *Adages*,³² and gave him a copy of Lorenzo Valla's *Elegantiae*. To Gaguin's important history of France, the *Compendium*, both Erasmus and Fausto added tributes; and Erasmus' contribution attracted Gaguin's attention for its beauty of style (a quality rare among Paris teachers, in Gaguin's view). Though Gaguin's responsibilities, and his temperament, were those of an administrator, his literary interests 'were the best part of his life',³³ as Louis Thuasne remarked. Accordingly, Erasmus sent to him for criticism the draft of his dialogue called *Antibarbari*, a defence of good Latin, and indictment of scholastic jargon, which he had written in Holland. Gaguin responded with penetrating criticism and reprimanded Erasmus for flattery (Gaguin's modesty was always an endearing trait); but he also encouraged him. Their friendship lasted until Gaguin died, at 68, in 1501.

Fausto Andrelini, who was close to both of them, was closer to Erasmus in age. Born at Forli about 1462, and educated at Bologna and in Rome (where he studied poetry under Pomponio Leto, the leader of the Roman Academy, and at 20 won a poetic laurel wreath), Fausto sought employment in Mantua, but soon became discontented with his prospects there. Upon migrating to France in 1488 he had to encounter fierce personal opposition from Girolamo Balbi, who

³¹ For his opinion of the Paris scholastics' *norma dicendi* see Gaguin 1903 I: 285 and n. 3.

³² Stegmann 1968: 276.

³³ Gaguin 1903 I: 143.

had for several years already established himself as the chief representative of imported Italian literary culture. To make a long story short, Fausto managed to oust Balbi, who went to Vienna and later to Prague, and also another rival named Cornelio Vitelli, who removed himself to England. Unchallenged at last, Fausto made good his position by writing a laudatory poem (published in 1496) on the victory won by the king of France, Charles VIII, at Fornovo. As a result, he was appointed poet royal, a post (carrying a royal pension) that was subsequently renewed for him by Louis XII. Other dedications were directed with no less astuteness: we may mention the *De moralibus et intellectualibus virtutibus* of 1497, to Pierre de Courthardy and to Guillaume Briçonnet,³⁴ the patron of Lefèvre d'Étaples. In 1502, Fausto was accorded the unusual honour of a grant of French nationality. Meanwhile he had become a very good friend of Erasmus: in 1498, Fausto wrote to the Latin poet Willem Hermans, praising Erasmus and testifying to the very high reputation enjoyed by Erasmus as a poet in Paris.³⁵ He assisted Erasmus in the preparation of the *Adagiorum Collectanea*; both men were themselves interested in moral *sententiae*, and it was most probably Fausto who brought to Erasmus' notice the work on adages of the elder Beroaldo, as Cytowska 1977 suggests, since he was familiar with Beroaldo's writings. (Conversely, the influence of Erasmus' *Adages* is manifest in Fausto's *Epistulae morales*, published in 1508). He may also have agreed to shelter Erasmus from the imputation of being the author of the *Julius Exclusus*,³⁶ directed against Pope Julius II, which Erasmus almost certainly did write.

With Josse Bade we finally come upon one of Erasmus' earlier Paris acquaintances who possessed a knowledge of Greek (he had studied it in Italy). As with Fausto Andrelini, Erasmus found himself in company with Bade in supporting and befriending Gaguin; complimentary Latin verses by Bade were printed in the second edition of the *Compendium* (Paris, 1497). Bade was the official printer to the University of Paris from 1507 onwards. After many years of

³⁴ See Ep. 1407. 118 n.

³⁵ Ep. 84. Hermans knew Greek, and translated some of Aesop. See Ep. 33 introductory note.

³⁶ See Ferguson 1933: 38–124, especially 46–47, where Fausto's actual authorship is rightly rejected; but, as Ferguson notes, in Ep. 961. 39–42 Erasmus 'made an evasive reference to him as the author'; see also p. 46: 'one of the earliest editions, probably printed in Paris,' in the title clearly indicates Fausto as the author.

happy collaboration, especially in the long succession of classical texts which began at Bade's press, Erasmus fell out with Bade because in 1526 Bade accepted the charge of publishing, under the auspices of the theological faculty of the University of Paris, the *Annotationes Natalis Bedae in Fabrum et Erasmum*. Erasmus interpreted this as an act of hostility; and so, after twenty-three works by Erasmus had been published by Bade (not to mention several more in the editing of which Erasmus had at least a part), Erasmus began to give his business for preference to Froben, at Basle, whom Erasmus thereafter regarded as his personal publisher. It should be noted that Bade printed very little Greek before 1520, when at last he received from Germany a sufficient quantity of Greek type.³⁷ And, for all his attention to Erasmus, and his intense love of the classics, he never published any of Lefèvre's works.

It was on Erasmus' visit to England, with his pupil and, later, patron Lord Mountjoy, in the latter part of the year 1499, that he was first fired with a real ambition to undertake the long and hard labour involved in mastering Greek. On this occasion he met William Grocyn³⁸ and Thomas Linacre,³⁹ both of whom were Hellenists—and, as such, the most distinguished in England at that time—and also Colet, who on the contrary knew no Greek, or virtually none.⁴⁰ And (what for Erasmus also counted greatly) the project of compiling a collection of classical adages, both Latin and Greek, which he had previously no more than contemplated, now evolved in conversations with Mountjoy.⁴¹ When Erasmus returned to Paris from England at the opening of the year 1500, he had very likely in mind the printing (it was to be done by a German printer in Paris, Johann Philipp) of the little book, containing some Greek, that emerged as *Adagiorum Collectanea*. No such printer was to be found in England.⁴²

³⁷ Bietenholz 1971: 191.

³⁸ Grocyn taught Greek at Oxford from 1491 onwards. See Burrows M. 1890, "Memoir of William Grocyn," in *Collectanea*, 2nd series, *Publications of the Oxford Historical Society* 16: 352–378.

³⁹ See Schmitt C.B. 1977, "Thomas Linacre and Italy," in *Linacre Studies* (Oxford: Clarendon Press): 36–75, especially p. 70; Linacre was back in England by October 1499, and Erasmus met him in November.

⁴⁰ Only in 1516, when Colet saw Erasmus' New Testament, did he fully realize the importance of Greek—and, at 50, begin to learn it.

⁴¹ Ep. 126. 19–21; Ep. 211. 1–5.

⁴² For a similar lack in the year 1514 see Ep. 296. 225. Even in Paris, no complete Greek text seems to have been published until 1507, though in the Low Countries this had occurred as early as 1491.

At the same time, he was able to contemplate the printing of at least some of the grammatical and educational works that had formed themselves in his mind during his teaching years in Paris from 1496 onwards. One of these, the *Antibarbari*, had—in spite of the criticisms already mentioned—received the approval of Robert Gaguin (though it suffered a series of misfortunes and was only published much later and in a greatly truncated form). Those years in Paris had been troubled years, during which Erasmus was beset by doubt over his personal aims, disappointed of help from his patrons (the Bishop of Cambrai and others), and forced for his support to turn to the uncongenial activity of teaching in order to support himself. With the aid of the printing press, however, he might instead address himself to the publication of books that promised to appeal to a wide European public, as well as to the considerable rewards to be had from dedicating his books to persons eminent in the world.⁴³ (The fact that he wrote only in Latin helped in that age to disseminate his influence). An invitation to stay in England, and to lecture on the New Testament, was extended to Erasmus; but he declined it.⁴⁴ He rushed back to Paris, and spent his entire time on the *Adages* in order to make sure that they would come out immediately after Easter 1500.⁴⁵ And he saw to it that 100 copies were forthwith sent to England.⁴⁶

As to the *Adages*, Erasmus has been accused of falsely claiming to be a follower and imitator (indeed, sometimes a plagiarist) of Polydore Vergil, whose *Proverbiorum Liber* (or *Libellus*) first came out in 1498. But it is very likely that Erasmus was shown in England (perhaps by Linacre, who had recently returned from Italy) the 6 November 1500 edition of Polydore Vergil's work, which he took to be the first edition. The *Adagiorum Collectanea* appeared on 15 June, so that Erasmus'claim to priority would have been justified had he not been mistaken.⁴⁷ In any case, Polydore Vergil's compilation was decidedly inferior to Erasmus'; though whether Linacre said so and urged Erasmus to improve on it is mere speculation. It has moreover been decisively proved that Polydore Vergil had no influence whatever on Erasmus.⁴⁸ But Erasmus, it should also be noted, did indeed owe a

⁴³ See Hoyoux 1944.

⁴⁴ Ep. 108. 74–85.

⁴⁵ Ep. 124. 43–44.

⁴⁶ Ep. 181. 61–62.

⁴⁷ Ep. 2305. 36–39. Cf. Ep. 2773. 40–51.

⁴⁸ As Appelt 1942 decisively showed. In 1500 Erasmus was unaware of Vergil's collection.

substantial debt, at least in the (revised and expanded) *Adagiorum Chiliades* of 1508, both for the nature of his commentary and for the details of its execution, to another collector of adages, namely Filippo Beroaldo the Elder, as Cytowska 1977 has demonstrated. Erasmus was well aware how thin the *Adagiorum Collectanea* were on the Greek, as opposed to the Latin, side. Indeed the whole collection had to be expanded greatly; Gaguin, whose criticism Erasmus always attended to,⁴⁹ had taxed the book with jejuneness.⁵⁰ To enrich it properly he now needed a great deal of Greek. Quite apart from the *Adages*, England and especially Colet had furnished him with the vision of a 'Modern'—that is, biblical—theology that, besides appealing to the actual words of St. Paul and the Greek Fathers (with of course a purified text, established by Valla's methods of criticism) might absorb the best wisdom of antiquity and incorporate it with the spirit of early Christianity into what he called the *philosophia Christi*,⁵¹ instead of treating the classics merely as a propaedeutic for theological students. Where Paris had opened up for him a new world of intellectual possibilities, it left him uncertain and unhappy about his professional aspirations (given his disinclination towards scholastic theology, was he to be no more than a Latin poet?); but the English episode served to settle his mind. Thus he returned to Paris about the beginning of 1500 with the firm intention of seeking a Greek instructor, if one could be found, and Greek books, if he could manage to afford them.⁵² In the former quest he was greatly disappointed: the teacher he engaged, Georgius Hermonymus, turned out to be hopelessly incompetent,⁵³ and no one else appeared, to take his place.⁵⁴ But Erasmus did not abandon the study: his letters for the next few years, both from Paris and from Louvain to which in 1502

⁴⁹ Ep. 46. 32–42; Gaguin 1903 II: 11–12 (letter to Erasmus, 7 October 1495).

⁵⁰ Ep. 531. 404–408; Gaguin 1903 I: 148 n. 4. Erasmus admitted the charge: Ep. 181. 85–86; cf. Ep. 211. 16–17; 'since nothing had been culled from Greek authors' (Allen I. 592).

⁵¹ For the history of this very important expression, borrowed apparently from Agricola (who used it in his *De formando studio* of 1484) see C. Augustijn, *ASD IX*–1: 187. 519–520, nn. It was first used in Erasmus' sense in the adage *Sileni Alcibiadis* (*Adag.* III. iii. 1). See Phillips 1964: 104. Sometimes Erasmus used *philosophia evangelica* as a synonym for it (Augustijn *op. cit.* 210. 130 n., with references there).

⁵² *huius linguae nuper esse candidatus esse coepi*, 'lately I've become a freshman in this language' (Ep. 143. 37).

⁵³ Ep. 149. 65–68; Ep. 194. 22–27; Ep. i p. 7. 22–24.

⁵⁴ Erasmus was too late to coincide with the sojourn in Paris of Johannes Lascaris, whom he later met in Italy.

he fled from plague at Paris,⁵⁵ speak of his attempts to translate such Greek texts as he could get hold of, and of his quest for more and more books, especially grammars.⁵⁶ (Only in 1506 did he proclaim, from London, that he was now more or less adequately versed in the language).⁵⁷ And by this time he had, it seems, virtually resolved to devote the rest of his life to sacred studies,⁵⁸ taking to this end a Humanistic approach that centred on the text and was inspired by Lorenzo Valla.⁵⁹ At the same time, he could not ignore the fact that in order to participate in any kind of debate among academic divines, and thus to gain the ear of those whom he wanted to address and to influence, he could not dispense with the need to acquire a doctorate.⁶⁰ (Colet had apparently been reluctant to publish his lectures on the Pauline epistles precisely because he lacked this). But Erasmus also felt that he must gain the degree without wasting the many years then demanded—at Paris, certainly, and at such other universities as followed the Parisian pattern—in achieving it.⁶¹ And there was a second important reason for studying Greek. In order to grasp the thought of antiquity, and so in order to profit morally and intellectually from its accumulated wisdom, Greek was, as Erasmus now saw, considerably more essential than Latin. Ep. 123, and Ep. 124, give us an insight into the state of mind of Erasmus in the year 1500:

Graecae literae animum meum propemodum enecant; verum neque ocium datur, neque suppetit quo libros aut praeceptoris operam redimam.

‘I am practically at death’s door with <my thirst for> Greek; but I get no spare time, nor have I the means to purchase either books or the services of a tutor.’⁶²

Ad Graecas literas totum animum applicui; statimque ut pecuniam accepero, Graecos primum autores, deinde vestes emam.

‘I have bent my whole mind to Greek. The moment I receive some money, I will buy, first Greek books, and after that clothes.’⁶³

⁵⁵ Ep. 172. 1.

⁵⁶ Ep. 159. 48–50.

⁵⁷ Ep. 189. 12–14.

⁵⁸ Ep. 138. 45–47; Ep. 188. 1–3.

⁵⁹ Even in his days at Steyn Erasmus had defended the ‘vehemence’ of Valla’s critical approach (Renaudet 1954: 39).

⁶⁰ See Excursus 1.

⁶¹ See Excursus 1, p. 131.

⁶² Ep. 123. 22–24. On the question ‘how to get Greek at Paris,’ see also Epp. 138 and 139.

⁶³ Ep. 124. 62–64.

Sine his (sc. Graecis literis) literas Latinas mancas esse video.

'I can see that, without Greek, Latin culture is a crippled thing.'⁶⁴

Immediately after writing in this strain to his friend Batt, Erasmus moved to Orléans in order to safeguard his health. It was here that his love for Homer was frustrated by his inability still to grasp the meaning of the text:

Ego quidem ita huius autoris ardeo amore, ut cum intelligere nequeam, aspectu tamen ipso recreor ac pascar,

'For myself, I am so fired with love for this author <Homer> that though I am incapable of understanding the words, still I am refreshed and nourished by the very sight of them <on the page>.'⁶⁵

His work on the *Adagiorum Collectanea* made it evident to him how much the treasures of Greek outdid the Latin sources in quantity and variety. At the same time, to improve the *mediocritas* (as he repeatedly called it) of his linguistic attainment, he tried his hand at translations.⁶⁶ He writes that he has pretty well abandoned Roman literature for Greek, and is determined to progress until he achieves a reasonable level of competence.⁶⁷

Erasmus left Orléans for Paris about 14 December 1500, for two reasons: to continue his Greek studies (which significantly he places first) and to finish work in hand, presumably the educational treatises on which he was then engaged.⁶⁸ His next departure from Paris was a longer one, to Louvain in 1502. This time his absence lasted for two years. But even before he left Paris he had made great strides in acquiring Greek:

In Graecis literis sum totus, neque omnino operam lusi; eo enim profeci ut mediocriter quae velim Graece scribere queam, et quidem ex tempore.

'I am entirely absorbed in <learning> Greek; nor have I altogether wasted my time, for I have progressed so far as to be able to write anything I wished, up to a modest standard, and—what is more—to do so extempore.'⁶⁹

On the death of his patron, the Bishop of Cambrai, in 1503, he wrote commemorative verses in Greek (as well as in Latin); he also

⁶⁴ Ep. 129. 66–67.

⁶⁵ Ep. 131. 2–4.

⁶⁶ Ep. 158. 6.

⁶⁷ Ep. 159. 30–32.

⁶⁸ Ep. 138. 16–18.

⁶⁹ Ep. 172. 9–12.

translated at this time some Greek prose, in the shape of declamations by the sophist Libanius.⁷⁰

At the end of his Louvain period, about December 1504, he did two things that once again drew him back to Paris, apart from a realization he had now come to that the academic and literary life of Louvain itself was comparatively dull and provincial (a *vie médiocre*, as Renaudet says),⁷¹ even though the nascent university there would very soon establish itself as a serious rival to Paris for the attention of the studious youth of Brabant. (In 1502, when he first arrived there, he had written: *Lovanii placent omnia, nisi quod victus rusticior et nimio emendus*, "At Louvain I'm pleased with everything, except that the food is a little coarse in quality and too expensive").⁷² He became restless at the inadequacies of the *Adagiorum Collectanea*, and longed to procure a greatly enriched second edition;⁷³ and, so far as printing Greek was concerned (and the second edition would require much Greek) the resources of Martens at Louvain were very far from adequate.⁷⁴ Secondly, his stay at Louvain had culminated in the discovery of Valla's notes on the New Testament in the Abbey of Parc, hard by the town; this he would, triumphantly, take to Paris for Josse Bade⁷⁵ to print.

In a letter to Colet, written about the end of 1504 on his return to Paris, Erasmus succinctly indicates his thinking about the state of the *Adages* and his feeling about the utility of his labours in that field, even for the purposes of those whose concern is with Holy Writ:

Poenitet enim prioris editionis <Adagiorum> vel quod typographorum culpa sic est mendosa ut studio depravata videatur, vel quod instigantibus quibusdam praecipitavi opus, quod mihi nunc demum reumum atque inops videri coepit, posteaquam Graecos evolui autores. Decretum est igitur altera aeditione et meam et chalcographorum culpam sarcire, simulque studiosis utilissimo argumento consulere. Quanquam autem interim rem tracto fortassis humiliorem, tamen dum in Graecorum hortis versor, multa obiter decerpo in posterum usui futura etiam sacris in literis. Nam hoc

⁷⁰ Ep. 177.

⁷¹ Renaudet 1953: 477.

⁷² Ep. 172. 7–8.

⁷³ A slightly enlarged second edition was published in Paris by Bade in 1506 (Ep. 126, intr.). But the real expansion was that of the *Adagiorum Chiliades* of 1508 (Ep. 211 intr.).

⁷⁴ It is significant that Erasmus did not give the printing of the revised and greatly expanded second edition of the *Adages* to Martens.

⁷⁵ See above, pp. 115–116.

unum expertus video, nullis in literis nos esse aliquid sine Graecitate. Aliud enim est coniicere, aliud iudicare, aliud tuis, aliud alienis oculis credere.

'I am ashamed of the first edition of the *Adages*, for two reasons: through the fault of the printer it is so full of errors that it has the appearance of being deliberately spoiled; and at the urging of certain persons I made a rushed job of a work that at this distance in time seems to me thin and feeble, now that I have gone through the Greek authors. Accordingly I have decided to repair the faults committed both by myself and by the printers, by means of a second edition, and at the same time to serve the interests of students by adding matter of great utility for their needs. And though for the time being I am working on a theme that is perhaps of rather little importance or dignity, yet I reap many incidental benefits that will in future be of use even in the realm of sacred letters. For there is one thing I can see as a result of my experience, namely that in no kind of letters can we amount to anything without a knowledge of Greek. For it is one thing to make a guess, and quite another to form a judgment; in other words, it is one thing to believe one's own eyes, and quite another to <be obliged to> trust the eyes of others.'⁷⁶

With this should be compared the whole of Ep. 182, written in the spring of the following year (it is too long to quote here), and also the opening of Ep. 188, the 1506 preface to a translation (dedicated to William Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury) of two plays by Euripides:

Quum in animo stavissem . . . vertendis Graecis autoribus rem theologicam, Deum immortalem quam indigne sophisticis nugis depravatam, pro virili mea vel restituere vel adiuuare . . . 'Since I had decided that by translating Greek authors I should, so far as possible, restore or promote the business of theology, which has been spoiled by sophistical quibblings (immortal God, how disgracefully!) . . .'⁷⁷

Erasmus' conviction that he could not expand and improve the *Adages* without a considerable supply of Greek books finds utterance in the preface to the *Adagiorum Chiliades* (a title that draws attention to the expansion of the work), ultimately to be published in 1508, and printed at Venice by Aldus, in whose atelier the book was finished. In this preface, which is dedicated to Mountjoy, we find the following declaration (it will be noticed that the wording repeats, almost to the letter, the passage we have just quoted from Ep. 181, written more than three years previously):

⁷⁶ Ep. 181. 82–93.

⁷⁷ Ep. 188. 1–3.

Quo simul et superioris editionis alienam culpam sarcirem et cumulatione munere studiosos omnes nostrum utrique demereret, . . . nactus iustam propemodum Graecanicorum librorum suppellectilem idem illud operis sub incudem revocavi, supraque Chiliadas adagiorum tres et centurias duas (cur enim haec non ceu thesauros numeremus etiam?) e plurimis autoribus in commentarium redegi.

'In order that I might heal the faults, caused by someone else, in the previous edition, and deserve still better of all students . . ., once I was more or less adequately supplied with a store of Greek books I took the same work and put it back on the anvil, and made a commentary of 3200 adages (for why should we hesitate to count them up, like treasures?) taken from a large number of authors.'⁷⁸

The increase was not merely in the number of adages from 818 to 3260 but also, on a few favoured topics, in the scope of the notes themselves, in the direction of a much more discursive treatment. (In later editions, from 1515 onwards, this process of expanded discussion was applied to many more adages, so that the notes on these became virtually "Essays," giving Erasmus' views *in extenso* on matters that lay near to his heart). Significantly, too, the adages were now generally quoted in the original Greek; and of course, as befitted an Aldine publication, the printing was greatly improved.

When Erasmus returned to Paris from Louvain, he felt confident enough concerning his knowledge of Greek to embark on a translation of the whole of the *Odyssey*,—and perhaps he finished it, though no trace of his manuscript has survived.⁷⁹ In 1506 he was finally to adopt the name Erasmus (in place of his baptismal name Herasmus, still sometimes used up to 1505), explained in Latin as Desiderius—a sign of his profound immersion in Greek studies.⁸⁰

We have now to deal with the last period (1505–1506) in which Erasmus may properly be said to have resided, at least partly, in Paris. As we have seen, he returned from Louvain, towards the end of 1504, fully confident that he had now acquired a respectable command of Greek. A sign of this confidence was that, for the first time, he held regular classes in which he taught the language.⁸¹ Later, in August 1511, he gave lectures on Greek in England; these were poorly attended.⁸² The year 1505 was notable also for the publication,

⁷⁸ Ep. 211. 12–19.

⁷⁹ Ep. 131. 3 n.

⁸⁰ See Allen, vol. I: 73 (note on the title of Ep. 1).

⁸¹ Ep. 140: see intr. and line 34 n. For Guillaume Cop as Erasmus' pupil, see Ep. 124. 16 n.

⁸² See Ep. 233. 8–10.

in Paris, of his edition of Valla's annotations on the New Testament—an indication that in some sense he must be taken seriously by the theologians of the Sorbonne, whether or not they accorded him the professional respect that in their eyes would go with the title of Doctor. At the same time there were fruits of his purely humanistic studies: two translations of Euripides, *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia at Aulis*, which he had made (in order to improve his Greek, for lack of a tutor) at Louvain and in England respectively, were being prepared for publication by Bade in Paris.⁸³ He remained in Paris until the autumn of 1505, after which he returned to England. In June 1506 he recorded his impression that “France pleases me . . . <because of> a sort of special favour or popularity that I enjoy here.” Further translations, of Euripides again and of Lucian, followed. He was now completely at home in Greek, yet avid for more; he tells us that he went to Italy ‘mainly for Greek.’⁸⁴ In Epp. 194–196 we can trace Erasmus’ journey from London to Italy, by way of Paris (where he stayed for two months,⁸⁵ when by a lucky stroke of fate (and on condition of supervising the education of two boys) he was enabled to pursue at last a doctorate, the achievement of which would not cost him an agonizingly long term of years of further study.⁸⁶ The diploma for the degree he took at Turin on 4 September 1506⁸⁷ records the fact that he already possessed a baccalaureate in theology, almost certainly from the University of Paris, which must have been awarded shortly before Easter 1498. Ep. 200, the first to be dated from Italy (Florence, 4 November 1506), records his arrival at Bologna (and speedy withdrawal to Florence because Pope Julius II was besieging Bologna with an army). Immediately after mentioning Bologna, he

⁸³ Epp. 188, 198; cf. Ep. i p. 4. 29–31 *annis aliquot ante quam adirem Italiam, exercendae Graecitatis causa quando non erat praeceptorum copia, verteram Hecubam Euripidis, tum agens Lovanii*, ‘a few years before I went to Italy, while staying at Louvain, in order to practise my Greek, for want of tutors, I had translated Euripides’ *Hecuba*,’ p. 5. 24–27 *simulatque me Lutetiam recepissem, inde petiturus Italiam, librum Badio tradidi formulis excudendum, adiecta Iphigenia Aulidensi, quam fusius ac liberius verteram agens in Anglia*, ‘as soon as I got back to Paris and was about to leave for Italy, I gave the book to Bade to print, adding the *Iphigenia at Aulis*, of which I had made a somewhat rough and free version in England.’

⁸⁴ Ep. 203, 3. Elsewhere he says he went to Italy ‘for many reasons’ (Ep. 200. 1).

⁸⁵ Ep. 194 intr.

⁸⁶ ‘It is doubtful if Erasmus really expected to take a doctorate of theology at Paris’ (Grendler 1998: 42).

⁸⁷ Published by Vischer 1876: 6–8.

tells the Prior of Steyn that he has received the degree of doctor of theology, but does not say where; here as elsewhere he leaves it to be inferred that the award was made at Bologna; Turin, at the time and later, enjoyed very little prestige. In this letter, and letters to others, he says that friends made him take the title of Doctor, against his own judgment, in order that he might possess some authority.⁸⁸ Some further translations, from Lucian, which Erasmus made at Florence were published by Bade in Paris. On fol. liii^v of these we find what has been called 'the first public announcement of his degree', namely a note reading: <Erasmio> viro literatissimo et nuper sacrae theologiae laurea decorato ('Erasmus, a man most accomplished in letters and lately awarded the crown of distinction in sacred theology').⁸⁹ He stayed in Bologna until the end of 1507,⁹⁰ reading Greek texts with the leading Hellenist in Italy at that time, Paolo Bombasio.⁹¹

Among the scholars with whom Erasmus first became acquainted during his stay in Italy was—highly significantly, for the spread of Greek in Paris—Girolamo Aleandro, whom Erasmus met in Venice and encouraged to migrate to France,⁹² where he introduced him to his friends, and where Aleandro for the first time, in 1508–1513, was able by virtue of brilliant teaching to establish the study of Greek on a regular basis.⁹³

The final visit of Erasmus to Paris took place in April 1511. It was an important visit, for it was devoted largely to the proof-correction and the publication of the *Praise of Folly*, a work that at once caught the public's imagination and echoed the public mood: this book had an enormous effect for Erasmus himself, by establishing his name as a figure to be reckoned with in international

⁸⁸ Ep. 201. 5–6; cf. Ep. 203. 4–6.

⁸⁹ Erasmus wrote to Noël Beda complaining that Beda refused to recognize him as a theologian, though three popes (Leo X, Adrian VI—'indubitably a great theologian himself', Erasmus adds—and Clement VII) had done so (Ep. 1581. 20–23). Friends address Erasmus as a theologian, whereas enemies refuse him the title; see Halkin L.-E. 1972, "Érasme Docteur," in *Mélanges André Latreille* (Lyon: Audin): 39–47, esp. 46.

⁹⁰ Ep. 207 introductory note.

⁹¹ Renaudet 1954: 76.

⁹² Ep. 256. 89–90 [Aleandro to Erasmus] *mihi persuasisti . . . ut in Galliam irem*, 'you persuaded me to go to France.'

⁹³ François Tissard had done so to some extent, immediately preceding Aleandro; but his more diffident nature yielded the chair, as it were, to Aleandro's aggressiveness. Aleandro is far from kind in his allusions to Tissard (de Nohac 1888).

terms.⁹⁴ For the members of the University of Paris, however, the most influential works, with the possible exception of the *Adages*, were two that reached Paris five years later, in 1516, namely the New Testament and the edition of Jerome's letters. By this time, Erasmus had transferred both his place of abode and his regular publishing attachment to the vicinity of the House of Froben at Basle. There was, however, a further English period, from June 1511 to July 1514, when Erasmus took up an invitation extended to him in 1509 by Mountjoy. He left Paris in June 1511, and by August he was teaching at Cambridge: first Greek and then divinity.⁹⁵ At this time he began to work on the New Testament and the edition of Jerome.

The reputation of Erasmus in Paris, increasing steadily with the successive editions of the *Adages*, and the French Erasmian movement in general, may be said to have reached its peak between the publication of the two works just mentioned (both in 1516) and the period towards 1520 when there erupted 'the fuss over Luther' (or, 'the vexatious Luther business'), as Erasmus habitually describes it.⁹⁶ The *Enchiridion*, which on its appearance in 1503 had boldly announced and interpreted the *philosophia Christi*, and (with the *Adages*, the *Praise of Folly*, and the New Testament) was one of the most widely-read books in Paris as elsewhere, now began to pale, and to look a lit-

⁹⁴ The *Moriae Encomium* was written in eight days at More's in England (Ep. 222 introductory note). For 'Folly' as a key notion in satire, cf. Sebastian Brant's *Narrenschiff*, first published in 1494, of which a Latin translation was made in Basle in 1497; other Latin translations soon followed, including Bade's, which came out in 1507, though he had a hand in the 1497 Basle version also.

⁹⁵ Ep. 233. 8-10; Ep. 296. 134-136. This, as Dibbelt 1950: 65 has remarked, was the only public professorship ever held by Erasmus.

⁹⁶ *Tragoedia*, in Erasmus, wherever it is used metaphorically, not literally of Greek tragedy, always has some flavour of the phrase *tragoedias excitare*, in the sense of 'make a fuss' (see Thomson 1970: 127); this phrase was borrowed by Erasmus, because it appealed to him, from Cicero, *Pro Milone* 7. 18, where the context makes the meaning clear. The word *tragoedia*, so used, has of course little if any trace of the meaning, equivalent to 'catastrophic occurrence,' beloved of modern journalists. Cf., e.g., Ep. 1437. 9 *Eppendorphus excitat nobis miras tragoedias*; Ep. 447. 182-183 *tota tragoedia devolvatur in caput meum*, 'the whole <tiresome> business would devolve on myself.' With these passages cf. *Spongia*, ASD IX-1: 172. 162-163 *nullo iudicio feruntur impolenti quodam impetu et ad quemvis levem rumorem excitant tragoedias*, 'they rush about senselessly, in an uncontrolled manner, and make a fuss at any and every trifling rumour.' A few lines above this, Erasmus emphasizes that in Ep. 1342 he has not said a single word *odiose* against Luther: he claims that he used the word *tragoedia* (though curiously he did not), together with *dissidium* and *tumultus*, but never any term implying heresy. Before, therefore, we assert that Erasmus spoke of 'the Lutheran tragedy,' we should take care to define his use of the word.

tle feeble, in the stronger colours of a new age and a new style of controversy. Moreover, the irony of the *Praise of Folly* appealed neither to theologians of the old persuasion nor to those of the new movement. But Erasmus' works had caught the ear of educated Europe; and he had a huge following in the universities, at least up to 1528 when an unfortunate remark placed in the mouth of one of the participants in the dialogue *Ciceronianus* alienated much French opinion on nationalistic grounds.⁹⁷ Yet the hub of Erasmus' influence was still Paris first and foremost, though with Basle a close second; and to him personally Paris, which was the first place to enrich his young life, still made its appeal. As late as 1524, even though the Sorbonne was now attacking his New Testament as dangerous, he still toyed with the idea of transferring his residence back to Paris.⁹⁸ The great success of the *Familiarium colloquiorum formulae*, in 1518, induced in him a particularly warm feeling towards things Parisian. In Ep. 1003, he is pleased with the condition of studies at the university; this he attributes partly to the *Gallici ingenii candor*, partly to the wisdom of certain individuals: of Bishop Étienne Poncher, for example, and especially of the king himself, Francis I; he says he envies France its *cour lettrée*, and laments that the emperor is too often absent for such a thing to be known in Brussels. In 1528, amidst a stream of other publications, there appeared in Paris his pioneering work on the pronunciation of Greek.⁹⁹

Erasmus could never have considered himself to be a Frenchman—he was always conscious of his status as the Emperor's subject, and in due course also as an imperial councillor—and he was sometimes unjustly accused of anti-French bias; but to France, and especially to Paris, he gave both his early educational labours and the entire movement now known as French Erasmianism. If, as Halkin suggested, 'Paris transformed Erasmus' life,'¹⁰⁰ it is equally true that Erasmus was at the very least a most powerful agent, one of several, in transforming the intellectual life of Paris itself, in Court and University.

⁹⁷ In terms of pure Latinity, a comparison was made between Josse Bade and Guillaume Budé, to Budé's disadvantage—and Bade was a newcomer, whereas a great deal of French pride by this time attached to the scholarly glory of Budé, a native son.

⁹⁸ Bietenholz 1971: 190.

⁹⁹ See Dibbelt 1950: 69–70.

¹⁰⁰ Halkin, L.-E. 1984, "La Piété d'Érasme," *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* 79: 675.

A word should be added concerning the institution in 1529 of the *lecteurs royaux* at Paris, the ultimate source of the later *Collège de France*. The model was the *collegium trilingue* at Louvain, where the three languages deemed necessary for biblical study were to be represented by three separate chairs of Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. Although Erasmus was invited by King Francis I to preside over the foundation, he was distinctly coy about accepting, and finally declined. This refusal has been variously interpreted. Margaret Mann Phillips¹⁰¹ points to Erasmus' sense of a clash of loyalties: as an imperial councillor, how could he directly serve the King of France, who was at war with the empire at that time? On the other hand, André Stegmann¹⁰² argues that those who were behind the invitation (Erasmus' friends in Paris, including Budé) were not sincere, and wished to hint that he ought to refuse. Erasmus' true attitude eludes us; his language, as often, is veiled. But the most important point is this: the conception, the idea, were Erasmian. Nothing could have been more so. And this is an outstanding example, among many others, of Erasmus' legacy to France.

¹⁰¹ See Phillips 1949: 203.

¹⁰² Stegmann 1968: 283. See Ep. 522 from Budé, Ep. 523 from Cop, Ep. 529 from Erasmus.

EXCURSUS I

The date of Erasmus' birth

Although we are not primarily concerned here with the question (still not wholly resolved) of Erasmus' birth-date, it is important for some purposes to establish the age he had attained at the time of his first and subsequent periods of residence in Paris.

At no point in the surviving correspondence of Erasmus does he state the year of his birth, though the day (or rather night) and the month are well attested: 27/28 October. In a number of letters, he indicates, either exactly or vaguely, his age at the time of writing; we have then to calculate his year of birth on the basis of (usually external) events mentioned in the letter in question. Some of the letters to be taken into account are written by others. Such calculations do not yield a consistent result; consequently the birth of Erasmus has been attributed to various dates from 1465 (or even earlier) to 1469. Generally, 1466 has found favour (it was endorsed by the editor of the correspondence, P.S. Allen); but in 1953 the eminent Dutch historian R.R. Post lent his authority to the choice of 1469, developing an argument first urged by D. Reichling in 1911. Post's lengthy defence of the date 1469¹⁰³ was challenged in 1966 by E.-W. Kohls (see Kohls 1966a), who argued for the year 1466. Post replied at once in the same journal (see Post 1966), and Kohls returned to defend his position, again in the same journal (see Kohls 1966b). Finally, the archivist of Deventer, A.C.F. Koch, issued in 1969 a short book in English, of which only 750 copies were printed (see Koch 1969), containing an incisive discussion of the views of Post and Kohls, and concluding in favour of 1467. This last work was reviewed (in Dutch) by N. van der Blom (see Blom 1969); generally, van der Blom accepts Koch's suggested dating but raises a number of questions that require to be seriously considered. One of the most troublesome factors in the equation, so to speak, is Erasmus' repeated statement¹⁰⁴ that he left the school at Deventer at "fourteen" or "nearly fifteen", coupled with his other statement that he

¹⁰³ *Geboortjaar en opleiding van Erasmus*; see Post 1953, subsequently published in a French translation (Post 1964).

¹⁰⁴ Cf. Ep. 940. 9.

heard Alexander Hegius lecture there. Now, Hegius' time of teaching at Deventer is linked with his finding the school emptied because of a plague, apparently that of 1483. If Hegius *began* to teach at Deventer in 1483, this might seem a strong argument for the 1469 birth-date; Koch explains it away by suggesting that Hegius arrived earlier than 1483 and the evacuation of the school was an interruption in his teaching, not its beginning; but van der Blom points to the language used in describing Hegius' advent at the school (for example, the verb *augurari*) as pointing clearly to a beginning. Did Erasmus for some reason deliberately mis-state his age on leaving the school? To clear up this point, we need to have fuller information on the life of Alexander Hegius.

Among other complicating factors, the authenticity of the source from which many indications of Erasmian dates are derived, namely the *Compendium Vitae* (Ep. ii) has been questioned. Many scholars accept R. Crahay's argument (see Crahay 1937) that it must be considered as a largely forged compilation, made after Erasmus died but containing elements of truth and some original material. Others, including Allen and the editors of the *Collected Works of Erasmus (CWE)*, have accepted it, though with some hesitation, as authentic. The Greek headings to the *CV* and its accompanying letter themselves seem to me suspicious. At the head of the letter we read *Ἀναγίνωσκε μόνος καὶ λάθρα*, 'read this in solitude and in secret', which is unexceptionable since in the letter itself strongly disparaging language is used concerning Eppendorf and others, who are in fact accused of spying; see, for example, lines 184–86. But at the head of the *CV* itself we find a very strange 'echo,' *ὁ βίος λάθρα*; this, if it means anything, should mean 'the life, in secret'—but if by this was intended 'here is the life: read it too in secret', then why, in an impersonal biographical document such as Erasmus will presumably have desired the *CV* to be—see Ep. 1437, introductory note—is the reader urged to be secretive in the same way? Be that as it may, it seems fairly clear that this particular source needs to be used with due caution.

Let us now point to a very few of the leading arguments brought to bear by those who have worked on the question of a birth-date, so far as these bear on our notion of Erasmus' age while he was in Paris. To return to the school at Deventer: Erasmus must have begun his studies there by 1478 at latest, since he overheard a conversation there 'in the jubilee year,' and the jubilee was not celebrated

at Deventer until that date. He must also have left Deventer by the earlier months of 1483, since the Ijssel bridge 'was not yet opened to traffic.'¹⁰⁵ It is mainly the puzzle about Hegius, which we have already mentioned—and it will be obvious that the defenders of 1469 lay great stress on this—that prevents us from conjecturing that Erasmus might have left Deventer in 1481 or 1482, which would leave intact the assertion that he left "in his fifteenth year" ('sixteenth,') according to Ep. 447. 156, *vixdum*—not *nondum*—*egressus annum decimum quintum*) taken together with an inferred birth-date of 1467 or possibly 1466.

If Erasmus was born in 1467, then when he went to Paris, in the late summer of 1495, he could not reasonably be expected to graduate as a doctor in theology before 1501 or even 1502; for the statutory minimum age for taking that degree, at the University of Paris at any rate, was 35.¹⁰⁶ The correspondence of the year 1501 tells us that Erasmus' religious superiors were becoming dissatisfied at his failure to achieve some mark of recognition in theology, presumably the award of a doctorate.¹⁰⁷ If Erasmus was born in 1469, there would be no grounds for dissatisfaction in this regard until 1504, or 1503 at the earliest. None of the writers on the problem of the birth-date has mentioned this point.

In any event, Erasmus soon gave up the idea of staying at the University of Paris until he achieved the doctorate. As will be clear from the following collection of testimonia, he had made up his mind, from 1498 onwards, that he would seek that degree in Italy rather than France, as soon as funds for the journey became available from one source or another. (It has been suggested that after some abortive attempts to raise funds for his Italian journey Erasmus returned to the idea of a Paris doctorate. So far, I have not found any evidence unambiguously pointing to this; the note seems to be based on Erasmus' words in Ep. 128. 10–11 *si profertur Doctoris insigne*, where I cannot see a necessary connection with a particular place). The help Erasmus is seeking at this time from either the Bishop of

¹⁰⁵ See Koch 1969: 31–33.

¹⁰⁶ See Farge 1985: 24, 33–34, for the age requirement. A reduction of a year or two, at most, from this might in some cases be allowed; but reductions of much longer than this were not to be thought of. See also Rashdall H. 1936, *Universities of Europe in the Middle Ages*, rev. ed. by F.M. Powicke and A.B. Emden (Oxford: Clarendon Press) I. 472, 474–479, 490–496.

¹⁰⁷ See Ep. 154. 45–47 (translated in Excursus 2 under date 12 Jul. 1501).

Cambrai or Mountjoy or the Lady of Veere seems generally to be envisaged as taking the form of a *viaticum* for Italian travel, as it is in the other passages quoted; see, for example, the excerpt from Ep. 129.

EXCURSUS 2

Erasmus' plans for Italian travel and his doctorate

13 Sept. 1496 (Ep. 48. 22):

I have not come here <i.e. to Paris> in order to teach, but to learn. Indeed, I shall aim for a doctorate, if Heaven so wills.

Jan. 1497 (Ep. 51. 12):

As for myself, I have not managed to produce anything, being taken up with my studies in theology; and (following Jerome's advice) I am busy learning the thing I must teach. Still, you may look for some harvest from my studies very soon.

Apr. 1498 (Ep. 75. 13):

I had made up my mind to withdraw to Italy this year and devote myself to theology at Bologna for several months, taking my doctoral degree there, and subsequently . . . to go back home to my brethren¹⁰⁸ and settle down among you. But I am apprehensive that I may not be able to accomplish these projects in the way I have in mind. Above all, I am afraid that my poor health may be unable to tolerate the length of the journey and the hot climate of those parts. Again, I estimate that it is impossible for anyone either to make the journey to Italy, or to live there, without very great expense. Over and above this, one needs a huge sum of money to purchase the degree itself. And the Bishop of Cambrai is niggardly in the extreme when it comes to granting <money>.

¹⁰⁸ *mei*. Here, and in similar contexts (cf. notes 110, 111), this word is used by Erasmus to mean 'the members of my religious community' and not 'my compatriots <in general>.' This is particularly evident in the context of note 110.

Oct. 1498 (Ep. 78. 3):

[Erasmus to Cornelis Gerard] You tell me 'there was nothing I less expected than to find you back at your abode in France, at the very time when you were firmly resolved to make preparations for a journey to Italy.'

29 Nov. 1498 (Ep. 80. 68):

I am more than delighted to learn what you tell me about the Lady's friendly attitude towards myself. But to think how friendly the Bishop's attitude used to be! What hopes he held out to me! And now could anyone behave more coldly?

Dec. 1498 (Ep. 81. 66):

For my part, I should not prefer to stay with the Pope himself in preference to you. Here <in Paris> I am living quite a hard life with an eye to gaining credit. Goodbye to the name of theologian; goodbye to reputation, goodbye to a useless kind of esteem; I have already had a foretaste of what it takes to 'be someone'—what, after all, does it consist of but conversing with a dear friend?

Dec. 1498 (Ep. 82. 16):

It was <Augustin Caminade> who fed and taught your son for <those> three months, because at that time I thought I was going to leave for Italy.

Feb. 1499 (Ep. 92. 6):

After Easter, <Erasmus> will go to Bologna (what a long and difficult journey!); he is now getting together his travelling fund. If all goes well, he will return in triumph with his degree.

2 May 1499 (Ep. 95. 17):

I have put off my journey, not only because I had no money to cover the cost of travelling, but even more—much more—because my appeals <for funds> had fallen on stony ground . . . I am on the same terms as formerly with my lord <Mountjoy> . . . <And> I enjoy a very close friendship with Fausto <Andrelini> . . . I am devoting myself entirely to my books, collecting my scattered productions and coining new ones; <so> I leave myself no leisure at all . . . I have decided to put back my Italian journey until August, to see whether in the meantime I can acquire the resources demanded by so long a journey. My lord himself, for his part, has decided to visit Italy if his mother allows—but not until a year from now; and not a word has been exchanged about his taking me with him! I can't forget how utterly disappointed

I already have been, in hoping for something like this; and, if I have to wait here <in Paris> for a year, when shall I ever come back to see you again?

May 1499 (Ep. 101. 37):

I have heard that the Lady of Veere has resolved on a journey to Rome, and has given it out that she desires me to accompany her.

5 Dec. 1499 (Ep. 118. 8):

Long before this you would have seen me, too, in Italy [Erasmus' correspondent was an Englishman stationed there], had not Lord Mountjoy carried me off to his native England when I was already prepared for my journey . . . (line 20) I have found so much culture and learning in England that now I would not greatly miss <coming to> Italy, except for the pleasure of seeing it.

March 1500 (Ep. 124. 61):

In the autumn, if I am allowed to do so, I shall make for Italy with the intention of gaining a doctor's degree.

July 1500 (Ep. 128. 8):

It is clear to me that my health is in peril if I stay any longer in these parts [i.e. in Paris], with the fear that (which God forbid) anything happens to me, that will be the end both of me and of my small amount of literary achievement; but if the badge of a Doctor is delayed [or 'is held out to me' <with the long, grinding apprenticeship that this would imply>, which would yield a statement of equivalent value], I am afraid my spirit may fail before my life does.

Sept. 1500 (Ep. 129. 23):

The Lady has provided Willem <Hermans> with travelling funds, on a most generous scale; but has sent me away empty-handed, at a time when he was returning to his homeland and I was travelling away from mine—when he was hurrying to drinking-parties and I to books . . . (line 57) I shall take a doctor's degree if either Mountjoy or the Lady sends me something. If not, I will cast away my hopes of that distinction, and will return to you [plural] in any capacity at all;¹⁰⁹ I have long had my fill of France.

¹⁰⁹ Ep. 129. 59 *quacunque conditione*. By *conditio*, here and in similar passages, Erasmus means 'position of employment,' or, as I have translated it 'capacity.' It is mis-

12 Dec. 1500 (Ep. 139. 31):

<Please tell the Lady that> there is nowhere one may more properly take a doctorate than in Italy, and nobody in delicate health can get to Italy without a great deal of money . . . (line 44) Make much of these points, as your talent dictates, and write a great deal about my character and my expectations; also about my affection for the Lady, and my modest bashfulness; and afterwards please add that I have written to you <to say> that I am absolutely in want of two hundred francs, which means that next year's salary should be paid out immediately. And I am by no means making this up, for it does not seem to me safe to set out for Italy on a <mere> hundred francs, and not the full amount either, unless I were willing once again to hand myself over as someone else's servant—and before I do that, I would prefer to die on the spot.

27 Jan. 1501 (Ep. 145. 105):

For a long time I have been aware that two things are imperative for me: one, to go to Italy, so that the little learning I have may gain something of respectability from that country's prestige; the other, to provide myself with the title of 'Doctor'—and both of them are pointless. For indeed (as Horace says) 'those that rush across the sea do not at once change character,' nor will 'the shadow of a mighty name' make me more learned by so much as a hair; but as things stand nowadays, you should indulge me in this, since at present those who occupy the highest positions in the world of learning are incapable of regarding anyone as a scholar unless he is called *Magister Noster*.

12 Jul. 1501 (Ep. 154. 45):

I have sojourned among my brethren¹¹⁰ in Holland for more than a month. They have resolved that I should devote a further year to my studies; they thought it would reflect discredit on themselves as well <as on me> if I were to return to them having acquired in all those years no grade of distinction whatever.

17 Jul. 1501 (Ep. 157. 57):

I am thinking of making for Italy this autumn—or, rather, dreaming about it, for there is not a gleam of hope <of a subsidy> anywhere.

leading to translate the phrase by 'whatever my circumstances,' or the like; this would indicate Erasmus' circumstances at the time of approach, whereas he is thinking of the future.

¹¹⁰ *mei*. See note 108.

18 Jul. 1501 (Ep. 159. 62):

All my brethren¹¹¹ appear to be silently insisting that I should return to them with the backing of a professional qualification that would, so to speak, arm me against the arrogance of a very ignorant set of men.

12 Jun. 1506 (Ep. 194. 15):

Now that I have returned to France, this country shines so brightly in my eyes that I cannot tell whether my mind is more charmed by England, which has brought me so many friends—and such admirable ones too—or France, which is so very beloved in my sight both because she was my homeland in former times, and because of the freedom <I had there>, and finally because of a very special kind of favour and partiality <shown by her> towards myself . . . (line 28) I am hopeful that the charge I have undertaken concerning the education of Baptista <Boerio>'s children will turn out successfully.

[In 1506] (Ep. ii. 122):

<Erasmus> set out for Italy; he had always been fired with longing to go there. He spent over a year at Bologna, being already in the evening of his age: that is, about forty years old.

¹¹¹ *mei*: see the previous note.

TRANSLATIONS FROM LATIN INTO FRENCH IN THE RENAISSANCE

Valerie Worth-Stylianou

Translations constitute a significant percentage of published works in the Renaissance, and there were in addition many unpublished translations, some of which circulated in manuscript form. If we look to the wider ambit of western Europe, it is clear that translations from classical languages into vernaculars, but also from vernaculars into Latin or even Greek, as well as from one vernacular to another, all contributed to the diffusion and exchange of knowledge throughout the period. The activity of translation is at least as old as the myth of Babel; Renaissance translators were thus, in one sense, treading a path familiar to antiquity and to their Medieval predecessors. Yet over the 150 years following the advent of printing in western Europe, new translations were produced on a hitherto unprecedented scale. Furthermore, the debates engendered on the one hand by the spread and evolution of humanism, and on the other hand by the growing prestige of national vernaculars placed translation at the centre of political, religious and literary controversies. Martin Luther's opponents were not slow to condemn his paraphrastic translation of Romans 3: 28, that man is justified "allein durch den glauben" (for "per fidem"). Luther responded with a spirited defence of the translator's role as both interpreter and arbiter of vernacular usage in his *Sendbrief vom Dolmetschen*.¹ Some twenty years later, the detractors of Etienne Dolet, a French humanist and printer, himself both a translator and the author of a popular short work on translation theory, cited among their criticisms his alleged mistranslation of a phrase in the *Axiochus* such that Plato appeared to deny the immortality of the soul.² While many other accusations contributed to the verdict which saw Dolet burnt at the stake in 1546, the example provides chilling evidence of the way in which translation could be represented as a

¹ For a fuller discussion of the significance of this instance, see Norton (1988).

² The *Axiochus*, now recognised as pseudo-Platonic, was held to be the work of Plato during the Renaissance.

subversive activity.³ Literary quarrels over the status of translation, although not literally matters of life and death, were often highly charged. Even in the late Renaissance, translators frequently felt obliged to defend their work. Thus the first English translator of Montaigne's *Essais*, John Florio, specifically refuted the view that translations would undermine universities and higher learning:

Shall I apologize translation? Why but some holde (after their freehold) that such conversion is the subversion of Universities. God holde with them, and withhold them from impeach or empaire. It was an ill turne, the turning of Bookes should be the overturning of Libraries. (Florio 1603: fol. A5 recto)

For the examples of Luther, Dolet and Florio, we could substitute many more. Suffice it to affirm that across Renaissance Europe, translation was very widely practised and equally widely debated. When I discuss below some key aspects of translations from Latin to French in the period, I am therefore focussing on one rich source of materials, but the issues are germane to translations from languages other than Latin, into vernaculars other than French, and indeed from vernaculars (including French) into neo-Latin.⁴

I *Translation: Between Otium and Negotium*

To apologise for the act of writing is a Renaissance commonplace, still more so to apologise for having the temerity to publish the results of such a pastime. Montaigne is but the best-known figure who plays skilfully with the notion that a gentleman may indulge in writing as a desultory leisure pursuit, but would not countenance being defined professionally by such an activity. This distinction between the worlds of *otium* and *negotium*, inherited from classical models, is particularly keenly felt by the authors of published translations. The very status of translations as second-generation, derivative works, akin to commentaries, weighs heavy upon many a practitioner.⁵

³ Compare also the fate of Louis Berquin, burned at the stake in 1529 for heresy. His translations of Erasmus had been condemned as seditious. See Mann (1931: 89–102 and 309–323).

⁴ For a summary of the extent and nature of translation across Renaissance Europe, see: Bolgar (1954); Pfeiffer (1976).

⁵ See the analysis by Guillerm (1988: 371–88).

For example, even such a respected translator as Anthoine Macault feels compelled to defend his translation (derived from the Latin version of Poggio) of the Greek historian Diodorus Siculus, using an extended agricultural simile which demonstrates that the translator receives little credit, since all the glory goes to the original author:

Car tout ainsi comme ung deffricheur qui (essartant la terre) rend par son extreme travail et continuelle sueur labourables et fertiles les lieux, au paravant steriles et en friche, n'en recoit pourtant aucun autre profit ne advantaige, que le salaire commun de ses journées: Mais en retourment et sont delivrez au seigneur propriétaire les fruitz et revenu: tout ainsi n'est attribuee grande louenge a ung translateur d'histoire ou autre escripture, quelque diligence quil y ait mise: ains des choses bonnes et bien lymees, en demeure la totale gloire au principal autheur du livre. (Arnoul et Charles les Angeliers 1540)⁶

If the vast ranks of translators of the French Renaissance include humanist scholars such as Lefèvre d'Étaples and Etienne Dolet, there also emerged in this period something akin to professional translators: men (though not, as far as I can ascertain, women) for whom translation constituted the major literary activity over a period of years.⁷ Vernacular versions of Spanish chivalric romances or of Italian novellas might be assured a popular reception, but to judge by the output of Guillaume Michel de Tours, French versions of classical authors also found a ready readership.⁸ Between 1516 and 1542, this prolific translator furnished the reading public with translations of Latin poets (Virgil), prose writers (Apuleius, Cicero) and historians (Justin, Suetonius, Valerius Maximus), as well as of Greek historians translated via Latin versions of their works (Josephus). Guillaume Michel stands out from his contemporaries for the number of lengthy works which he produced at a fairly prodigious rate. It is instructive to pause on his translation of Cicero's *Epistolae ad Familiares*, one of his last tasks, for the contrast it affords with Dolet's version of the same work which appeared soon afterwards. In 1537 and 1539, a publisher with as shrewd a commercial instinct as Denys Janot was not loath to see through his press the two volumes of Guillaume

⁶ The first edition of the work had been published in Paris in 1535: see the second part of the article by Deslisle (1900).

⁷ We can assess general patterns on the basis of copies that survive in major public and private libraries, as listed by Bunker (1939) and Chavy (1988).

⁸ On his literary career, see Armstrong (1969).

Michel's translation. From the *privilege*, it is clear that the French version is conceived as an act of vulgarisation, addressed primarily to readers who, not being familiar with the Latin language, would not have the skill to judge Guillaume Michel's work critically:

maistre Guillaume Michel a pour donner occupation et bonnes lettres francoyses aux non latins et gens de savoir et pour donner au peuple consolation et les divertir de vanite et estrangieres occupations translate et traduyct de Latin en francoy et toutes les particules ou livres des Epistres de Cicero. (Janot 1537)

Equally, Guillaume Michel's valedictory epistle at the end of the first volume specifies that the work is intended for the "non lettrez":

Nobles lecteurs qui appetez . . . lire
De tous estatz et de condition
.....
J'ay bien voulu de son inscription
Les (*Epistolae ad Familiares*) translate par l'intellection
Des non lettrez voyans ses exemplaires. (Janot 1537: fol. 171 verso)

The lay-out of the text, a key factor in our interpretation of the purpose and assumed readership of translations in this period,⁹ confirms this impression in the case of the first volume (1537). The French text is presented without any commentary in the margin or any additional apparatus beyond a statement at the start of each letter giving the identity of the correspondent to whom Cicero is writing. In the second volume, two years later, however, there are small signs that a different readership may now be envisaged. Each letter is prefaced by a short summary of its contents (in French), and the first few words of the Latin text are then reproduced. Given the immense popularity of the *Epistolae ad Familiares* in school curricula of this period, either the translator, or—more probably—the printer had marked the second volume out for the attention of schoolboys as well as for general readers unversed in Latin. Perhaps for the same commercial reasons, Etienne Dolet, one-time arch-Ciceronian and neo-Latinist, subsequently turned printer and apologist of the vernacular,¹⁰ produced an independent translation of almost the entirety of the *Epistolae ad Familiares* only three years later. In his preface, Dolet refers scathingly to his predecessor's work:

⁹ See Worth-Stylianou (1995).

¹⁰ See Worth-Stylianou (1988: 39–60).

certainement faite en despit des Muses Latines et Françoyes: car outre ce que le langaige n'en vault rien du tout, le gentil traducteur premier a si bien corrompu le sens qu'il faudroit ung Apollo pour deviner ce qu'il veult dire. (Dolet 1979)

In the eyes of Dolet, translation is no longer an act of simple vulgarisation. For a humanist scholar, it demands a high level of philological precision, as well as an excellent command of the French language.¹¹

By the mid- and later sixteenth-century, there is a divide between the "professional" translators like Belleforest, who earn a living from the rapid translation of popular works of Italian fiction (such as Bandello's short stories),¹² and those who dedicate years to the translation of a number of classical works, and for whom scholarship remains paramount. In the field of translation from Greek to French, the outstanding example is uncontestedly Amyot with his celebrated translations of Plutarch.¹³ Among translators of Latin authors, we can point to Blaise de Vigenère, who published translations of Caesar, Cicero and Tacitus, as well as of several Greek authors.¹⁴ Not only did he undertake large-scale projects, but in the case of Caesar and Tacitus, accompanied his translations (and, indeed, a reprint of part of the recent translation of Tacitus by Antoine de la Faye) by substantial annotations on points of historical and military detail. For Vigenère, the translator's task was to permit readers lacking in classical scholarship to appreciate the precise context of the works they read.¹⁵

Alongside those whose output as translators was particularly heavy were many others who undertook specific works of translation, often at the request of a patron, or at least in the hope of winning a patron's future support. The version of Cicero's *Philippics*, translated by the Macault brothers and eventually published in 1549, illustrates the relationship between patronage and translation.¹⁶ Anthoine had

¹¹ Among the five precepts of his *Maniere de bien traduire*, Dolet (1540) lists as the second the need for the translator to have perfect competence in both source and target language.

¹² See Simonin (1992).

¹³ See Aulotte (1965) and the chapters by Plazenet-Hau and Billault in this volume.

¹⁴ The study by Métral (1939) contains a full bibliography of Vigenère's publications, including his translations (Métral 1939: 249–59), which are analysed in Chapter II.

¹⁵ On Vignère's style and method of translation, see the essays by Buridant (1994) and by Chavy (1994).

¹⁶ On the career of Antoine Macault as a translator, and the patronage of François

begun the task, dedicating his translation of the first four speeches to King François I in 1539. He cited the king's command that he should work on translations as a means of avoiding the dangers of *otium*:

... il vous pleust, dès l'an passé, me commander que j'employasse le temps de mon loisir [en] telles recommandables occupations, meilleures certes que l'oisiveté vicieuse.¹⁷

However, various unspecified circumstances interrupted his work. When the king's death intervened, followed shortly by that of the translator, it fell to the latter's brother, Alexandre, to complete the translation and now offer it to a new patron, the Connétable de Montmorency. Anthoine may have been confident that the *Philippics* were a gem in the crown of Latin rhetoric—he styles the work “l'oeuvre la plus difficile, et plus elegante du plus excellent, et plus estimé Latin de tous les Latins”—but without the active encouragement of the king, the project had been shelved.

Many other translators can be seen trying their hand at a portion of a text, then dedicating it to a patron to test the waters before committing themselves further. We might cite Michel d'Amboise, who in 1543 published the only translation of Juvenal in sixteenth-century France.¹⁸ Even this version was partial, limited to satires 8, 10, 11 and 13. In the dedication to Francoys de Sercus, Evêque du Puy, d'Amboise alludes to his patron's encouragement on receipt of the version of Satire 8,¹⁹ which led him to undertake the version of the other three satires. He also hints that he would be ready to undertake further commissions,²⁰ but from the absence of any published sequel, we may infer that the offer fell on deaf ears. Translations, like so many other forms of composition in the period, are both a creative work and a marketable commodity. Without a supportive patron or public success, many translators, like would-be poets and prose writers, laid aside the Muses to pursue a career in other fields.

I, see the very detailed account given in the first part of the article by Deslisle (1900).

¹⁷ Cited by Deslisle (1900: 529).

¹⁸ For an appraisal of d'Amboise's translation, see Shaw (1978: 190–197).

¹⁹ “Noble prelat la traduction delle/Quant je ten filz present: te sembla belle” (d'Amboise 1543: 43).

²⁰ “Et de ma part je prendray l'office/De n'estre ingrat en ce que pourray faire/De te servir, obeyr, et complaire/Comme je suis . . .” (d'Amboise 1543: 43).

II *The Pedagogic Role of Translations*

One type of translation, however, was guaranteed a larger share of the market: that either intended for or turned to pedagogic ends. This latter distinction is, as we shall see, significant since we need to distinguish between on the one hand those texts initially presented as school textbooks or cribs, and on the other hand translations published in a pedagogic format in second or subsequent editions.

The development of printing had made possible types of texts and textual lay-outs which were markedly different from those of earlier centuries, notably bilingual or polyglot works. The philological impulse of both Italian and French humanism led naturally to a wish to compare classical languages and vernaculars as precisely as possible. In 1538 Robert Estienne had published a Latin-French dictionary, the entries of which he had reversed to form the basis of his 1539 *Dictionnaire françois-latin*. Interested also in the comparative grammar of Latin and French verbal and nominal systems, he had written two practical works, designed for use by French schoolchildren studying Latin, *La Maniere de tourner en langue françoise les verbes actifz, passifz, gerundifz, supins et participes* (1526) and *La Maniere de tourner toutes especes de noms latins en nostre langue francoyse* (1537). As G. Norton (1984: 125–9) has argued, by consistently presenting the correspondence between Latin and French paradigms, with little attention accorded to deviations between the two languages, these works implicitly assert the primacy and feasibility of translation. Closely related to this approach are the two bilingual editions of Cicero's *Epistolae ad Familiares* prepared by Robert Estienne's friend, Mathurin Cordier (who was an early tutor of Jean Calvin),²¹ and first published in 1542 and 1545. I have discussed elsewhere (Worth-Stylioanou 1995: 349–52) how the parallel format of these books—first the student has the entire Latin text of a letter, then the division of the text into small sections, each with a French translation and, in many cases, a Latin paraphrase as well—probably replicates the way in which translation contributed to the teaching of Latin within Renaissance schoolrooms.

There is some evidence that adults also turned to translations as a means of mastering languages in the Renaissance. For a female autodidact of the late Renaissance, Marie de Gournay, comparing

²¹ See Delormeau (1976).

Latin texts with their French translations provided a rare opportunity to acquire a solid mastery of the classics. In the preface to her published translations of Sallust and Tacitus, she alludes to this when denying the charge that her versions are derived merely from other French translations:

... quelques-uns croient qu'une femme ne peut entendre le Latin, et que je traduis sur les Traducteurs: mesment pource qu'ils sçavent que je l'apris de moy-mesme, et par simple routine, confrontant des Traductions aux Originaux. . . . (de Gournay 1641: 639)²²

In more cosmopolitan centres than Picardy, publishers were exploiting the benefits of the bilingual or even multilingual formula from the middle of the sixteenth century. For example, Guillaume Roville republished Dolet's version of the *Epistolae ad Familiares* in Lyon in 1561 alongside a parallel text. The printer's prefatory note extols the practical advantage of the format and suggests that it may serve French students of Latin, but also foreign students of French:

Et ce pour l'utilité tant de ceux qui travaillent pour apprendre la langue latine, sachant la francoyse, que de ceux qui apprennent la francoyse par le moyen du langage latin . . . (Dolet 1561: 2)

In contrast, other translators and writers are clear that the function of translations should be to spare the hard-pressed reader the labour of learning a language simply to read an otherwise inaccessible text. Du Bellay may have argued in the *Deffence et Illustration de la langue francoyse* that translations would not suffice to perfect the French language, but he warmly embraced their utility:

Et quant à ce poinct, les fideles traducteurs peuvent grandement servir et soulaiger ceux qui n'ont le moyen unique de vacquer aux Langues estrangeres. (Du Bellay [1549] 1902: I.5)²³

In the dedication to his 1554 translation of Virgil's *Georgics*, Richard Leblanc went further. After the common-sense observation of the impossibility of everyone learning every language, he warned that for some, language learning may ill repay the time and mental energy

²² First published in 1619: "Lettre à Monseigneur de Gelas," *Sur la version de deux oraisons latines*. I cite the version reproduced in Gournay (1641).

²³ Compare also Du Bellay's ([1549] 1904) heartfelt complaints in *La Deffence* I.10 about the many years wasted on the learning of foreign languages.

invested in it. The relationship of printed translations to Renaissance education was thus that of a double-edged sword, both a highly serviceable tool for the student of Latin or Greek, yet also potentially a labour-saving device which might threaten to obviate the need for the study of original texts. Certainly Montaigne's (1946: 347) lavish praise of Amyot's version of Plutarch ("je luy sçay bon gré d'avoir sçeu trier et choisir un livre si digne et si à propos, pour en faire present à son pays") fits the latter category, but throughout the Renaissance a solid command of Greek had remained the preserve of an elite. However, as humanist scholarship became a victim of the seventeenth-century hostility towards anything smacking of pedantry, French translations of Latin texts also came to be celebrated as gifts to the nation, of a value to rival the originals. Thus Voltaire was to describe Vaugelas's translation of Quintus Curtius as "le premier livre écrit purement."²⁴

III *Translation, Imitation and Creative Writing*

In the second quarter of the sixteenth century, debates that had been initiated in neo-Latin writings over the nature of imitation were taken up and extended in discussions in the vernacular of the themes of imitation and creativity.²⁵ The rival claims of fidelity to revered models and of literary originality were seen to impinge upon both intralingual and interlingual forms of imitation. However, in the case of rewritings in the vernacular—a category of which translations formed a substantial part—there was, until at least the mid-sixteenth century, a widespread concern that French was not sufficiently mature as a literary language to do justice to celebrated Latin or Greek texts. Du Bellay famously explored the dilemma in his *Deffence et Illustration de la langue francoyse* in 1549, but various translators had already voiced similar ideas. Although not given to unnecessary apologies, Etienne Dolet admitted in his preface to the reader of his 1542 version of Cicero's *Epistolae ad Familiares* that the French language lacked the lexical richness to match the concision of Latin:

²⁴ On Vaugelas's translation, see Ayres-Bennett (1987: 178–87).

²⁵ See, for example, Cave (1979), Part I.

Au demeurant, je te veulx advertir que la langue Françoysse n'est si copieuse, qu'elle puisse exprimer beaulcoup de choses en telle briefvé, que la Latine. (Dolet 1979: 112)

In the preface to his translation of Horace's *Ars Poetica*, published in 1545, Jacques Peletier saw the state of the French language as a handicap to writers in general:

Si de bien pres on veut considerer le stile des escrivains du temps present . . . on voirra clairement qu'ilz n'approchent pas de celle copieuse vehemente et genereuse proprieté qu'on voit luire es auteurs anciens. (Peletier 1545: 3)

Yet neither of these authors, nor indeed Du Bellay, seriously doubted that the French language would suffice to convey the substance of a classical text through translation.²⁶

What was at issue was not the practical feasibility of translation, for the concrete proofs of this flowed almost daily from French Renaissance presses, but rather the nature of ideal translation, and the specific accommodations which an individual translator of a given text must make. It is significant that purely theoretical discussions are located within various *Arts Poétiques* and their equivalents. Sebillet, Du Bellay and Peletier all dedicate one or more chapters to the subject. Only Dolet published a separate short treatise (*La Manière de bien Traduire*, 1540), and this was conceived as one part of an ambitious but unfinished larger project on the French Orator. Abstract discussions of the nature of translation belonged within a broad poetic or rhetorical framework. However, individual translators could and did contribute substantially by extrapolating both general principles and concrete examples from their work. For example, Dolet, Sebillet and Peletier all inveigh against a literal, word-for-word translation.²⁷ In contrast, many translators are concerned to affirm the fidelity of their version. Thus Octavien de Saint-Gelais (1509) claimed in the Prologue to his translation of the *Aeneid* that his intention had been

²⁶ “. . . entendu que toutes Sciences se peuvent fidelement et copieusement traicter en icelle <langue>, comme on peut voir en si grand nombre de livres Grecz et Latins, voyre bien Italiens, Espaignolz et autres, traduitz en Francoys par maintes excellentes plumes de nostre temps.” (Du Bellay [1549] 1904: I.4)

²⁷ “il ne se fault pas asservir jusques à la que l'on rende mot pour mot” (Dolet 1540: 15); “. . . ne jure tant superstitieusement au mot de ton auteur” (Sebillet [1548] 1910: II.13); “Suivant notre propos, les traduccions de mot a mot n'ont pas grace” (Peletier [1545] 1930: II.6).

“icelluy livre translater . . . de mot a mot et au plus pres.” Similarly, Jacques Collin assures his patron that, while he has not been able to recapture the sweetness of Cicero’s style, she will find “les sentences entiers fidellement tournees” in his 1537 translation of the *De Amicitia*.²⁸ In fact neither Octovien’s nor Collin’s version is particularly close to the original texts by the standards of their contemporaries, but both men are concerned to profess their awareness of the duty of the Renaissance translator.²⁹

One of the most important ways in which humanism had an effect upon Renaissance translations was in the promotion of a new ethic of respect for the integrity of the original text. At the extreme the most scholarly translators referred to specific Latin editions in which they had sought the most accurate text. The 1584 re-edition of the French translation of Tacitus’ *Annals* by Claude Fauchet (also incorporating the version of several books of the *Annals* by Etienne de la Planche) concludes with a series of “Annotations.” These provide not only contextual explanations (e.g. proper names), but also comments on variant readings of the Latin with references to authorities such as Budé and Lipsius. As proof of his own good faith and scholarship, Fauchet declares his sources and challenges the reader to verify his work:

Je te veulx advertir, que j’ay suivy la pluspart des corrections Latines de Justus Lipsius . . . Et pour ce, s’il prend envie à quelqu’un de collationner ma translation au Latin: qu’il prenne un livre imprimé par Plautin l’an 1581. (Fauchet 1584)

Such an approach to translation is far removed from the late medieval tradition, particularly strong in the case of poets such as Ovid or Virgil, of combining translation with liberal paraphrase and allegorical commentary. Nonetheless, the evolution was gradual rather than abrupt. In the first three decades of the sixteenth century the *Bible des poetes*, a prose *remaniement* of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses*, continued to be reprinted and was given a new lease of life between 1532–9 when it was slightly reworked and issued under the title *Le Grand Olympe des histoires poetiques*.³⁰ In the case of Virgil, as will be discussed in

²⁸ Collin (1537); preface to the Comtesse de Dampierre.

²⁹ The best example I have found of rigorous, close translation, which eschews paraphrase, is B. Aneau’s version of Cicero’s *Ad Octavium* (1542). Aneau’s style stands out, however, for the rarity of its economic precision.

³⁰ For a bibliography of main editions of these works, see Amielle (1989: 14–19).

more detail below, the prose *remaniement* by an anonymous author, the *Livre des Eneydes*, was not reprinted after the end of the fifteenth century. However, in 1541 Hélisenne de Crenne published a prose version of the first four books of the *Aeneid*, which was still close to medieval tradition in its paraphrastic approach. Since there is no trace of this work being reprinted, we may surmise that by this date readers looked instead for accurate, unadorned translations. It is not until the mid-seventeenth century that the taste for extravagant reworkings of the classics resurfaces in such burlesque works as *Virgille travesti* or *Ovide bouffon*.³¹

While the goal of accurate translations on the level of substance was realised by many translators from the 1530s onwards, what continued to preoccupy them was the challenge of transmitting the stylistic qualities of classical texts, whether verse or prose. In the *Deffence*, Du Bellay doubted that translations could ever recapture the “eloquution” of the original, both because translators could never learn to manipulate language as skilfully as a great writer had done, but also, perhaps more tellingly, because:

chacune Langue a je ne scay quoy propre seulement à elle, dont si vous efforcez exprimer le naif en une autre Langue, observant la loy de traduyre, qui est n'espacier point hors des limites de l'auteur, vostre diction sera contrainte, froide, et de mauvaïse grace. (Du Bellay [1549] 1904: I.5)

Again, the theorist is thinking about the illusory, ideal translation. When Du Bellay tried his hand at the practical task, with his version of parts of the *Aeneid*, his focus shifted. In the preface to his work, he suggested that some compromise was not only necessary, but desirable:

Il me semble, veu la contrainte de la ryme, et la difference de la propriété et structure d'une langue à l'autre, que le translateur n'a pas mal fait son devoir, qui sans corrompre le sens de son auteur, ce qu'il n'a peu rendre d'assez bon grace en un endroit s'efforce de le recom-penser en l'autre. (Du Bellay [1552] 1561)³²

Amielle lists one solitary reimpression in 1570 of the 1539 edition. For a study of the form and significance of the *Bible des poetes* and *Le Grand Olympe*, see Amielle (1989: 31–135); and Moss (1984: Chapter 1).

³¹ See Amielle (1989: 25–6; 273–5). On seventeenth-century tastes and ideologies in the field of translation, see Zuber (1969).

³² The first edition of *Le Quatriemesme Livre de l'Eneide de Vergile* was published in Paris in 1552.

In a similar way, Dolet's *Maniere de bien traduire* had proposed five precepts for excellent translation, but on examination, all of them are couched in general or visionary terms. In particular, the final recommendation that, in order to achieve stylistic excellence, the translator should strive after the "observation des nombres oratoires" says far more about the classical rhetorical context on which Dolet draws than about how to resolve precise problems of translation.³³ The preface to his translation of Cicero's *Ad Familiares*, however, addresses such concrete issues as the use of circumlocutions and how to translate Latin terms for civic functions (Dolet 1979: 112–13).

Some of the problems which Dolet or Du Bellay evoke—the translation of contextually-bound terms, the constraints of different systems of versification—recur in the prefaces of many other translators of the sixteenth century. What emerges more slowly, but is already there in essence in both their cases, is the growing confidence that a translator can manipulate French to capture something of the stylistic quality of the original. Particularly interesting in this respect are several translations which use French as the "lingua franca" for measuring the stylistic achievements of classical authors. In 1554 Jean Papon produced a *Rapport des deux princes d'eloquence, grecque et latine, Demosthenes et Cicero, à la traduction d'aucunes leurs Philippiques*. Conceived as a gift for his patron, the Seigneur d'Ursé, on the occasion of his son's marriage, the volume contains a translation of the second Philippics of both Demosthenes and Cicero. Papon presents these in the form of a competition between two masters of eloquence, the equivalent, as it were, of a literary joust:

j'ay voulu mettre en lumiere les deux orateurs en semblable matiere par la traduction d'aucunes leurs philippiques, par ou chacun, qui la lira pourra faire jugement, lequel des deux a le myeux dit. (Papon 1554: fol. ii)

Papon claims as justification for his translation the fact that it is fairer to judge both authors through the medium of a third language. In a slightly different fashion, Blaise de Vigenère, published a compendium of extracts from Cicero, Caesar and Tacitus in 1575. Although de Vigenère offers a comparison rather than a competition between the three celebrated Latin prose writers, the subtitle of

³³ On Dolet's debt to classical works of rhetoric, see Norton (1984: 203–17).

his work makes it clear that he views French as a suitable vehicle for conducting this:

Le tout mis en François par le sieur de Vigenere, comme pour un essay de representer en nostre langue la diversité des styles Latins. (de Vigenère 1575)

In an extensive preface, he argues that the duty of a translator is to convey the style as well as the substance of the text. How this is to be achieved results in a tension between his commitment to accurate imitation (“Car ce sont trois styles aucunement differents les uns des autres, que j’ay tasché de rendre . . . fidelement, et le plus de mot à mot que la nostre [langue] l’a peu porter” [de Vigenère 1575: fol. 2 verso]) and his recognition that a translator may at times depart from the exact mechanisms employed in the original language. Indeed, there is even a hint of the emergence of an ethic that we would associate with the “belles infidèles” of the following century, for, engaged as he is in the pursuit of stylistic excellence, de Vigenère declares that on occasions a good translator should not scruple to improve upon the style of classical authors:

sans s’astreindre de les suivre du tout pas à pas, <faut> se dispenser des redondances, et involutions de paroles s’aucunes en y a: y adjouster, changer, diminuer beaucoup de choses, pourveu que ce ne soit en empirant, et qu’on n’extravague pas ce qu’ils veulent dire. (de Vigenère 1575: fol. 2 verso)

In theory, at least, de Vigenère here crosses the indistinct boundaries between translation, imitation and creative writing. Although he had insisted, in humanist fashion, upon fidelity to the integrity of the original text, he thinks not as an imitator bound to an inalienable model, but as a creative writer, concerned above all by the quality of the new text he produces. Nor is he alone in this. Throughout the Renaissance, the relationship between the activities of translation, imitation and creative writing was rich and fluid. It is scarcely surprising that authors who chose to translate their own works from Latin into the vernacular or vice versa often took the opportunity to rewrite them more or less substantially. Calvin’s *Institution de la religion chrétienne* of 1541 not only expands the Latin text of the original *Christianae religionis institutio*, but, as F. Higman (1970) has demonstrated, accommodates the thought to make it accessible to a less sophisticated French reading public. For example, ironies are made explicit in the vernacular, lest the unskilled reader should miss the

point. When Des Masures (1563; 1569), after his open conversion to Protestantism, chose to turn into Latin verse his satirical French epic predicting the fall of Rome, he produced an elegant paraphrase rather than a strict translation. But the movement between translation and creative writing is not limited to the examples of self-translation. The practice of translation can also be seen to affect the original writings of many Renaissance authors. Phrases from his translation of Virgil surface in various of Du Bellay's poems; more than half a century later, the same pattern can be discerned if one compares Marie de Gournay's translations of the *Aeneid* with her own poetry.³⁴ Nor are such echoes, or "borrowings" the preserve of the translator himself. For example, H. Naïs (1980) has demonstrated striking similarities between Du Bellay's version of the *Aeneid* and lines in Jodelle's *Didon se sacrifiant*. Finally, we can do no more than indicate several among the great number of compositions which are situated somewhere between translation, imitation and creative writing. In 1569, Scévole de Sainte-Marthe (1569) had no hesitation in entitling his first published collection *Premières oeuvres . . . qui contiennent ses Imitations et Traductions recueillies de divers Poètes grecs et latins*. It is as though the distinction between "imitations" and "traductions" has been collapsed. Catherine des Roches, distinguished among Renaissance women writers for her scholarly learning, described her version of Clodian's *De raptu Proserpinae* as *Le Ravissement de Proserpine pris de Claude Clodian*. It is the term "pris" that should give us pause for thought. As A. Larsen (des Roches 1999: 50–66) has recently documented in her critical edition of Catherine's work, the paraphrase—which runs to 1480 alexandrines—is inflected and modified to convey Catherine's own sense of how the mother and daughter in Clodian's retelling of the myth might have responded to the outrage. Finally, if Montaigne's *Essais* are the outstanding example of a work replete with the rewriting of classical texts, they are not without passages close to paraphrase and even translation, such as the borrowings from Lucretius and Plutarch towards the end of the *Apologie*. The association between creative writing and translation was unavoidable as Montaigne recorded in the vernacular thoughts formed in large measure by his years of communion with Greek and Latin authors.

³⁴ See the footnotes accompanying Gournay's translations of the *Aeneid* and her own poetry in the forthcoming critical edition of her works, co-ordinated by J.-Cl. Arnould (Paris: Champion).

IV *Examples of the Evolution of Translations c. 1500–1630*

In summary, some general evolutionary trends can be noted for translations of the French Renaissance: a greater philological precision, the counterpart in the vernacular of humanist efforts to establish the most accurate Latin or Greek texts; an abandonment of allegorical versions or extravagant *remaniements* in favour of more faithful renderings; and finally, a growing confidence in the resources of French as a literary language capable of equalling, or at least approaching, the achievements of great classical stylists. One of the most telling measures of such developments is a comparison of different versions of the same classical text produced over this period. I conclude this chapter with extracts from translations of Virgil's *Aeneid*, a work exceptional for the number of independent published versions of all or of substantial parts of the text in just over a century. In addition, as many of the translators explicitly recognised, to translate Virgil, the Prince of Poets, was to accept a supreme literary challenge.

While there have been studies of some of these individual translations or comparisons of a number of them, no study brings together all the versions cited below.³⁵ I cite an extract from the end of Book IV, commonly recognised as one of the finest in Virgil's epic, and indicate some of the key characteristics of each version.

- 693 Tum Iuno omnipotens longum miserata dolorem,
Difficilisque obitus, Irim demisit Olympo:
695 Quae luctantem animam, nexosque resolveret artus.
Nam quia nec fato, merita nec morte peribat,
Sed misera ante diem, subitoque accensa furore:

³⁵ Hulubei (1931), gave a very useful appraisal of sixteenth-century editions, translations and adaptations of the *Aeneid*, *Georgics* and *Eclogues* but did not include Hélienne's prose version of the *Aeneid*, or translations after 1583. Subsequently, a thesis by Götz (1957) examined in some detail the versions of the *Aeneid* by Octavien de Saint-Gelais, des Masures and Du Bellay (but not that by Hélienne), as well as translations of the *Georgics* and of the *Eclogues* in the same period; the same texts independently formed the basis of M. Cooper's M.A. thesis on "A Study of Sixteenth-Century Translations of Virgil into French" (University of Leeds, 1960). My doctoral thesis (1983), "The Practice of Translation from Latin into French (1534–1554)," had three chapters on published translations of the *Aeneid*, including the translation by Hélienne. In 1966 Raue's study examined the later translations of the *Aeneid* by P. Tredehan and by Le Chevalier d'Agneaux brothers, as well as contemporary versions of the *Eclogues* and of the *Georgics*, but Raue did not extend his discussion to include Marie de Gournay's early 17th-century versions.

- Nondum illi flavum Proserpina vertice crinem
 Abstulerat, Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco.
 700 Ergo Iris croceis per caelum roscida pennis,
 Mille trahens varios adverso sole colores
 Devolat, et supra caput astitit. Hunc ego Diti
 Sacrum iussa fero: teque isto corpore solvo.
 Sic ait, et dextra crinem secat: omnis et una
 705 Dilapsus calor, atque in ventos vita recessit.³⁶
 (*Aeneid*, IV. 693–705)

1 1509 Octovien de Saint-Gelais, *Les Eneydes de Virgille*³⁷

Octovien's verse translation of the whole *Aeneid*, published posthumously and reprinted a number of times until 1540, is the first vernacular version which can accurately be described as a translation, not a *remaniement*.³⁸ The Prologue, as we have seen,³⁹ affirmed his commitment to a full and accurate translation. If the degree of precision obtained is rather less than that claimed, nonetheless the presence in the margin of lines or half lines of the Latin text, positioned at regular intervals, indicates that the publisher anticipated that the translation would be compared with the original.

- 1 Et lors Juno ayant compassion
 De la tresgrande et dure passion
 Et de sa mort trop longue et difficile
 Du ciel envoye Iris la tresagille
 5 Pour deslyer de telle prison lame
 Et les membres de celle povre dame:
 Car par fatal ne par mort meritee
 Nestoit elle de vie desheritee
 Mais elle simple enflammee damour

³⁶ I cite the Latin text printed in the margin of the French translation by Louis des Masures (1560: 215). In most other cases, we cannot be sure which edition a translator used. However, on the evidence of the translations, there do not appear to have been significant differences in respect of this passage.

³⁷ Earlier studies by Molinier (1910), Mohr (1911) and Luzzato (1955), have been largely superseded by the work of Brückner (1987). However, Scollen-Jimack's article (1977) "Octovien de Saint-Gelais' translation of the *Aeneid*: poetry or propaganda" remains an important contribution for its attention to the political circumstances which probably motivated Octovien's choice of text.

³⁸ The anonymous prose "translation" published by Guillaume Le Roy in 1483, under the title *Livre des Eneydes*, was in reality a *remaniement*, with episodes reordered, and substantial omissions and additions. For the reception of Virgil in previous centuries, see Comparetti ([1872] 1981).

³⁹ See above pp. 146–7.

- 10 Avoit trop tost anticepe son jour
 Dont Proserpine dame de l'obscur monde
 Navoit coupe sa chevelure blonde
 Pas ne lavoit condamnee et jugee
 Pour nestre encor en son orche plongee.
- 15 Doncques pris a ses aesles crocees
 En lair tresnoble par les nues percees:
 Tirant a elle mille estranges couleurs
 Contrarians Phebus par ses valeurs:
 Tant fust <??> erra que sur le chef fust mise
- 20 De la dolente que mort avoit ja prise
 Disant je porte ce gage et sacrifice
 Au Dieu Dytis convenable et propice
 Jacoit pourtant que les douleurs extremes
 Damours grandes et les plaintes de mesmes
- 25 Ayent deslye son ame de son corps
 Pour prendre ailleurs perpetuelz recors
 Quant elle eut dit le crin coupe et detranche
 Et lors devint Dydo transye et blanche
 Toute chaleur dicelle sen alla
- 30 Et la vie o les ventz sen volla.⁴⁰

It is obvious that Octovien's version is substantially longer than the original (30 decasyllabic lines for 13 hexameters). The translator has a general tendency towards elaboration, in particular adding pathos to descriptions (lines 6, 23–26), and paraphrasing mythological references (line 11). Like many translators of the earlier sixteenth century, he favours the device of reduplication (two words in French to translate one in Latin: lines 2, 3, 13, 21, 22, 27, 28). Nonetheless, he gives a rendering of almost every word in the Latin, and, as the last line particularly shows, seeks to mirror some of the poetic qualities of Virgil's verse.

2 1541 *Helisenne de Crenne, Les Quatre premiers livres des Eneydes du treslegant poete Virgile*⁴¹

Hélisenne's translation appears closer to Mediaeval than to Renaissance practice in that it is in prose, with each book divided into chapters,

⁴⁰ [1509] 1540, *Les Oeuvres de Virgile. Translatees de Latin en francoys* (Paris: Denys Janot): fol. ggii.

⁴¹ Because copies of Hélisenne's translation are rare, it has received scant critical attention. Apart from the chapter in my doctoral thesis (Worth-Stylianou 1983:

and the French text is essentially a loose paraphrase in which comments and glosses are freely introduced. Hélisenne claims to have been drawn to the work by "le style heroique" of Virgil. Her work is clearly an attempt to convey the literary qualities as much as the substance of the Latin work for an audience more familiar with chivalric romances than with classical epic.⁴² However, despite the popularity of other of her works, the translation was not reprinted.

La trespuissante Juno ayant compassion de sa peine anxieuse, qui trop longue et prolixie estoit: pour y imposer fin, elle envoya du ciel la tresgale Yris, luy donnant expresse commission de deslier l'ame de sa prison corporelle, et la descharger de ses fragiles et mortelz membres; ce qui fut fait, à cause que par le fatal ne par mort meritée n'estoit la miserable dame privée de vie: mais elle simple et au croire trop facile, par enflammée amour venerienne, avoit ses jeunes jours anticipez sans attendre d'avoir attainct son periode: doncques Proserpine qui de l'obscur et tenebreux royaume tient le sceptre et la couronne, n'avoit encores sa chevelure blonde coupée et ne l'avoit condamnée d'estre si tost en son Orce conduite: car les trois soeurs n'avoient encores fait en elle leur offices: les noms de ces trois soeurs fatales sont, Clotho, Lachesis et Atropos: par lesquelles est entendu la vie de l'homme par trois temps. Clotho porte la quenouille qui se peult interpreter qu'elle donne vie aux choses. Lachesis qui ne cesse de filler, denote la vie que durant ce fillet nous avons. Et Atropos le rompt, qui signifie que la vie de l'homme est terminée. Or n'estant Dido parvenue à la maturité des ans, ausquelz Atropos a de coustume le fil couper, certes Charo n'avoit encores sa barque appareillée pour passer l'ame d'elle outre le fleuve Acheron. Or puis que c'estoit une mort violente, de tant plus estoit la dissolution du corps difficile: doncques Yris avec ses aesles crocées, en l'aer tiroit à elle mille couleurs variables et diversifiées, contrariant par ses forces le splendissant Phoebus: et tant persista en la velocity de son cours, que sur le chef de la dolente Roïne fut posée: puis les motz subsequens prononça: Je transmigre au dieu Dis ce sacrifice, combien que les anxietez extremes originées d'amour trop grande, ayent de son angustié corps deslyé l'ame pour faire ailleurs perpetuelle residence. Ces paroles proferées, sans aulcune dilation elle couppa sa deaurée chevelure: Lors Dido devenant pasle, piteuse et descoulourée, toute chaleur naturelle d'elle se sequestra, et avec les ventz s'en vola sa jeune vie. (de Crenne 1541: fol. cii recto)

267–298), see the comparison of Octovien's and of Hélisenne's translations by Scollen-Jimack (1982: 197–210).

⁴² The extravagance of her prose style is, I would argue, best appreciated in the context of what Sturel (1922) termed "la prose poétique."

It is clear from this extract that the “translation” turns the *Aeneid* into a romance, with Dido as the tragic heroine. While adhering to the outline of Virgil’s text, Hélisenne contrives to insert frequent expressions of pity for Dido, particularly through her choice of adjectives (e.g. “jeune” in the last line). The space which she accords to paraphrastic commentaries on mythological characters is well illustrated by her excursus on the three Furies.⁴³ Her prose style is richly ornate, with somewhat archaic syntax, frequent use of reduplications, and a preference for hypertactic periods.

3 1552 *Louis des Masures, Les quatre premiers livres de l’Eneide*⁴⁴

Des Masures published his verse translation of the *Aeneid* in a series of instalments from 1547–1560. The first two books appeared in 1547, and were reprinted together with the version of books three and four in 1552. The complete translation continued to be republished up until 1574. The presence of the entire Latin text alongside the French translation indicates Des Masures’ priority: providing an accurate French version, albeit one that, as he acknowledges in his preface, does not match the poetic qualities of Virgil.

- 1 Adoncq Juno, qui toute puissance ha
La douleur longue abreger s’avança,
Mue a pitié de la mort difficile.
Du haut Olympe Iris prompte et agile
- 5 Elle envoya, pour mettre a delivrance.
L’ame luitante au corps en grand’ souffrance:
Et deslier le neud des membres joint.
Car pourautant qu’elle ne mouroit point
De sort fatal, ne de mort desservie,
- 10 Mais miserable, avant ses jours, la vie
Elle finoit, et de soudain meschef
Mise en fureur, Proserpine du chef
Ne luy avoit couppé au jour final
Le cheveu blond: et au siege infernal
- 15 N’avoit encores sa teste condamnée.
Donques Iris fresche et clere, empenee

⁴³ The subtitle of the work represents her approach clearly: “a la traduction desquelz ya pluralite de propos, qui par maniere de phrase y sont adjoustez: ce que beaucoup sert à l’elucidation et decoration desdictz Livres.”

⁴⁴ On the significance of translation within Des Masures’s varied literary career, see Pineaux (1980: 51–71).

- D'aisles du teint de la rose apparentes:
 Charge un milier, de couleurs differentes,
 Du cler Soleil à l'opposite estant
- 20 Par le ciel vole, et se met à l'instant
 Sur le chef d'elle: ou ainsi fit son voeu:
 J'offre et consacre à Pluton ce cheveu
 Par ordonnance: et de ce corps humain
 Je te delivre. A l'heure de sa main
- 25 Rompt le cheveu. La chaleur s'escoula.
 La vie aux vents ensemble s'en alla.

(des Masures 1560: 215)

Only marginally shorter than Octovien's version (26 decasyllabic lines), Des Masures's follows Virgil's text more closely, particularly in the order in which phrases are presented. He is also scrupulous in following Virgil's metaphors and images (e.g. lines 6–7). The wish to produce a highly accurate translation leads to some unpoetic paraphrase (e.g. line 1). Reduplications still occur (lines 4, 16, 22), but on a reduced scale, and the occasional latinisms (e.g. "empenee," line 16) seem to have been chosen for the precision they afford.

4 1552 *Joachim Du Bellay, Le Quatriesme Livre de l'Eneide de Vergile*⁴⁵

At a moment in his own poetic career when he claimed to be devoid of inspiration, Du Bellay turned to what he termed in his preface an "exercice de plus ennuyeux labour," namely the translation of several books of the *Aeneid*. His version of Book IV was published in 1552, a substantial extract from Book V in 1553, and Book VI in the posthumous complete edition of his works (1561). While denying that he could imitate the qualities of Virgil, he hoped his translation—printed with no accompanying Latin text, and therefore inviting judgement in its own right as a piece of French poetry—would not displease the well-disposed reader.

- 1 Voyant cecy Junon la tout'-puissante,
 Prenant pitié de ceste languissante,
 Transmist du ciel Iris, pour jeter hors
 L'esprit rebelle attaché dans le corps:

⁴⁵ In addition to the comparative studies listed under footnote 35 above, Du Bellay's version of the *Aeneid* has been analysed in the context of critical studies of his whole literary output: e.g. Griffin (1969); Coleman (1980).

- 5 Car pour autant que de mort naturelle
 Ne perissoit, mais par fureur nouvelle
 Devant ses jours: la Roynie du bas monde
 N'avoit couppé sa chevelure blonde:
 Et à l'Enfer de Styx environné
- 10 Son chef encor' n'avoit point condamné.
 Donques Iris aux ailes rougissantes
 Traynant au ciel mille couleurs naissantes
 Par les rayons de la flamme opposée,
 D'ung loingtain vol sur le chef s'est pose.
- 15 Ce triste voeu de par Junon la grande
 Au Dieu d'enfer je porte pour offrande:
 Te separant d'aveq' ce cors humain.
 Ell' parle ainsi: puis de sa dextre main
 Tranche le poil: la chaleur s'avala:
- 20 Et l'ame au vent parmy l'air s'en alla.

(Du Bellay [1552] 1931: 305–6)

Du Bellay's version is markedly shorter (20 decasyllabic lines) than those of his predecessors. Less precise than Des Masures, he is prepared to omit occasional words ("nec fato," line 696) and gloss over the translation of others ("omnis . . . calor," lines 704–5). However, in counterbalance, he finds some inspired poetic renderings ("langouissante," line 2; ". . . l'Enfer de Styx environné," line 9). Above all, he creates a work of poetry in French through his handling of rhythm and sound patterns, well illustrated in lines 11–12 and 19–20.

5 1575 Pierre Tredehan, *Les Quatre premiers livres de l'Eneide*⁴⁶

Having taken refuge in Geneva from religious persecution, Pierre Tredehan published his translation of the first four books of the *Aeneid* (1575) and of the *Georgics* and of the *Eclogues* (1580). However, given a reference in Tredehan's dedicatory "Epistre au lecteur" to the failure of Des Masures to publish the later instalments of his version of the *Aeneid*, it seems very probable that Tredehan had prepared his translation before 1560 (when Des Masures' complete translation appeared). Like Des Masures, Tredehan opted for a complete bilingual text, but with the Latin occupying the entire left-hand page and the translation the opposite right-hand page:

⁴⁶ Tredehan's translation has been largely overlooked by all critics except Raue (1966: 64–76).

- 1 Lors Junon tout-puissante ayant dueil et remord
 D'une douleur si longue et difficile mort,
 Fait Iris de l'Olympe en bas soudain descendre,
 Pour des membres nouez l'ame luictante rendre.
- 5 Car pource que par sort, ou pour le meriter
 Ceste mort ne venoit, ains par trop s'irriter
 Laissoit la miserable avant ses jours le monde:
 Proserpine dessus sa chevelure blonde
- 10 N'avoit encor trenché le poil de ses cheveux,
 Ni condamné sa teste à l'Orque stygieux.
 Par l'air donc vole Iris couverte de rosee
 Sur son jaune pennage, au Soleil opposee
- 15 Trainant mille couleurs diverses grandement,
 Et sur son chef se met. Moy par commandement
 Ceste offrande sacree au grand Dite je livre,
 Et de ce corps humain je te mets à delivre.
- 20 Ainsi elle parla: puis de sa dextre main
 Luy trenche le cheveu: ensemble aussi soudain
 S'est toute la chaleur de son corps escoulee,
 Et quant et quant sa vie avec les vents volée.⁴⁷

Tredehan was the earliest translator to employ alexandrines rather than decasyllables for his version of the *Aeneid*. The length of his version (23 lines) is identical with that by the brothers Le Chevalier d'Agneaux, but Tredehan's is a more prosaically literal rendering. There is a fairly heavy reliance on calques, including for less common French forms of classical names ("Orque stygieux," line 11; "Dite," line 17). While he avoids elaboration *per se*, he uses some paraphrastic translations to ensure the exact sense of the Latin is conveyed ("en bas soudain descend," line 3; "le poil de ses cheveux," line 10). His version of Virgil's poetic images is unadventurous (e.g. line 13–15), but he does look to mirror the authoritative tone of Iris's speech (including the delayed position of the verb in line 18–19), and makes some striking use of *coupes* in imitation of the Latin (line 16 and line 20). This serviceable but unexciting version was undoubtedly supplanted by the translations of both des Masures and the brothers Le Chevalier d'Agneaux.

⁴⁷ *Les quatre premiers livres de l'Eneide* (Genève: Abel Rivery. 1575). A copy of this rare text is held at the Bibliothèque publique et universitaire de Genève; I thank the curator of the Réserve for his kind assistance in response to my requests.

6 1582 Robert et Antoine Le Chevalier d'Agneaux, *Les Oeuvres de Virgile*⁴⁸

The brothers, Robert and Antoine Le Chevalier d'Agneaux, were jointly responsible for the first single French version of Virgil's *Aeneid*, *Georgics* and *Eclogues*. Conceived as a contribution to the illustration of the French language, the translation is, despite the standard apologies of the translators for the inadequacies of their style, finely turned into alexandrines. Like Des Masures's version, that of the Agneaux brothers is accompanied by the full Latin text, which probably added to its popularity.

- 1 La puissante Junon du long mal, qu'elle tire,
Lors compassionnée, et de son dur trespas,
Iris prompte envoya du haut Olympe en bas,
Pour franche deslier son ame combatante,
- 5 Et ses membres liez: d'autant que haletante
Elle ne mourroit pas d'un destin arrêté,
Ny d'un trespas encor justement merité:
Mais bien infortunee avant son terme à peine,
Et esprise ardemment d'une fureur soudaine,
- 10 Encores n'avoit pas du chef le cheveu blond
Proserpine arraché, et au manoir profond
De l'Orque Stigien sa teste condamnée.
Iris donc promptement d'une aile ensaffrannée
Rousoyante traissant contre les luisants rais
- 15 Du Soleil opposé mille teints bigarrez,
Par la pleine celeste en bas prend sa vollée
Et son vol sur son chef arreste devallée,
Par le commandement de la grande Junon.
J'emporte consacré ce cheveil à Pluton,
- 20 Et des laqs de ce corps je ren ton ame franche,
Ainsi dit, et le crin de sa dextre elle tranche:
Et toute quand et quand la chaleur s'escoula,
Et dans les vents la vie esparsse s'envola.⁴⁹

The Agneaux's version is mildly paraphrastic, balancing the need for a full translation, with the desire to achieve a harmonious poetic style. For example, interpretative adjectives are introduced in lines 3 ("prompte") and 23 ("esparsse"); lines 6–7 lack Virgil's concision;

⁴⁸ The Agneaux's work has been studied by both Hulubei (1931) and Raue (1966).

⁴⁹ I have cited the re-edition of *Les Oeuvres de P. Virgile Maron*, published in 1607 by David le Clerc (Paris): fol. 162 verso-163 recto. (First edition: 1582, *Les Oeuvres de Virgile Maron* [Paris: G. Auvray].)

and in line 11 “au manoir profond” glosses the reference to Orcus. The poetic skill of the translators is well displayed in lines 13–14, with the flamboyant adjectives and the nasal assonance. Several other lines illustrate the priority they accord to euphony, notably through alliteration (lines 9, 16–17, 23).

7 *Marie de Gournay*⁵⁰

Although best known to posterity for her editorship of Montaigne’s *Essais* between 1595–1635, Marie de Gournay also wrote extensively herself, in both prose and verse. She published translations of Ovid, Virgil, Cicero and Sallust, most of which appeared in the volumes of her collected works, including her translation of Book II of the *Aeneid* in *Le Promenoir de M. de Montaigne* (1594) and of Book VI in *Les Advis* of 1634. However, in 1619 she produced a separate volume of translations, including the major part of Books I and IV of the *Aeneid*.⁵¹ Printed without any accompanying Latin text, these versions from the *Aeneid* are presented as examples of the poetic resources of the French language.⁵²

- 1 Lors la grande Junon daigne baisser les yeux,
 Pour voir ces longs tourmens du clair Temple des Cieux:
 Ce trepas languissant poind son tendre courage,
 Dont elle envoie Iris glisser dans un nuage;
- 5 Pour delacer du corps outré du coup poignant
 Les revesches liens de l’esprit repugnant.
 Car Didon violant la loy des Destinées
 Et prevenant le but prefix à ses années,
 Parce que sa fureur leur doux fil a brisé;
- 10 Proserpine n’a point espars ce poil frisé
 Afin de tondre un fil aux noeuds où l’or se mire,
 Pour condamner le chef au joug de son Empire.
 Mais Iris par les Cieux opposant au Soleil
 D’un Arc de cent couleurs l’esclatant appareil,

⁵⁰ On Marie de Gournay as a theorist and translator, see Worth-Stylianou (1995: 193–206).

⁵¹ De Gournay (1619).

⁵² It must be remembered that Marie de Gournay was engaged in a bitter argument with the Malherbian camp over the nature of poetic language, and particularly over the status of metaphor. Her translations of Virgil, whose use of metaphor she greatly admired, can be seen as an attempt to prove her case.

- 15 Traisne de longue trace une aisle jaunissante,
 Et sur le chef Royal incline sa descente.
 Pour obeyr, dit-elle, à la Reyne des Dieux,
 J'offre ce sacrifice au Prince des Bas-lieux;
 Et des prisons du corps ceste ame je deslie.
- 20 Lors elle tranche un poil de sa dextre polie.
 Soudain de toutes parts la chaleur s'escoula,
 Et l'esprit épuisé par les airs revola.

Marie de Gournay's version is relatively prolix (22 alexandrines). She adds circumstantial detail and ornamental description (e.g. lines 1–2, 11–12). As we might expect, imagery and metaphor are heightened. More surprisingly, there is a prosaic tendency to make explicit rational connections which the reader was left to deduce in Latin; the frequency of conjunctions such as “pour” (line 2), “dont” (line 4), “car” (line 7) and “afin de” (line 11) is striking. Like Héli-senne, she betrays her pity for Virgil's heroine through the addition of certain epithets (“tendre,” line 3; “revesches,” line 6; “épuisé,” line 22), although her paraphrase does not go far beyond the text. In other respects this is a work which reflects the growing influence of *préciosité* (e.g. “Prince des Bas-lieux,” line 18; “des prisons de ce corps,” line 19). However much Gournay may have theoretically allied herself with the Pléiade, her translation shows Virgil moving from the Renaissance to a seventeenth-century reading public.

Appendix

Primary Sources

- Aneau B. 1542, *Oraison ou epistre de M. Tulle Ciceron à Octave* (Lyon: Pierre de Tours).
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FRANÇOIS RABELAIS

John Parkin

Introduction

François Rabelais is and was France's greatest comic author. His four chronicles, *Pantagruel*, *Gargantua*, the *Tiers livre* and the *Quart livre* (plus an unauthenticated supplement, the so-called *Cinquième livre*) are the key reason why he outlived his own period and outgrew his own national culture. Yet for perhaps as many as his first forty-eight years he sought different goals entirely from those which might justify my first sentence. Such fame as he acquired before *Pantagruel* depended on work spent expounding and editing classical (especially medical) authors, whilst the earliest references made to him in print refer to his scholarship, not to his talent for humour.

By birth a provincial and a commoner, and not the eldest son in his family, he entered holy orders probably early in a life which, in obscurity, piety and contemplation, he could have led to its close in that corner of the Loire valley which he seems to have adored: politically speaking it was a period of calm, characterised by internal peace, population growth and increasing wealth. Yet the life-pattern changed, and many factors explaining this development have vital relevance to the classical tradition as he must have encountered it: his contact with the literature of European humanism as developed especially north of the Alps; the example of Erasmus and his programme of ecclesiastical reform based in major part on classical values; the possibility of learning Greek without a tutor, for example in a monastic environment; the intellectual advantage this gave humanists over the traditional but powerful scholastic hegemony centred in Paris; new Bible translations in both Latin and French; the hostility which the Sorbonne, as Theology Faculty in the University of Paris, exuded towards Hellenic and Hebrew studies; the existence of influential patrons, even within the provincial church, who, despite Sorbonnard opposition, would and could protect scholars like Rabelais as they advanced in these studies; the network of like-minded students in all parts of Europe who were corresponding with one another,

using as models the classical *epistula* as Seneca, Cicero and others had formed it.

Reflecting several of these patterns, Rabelais' first autograph document, a letter to Guillaume Budé of 1521, sets him firmly in a neo-classical tradition. Its context is that of the humanist sodality characteristic of the Northern European Renaissance: small groups of classical enthusiasts, often provincials, were anxious to show one another moral support, sharing problems and anxieties, meanwhile using their philological skills to impress often ill- or unknown correspondents with news of their progress in the revival of antiquity. Rabelais writes in a Latin which is scholarly if not impeccable,¹ ostentatiously quotes Greek, even penning Greek verses, and displays the oratorical flair later to colour both his editorial prefaces and the various passages of eloquent French inserted into those comic romances on which rests his fame.

The letter begins by naming his humanist friend Pierre Lamy, at the time Rabelais' *confrère* in a Franciscan friary where their Greek studies were soon to engender a persecution which Budé, leading Renaissance figure at the Valois court, was energetically to oppose. This much emerges from surviving correspondence, along with a sense of the scholarship engendered in their regular seminars held in the gardens of the Tiraqueau family in Fontenay-le-Comte, a small town in the Vendée and a significant if minor centre of legal administration. Here, no doubt, the Platonic symposium was keenly emulated, alongside a commitment to philological and philosophical study, and the kind of relaxed *festivitas* apparent in the wit and writings of Erasmus, soon to be, if not already, Rabelais' cultural hero.²

One may infer that a close contact with lay scholars, plus the intellectual censorship threatening anyone studying within too traditional an ecclesiastical environment, were enough to encourage Rabelais to seek a change of life-style. Within a few months of his Greek books being confiscated (and then returned) he had left Fontenay for Maillezais, also in the Vendée, where he worked as secretary to Bishop Geoffroy d'Estissac, clearly a defender of Renaissance studies, and made contact with another group of provincial humanists centred on Ligugé, where d'Estissac resided. These included Jean

¹ Q.v. Demerson 1974.

² His *Convivium Religiosum* (first published 1522) encapsulates its spirit.

Bouchet, lawyer and poet, who was to publish Rabelais' first known vernacular composition, a letter in verse regretting Bouchet's temporary absence from their entourage.

Legal Humanism

Bouchet calls Rabelais an 'homme de grans lettres grecques et latines',³ yet despite such eulogies, plus his humanistic letters, plus his work on a long lost translation of Herodotus, perhaps the Fontenay and Ligugé groups were little more than those 'local convivial societies glossed with a nit-picking parade of learning' described by Hale.⁴ Nevertheless, in the work of André Tiraqueau, in some ways the mentor of the former circle, we do find one clear route which the French Renaissance had already undertaken, and in marked independence of Italy: humanist jurisprudence. Inspired again by Budé, whose *Annotationes in Pandectas* appeared in 1508, the humanists sought at once a historical and a philosophical reappraisal of the Roman Code of Law and of legal practice in general; nor was this project without real significance for the future of the discipline.⁵

Possibly all the significant lay humanists Rabelais met up to that time were lawyers; furthermore Renaissance legal patterns emerge so strongly in his earliest comic story—*Pantagruel* (1532)—that some believe he too was a law graduate. Why else should Pantagruel begin his university career at Poitiers than because Rabelais had?⁶ Why else should Pantagruel study gainfully at Bourges—'où estudia bien long temps et proffita beaucoup en la faculté des loix' (231)—than because it was an established forum for the kind of legal scholarship Rabelais favoured?⁷

No proof of his legal qualifications has ever materialised, but the significance of the classical heritage within his forensic theories remains relatively unequivocal. When invited to solve a hitherto unsettled

³ Rabelais 1994: 1022; all future bracketed references are to this edition.

⁴ Hale 1993: 288.

⁵ Q.v. Kisch 1961.

⁶ 'Pantagruel [. . .] vint à Poitiers, pour estudier, et proffita beaucoup' (Rabelais 1994: 229).

⁷ The point is the more significant because it has so often been asserted in Rabelais criticism that Pantagruel learns nothing on the journey of study described in this chapter. On Bourges itself see Kelley 1970: 100–115.

(and, it turns out, utterly incomprehensible) lawsuit, Pantagruel, benefiting from his tutor's humanist learning and the aforementioned sojourns in Poitiers and Bourges, begins by vilifying a range of high and late-medieval legal authorities, all Italian, citing their ignorance of Greek and their poor Latin style. The Budaeian spirit is manifest, particularly in his demand that legal studies (one might say all things intellectual) be based on 'philosophie morale', 'lettres de humanité' and 'antiquitez et histoire' (253), whereupon, in Pantagruel's actual judgment, the comic mode invades as the nonsense case is resolved by a nonsense oration yet so admirable as to satisfy both parties and cause a rapturous swoon in the audience.

Other mixtures of legal satire and linguistic clowning occur in the Bridoye section of the *Tiers livre* (cc. 39–43) and the assault on Canon Law comprising the Papimanie sequence of the *Quart livre* (cc. 48–54), but Rabelais' message is broadly consistent. It is in classical rhetoric, history and literature that one grounds one's intellectual personality, applying a philosophical spirit such as renders good judgement inevitable: the phrase 'équité evangelicque et philosophique' appears in the *Pantagruel* episode.⁸

In fact Tiraqueau sought less the abolition of Medieval legal commentary than its reconciliation with philosophical writings and historical study.⁹ However, as virtual contemporaries, they coincide in their classical enthusiasms, both expressing, perhaps, the zeal of the late convert. In their childhood no French humanist academies existed where either could have acquired the new learning, hence their Greek came late; and might not the very extravagance of their eulogies of classical philosophy suggest a superficiality inevitable in men who had spent their formative years absorbing a traditional learning they now vehemently opposed? Madeleine Lazard speaks of Rabelais' 'études tardives, fragmentaires, bousculées.'¹⁰

⁸ It is spoken by Du Douhet, a Humanist acquaintance of Rabelais from the Fontenay days.

⁹ Cf. Brejon 1937: 367.

¹⁰ Lazard 1993: 91. Tiraqueau's dates are 1480–1558, Rabelais' 1484 (most likely)–1553.

Medical Humanism

Many at this time underwent an education in scholasticism followed by a re-education in humanism; Erasmus himself reflects the pattern in his letter to 'Lambertus Grunnius' and the biographical sketch *Compendium vitae*, and it is the very one Rabelais imposes on his own hero Gargantua. However, before turning to literary composition, he was himself to qualify in medicine at Montpellier (also visited by Pantagruel on his scholar's journey),¹¹ and then gain appointment as town physician in Lyon, another place rich with humanist sodalities, and one where some of his spare time was spent editing classical and Renaissance Italian texts. His medical work followed the model already sketched, Tiraqueau's influence perhaps re-emerging: philosophy and medicine were as closely linked as were philosophy and law, the truest medical knowledge lying in the writings of antiquity, while progress consisted in rediscovering, redrafting and reinterpreting them.¹² Accordingly Rabelais could best contribute to the new medicine by lecturing on the Greek texts of Hippocrates and Galen, which he did to earn his medical degree, before going on to publish them in Lyon alongside a volume of the medical letters of Giovanni Manardi, a Ferrarese humanist still living at the time and whose work Tiraqueau had recommended to him.¹³

This medical humanism spills over into his original work via matters as trivial as the Greek vocabulary describing the wounds inflicted during the mock-epic wars recounted in *Pantagruel* and *Gargantua*. More significantly, the doctor appearing in *Tiers livre* chapter 30—Rondibilis, a jesting pun on Rabelais' acquaintance Guillaume Rondelet—both travesties and embodies features emulated by Rabelais himself: with similar learned *festivitas* he expatiates on Platonic and Hippocratic theories concerning the control of lust (including the curious remedy of cutting the parotid arteries), quotes classical *exempla*

¹¹ It is a self-mocking reference: Pantagruel thought of studying medicine there, like Rabelais, but unlike him was put off by the 'estat [. . .] fascheux par trop et melancholique' (231: 'far too boring and melancholy state of affairs') and the fact that the doctors stank of shit.

¹² Cf. Antonioli 1976: 7 ff.

¹³ This much is clear from Rabelais' dedicatory epistle which he addressed to Tiraqueau (q.v. Rabelais 1994: 982).

in abundance, and sides against Galen concerning the psychopathology of the uterus.¹⁴

Then, in his *Quart livre*, first published two years after the *Tiers livre*, Rabelais emphasises powerfully the Hippocratic topos of the joyful, smiling doctor whose very appearance may be therapeutic, meanwhile underlining a comparison with his own powers as comic author: ‘plusieurs gens languoureux, malades, ou autrement faschez et desolez avoient à la lecture d’icelles trompé leurs ennuictz’ (517: ‘several people, languishing, sick or otherwise preoccupied or distressed, had scotched their woes by reading them [sc. his texts]’).¹⁵ However, once more, the ready appeal of his humanist postures should not stifle all criticism. Medieval writers use the same topos of the *rire guérisseur*, whilst Rabelais’ medical thinking can be seen as distinctly conservative, lacking the empirical, even counter-humanistic, spirit of Vesalius.¹⁶

Pantagruel and Gargantua

Other minor publications come in 1532 along with a (probably unanswered) letter of support to Erasmus, before the pseudonymous publication of *Pantagruel* in Lyon. Generically speaking, the work is a mock-epic describing the birth, education and coming to maturity of the eponymous hero, and, despite literary analogies stretching back to Homer, and rhetorical structures stretching back to Isocrates,¹⁷ it owes far more to Medieval hero-tales like *Huon de Bordeaux*, *Robert le Diable* and *Fierabras*, all named in the prologue. Others observe that nothing in Rabelais’ career had foreshadowed this turn to comic fiction.¹⁸ However, even if the book sought merely to exploit a popular market, its somewhat crudely assembled narrative structure bore a classical stamp clear to all discerning readers.

¹⁴ Rabelais 1994: 451; the (quoted) source on lust is *De geniture*. On theories of female hysteria see Screech 1979: 248 ff.

¹⁵ Cf. Hippocrates: *Epidemics* 6.4.7.

¹⁶ q.v. Aron 1993: 200; the said topos is present in Henri de Mondeville, a 13th century medical scholar. On the limitations of Rabelaisian science see Bowen 1998: 131.

¹⁷ Cf. Smith 1994: 46–8.

¹⁸ q.v. Demerson 1994: 95, quoting V.-L. Saulnier.

Apart from the aforementioned legal material,¹⁹ this Renaissance hallmark appears in frequent attacks on Medieval logic (e.g. in Gargantua's speech in lamentation of his wife (c. 3), or the extended episode of Thaumaste and the disputation using signs (cc. 18–20)), and in the long, predominantly satiric catalogue to the Parisian Librairie de St. Victor, repository of Medieval learning (c. 7). To all these patterns Rabelais opposes a model of scholarship based on classical values rhetorically expressed, the lesson climaxing in Gargantua's famous letter, sent to Paris, and encouraging his son to exploit the opportunities available in a context clearly intended as an idealised version of contemporary reality:

Maintenant toutes disciplines sont restituées, les langues instaurées, Grecque sans laquelle c'est honte que une personne se die sçavant, Hebraicque, Caldaicque, Latine [. . .] Tout le monde est plein de gens savans, de precepteurs tresdoctes, de librairies tresamples. (243–244: 'Now all disciplines are restored: the languages have been revived, Greek without which no-one can shamelessly call himself learned, Hebrew, Chaldean, Latin. The entire world is full of wise men, of most learned teachers, of huge libraries.')

Though this composition is the first sign of any significant Renaissance awareness in Gargantua, its style and content belong so surely and convincingly to the classical heritage of Ciceronian oratory as to refute the counter-arguments of those reading it as a demonstration of pedantic sophistry rather than an encomium of the new learning.²⁰

Firstly its tone fits precisely with that of the Latin prefaces composed for his *Manardi* and *Hippocrates* editions: do these betray the same sophistry? Secondly it implants in the educational programme a sense of Evangelical spirituality so important within the Erasmian movement that to see that programme as nevertheless a critique rather than a eulogy verges on the perverse: for example 'par ce que [. . .] science sans conscience n'est que ruine de l'ame, il te convient servir, aymer, et craindre Dieu, et en luy mettre toutes tes pensées, et tout ton espoir' (245: 'Because science without conscience is but the ruin of the soul, you must serve, love and fear God, and in

¹⁹ For Screech 1980, the 1532 *Pantagruel* is a deliberate spoof of a legal text-book.

²⁰ Brault 1966: 631 has Gargantua using 'the overblown rhetoric of a pretentious fool'; while for Defaux 1997: 177, 'On n'a [. . .] jamais commis de pire contresens sur l'oeuvre de Rabelais que de voir dans la soif culturelle de Gargantua l'expression d'un credo typiquement humaniste.'

him place all your thoughts and all your hope'). Thirdly the programme, although rich, is not universal. It emphasises 'sçavoir liberal et honeste' (243: humanistic shibboleths for classical studies), and the primordial value of ancient languages (as listed in the above quotation), mentions the quadrivium, civil law, natural science, medicine, and finally Bible study, but rejects astrology, and omits the premier Medieval, and one might say Parisian disciplines of dialectics, theology and Canon Law.²¹

Here surely lies the chapter's main polemical implication, though an opposition between erudite omniscience and eloquent wisdom does exist in Renaissance culture, the former sired by a lust for encyclopaedic knowledge (the spirit of Gargantua's education), the latter degenerating into a vapid dilettantism such as one might read into Rabelais' anti-monastery, Thélème, whose description will conclude *Gargantua*. At this point, however, Rabelais is an unashamed encyclopaedist, alongside Budé who coined the French version of the term, and Vives who explicitly inserts the notion of encyclopaedic erudition into his education theory, both of them recalling, no doubt, Cicero's analogous passage in *De Oratore* 1.34: 'We must [. . .] peruse the masters and authors in every excellent art'; meanwhile Erasmus, though admitting that Cicero aimed idealistically high, still proposes the examples of Alexander the Great and Lucan for their 'incredibly detailed learning' in 'all the philosophical disciplines'.²²

Pantagruel is not to personify such learning unambiguously, even if seriously undertaking it when young. Gargantua's rhetoric acts as a spur to his enthusiasm, as it should, but once he has succeeded in defeating the scholastics (in c. 10, where 'nonobstant leurs ergotz et fallaces, il les feist tous quinaulx': 251; i.e. despite their consequences and their fallacies, he made fools of the lot of them), the pressure relaxes, the hero tending thenceforth to be what he mostly remains throughout the later volumes: a wise and well-read prince, not a classicising know-all. Accordingly, in the Thaumaste episode, it is not Pantagruel who performs, but his alter ego Panurge.

²¹ Civil Law had not been taught in Paris since the early 13th century, a factor which helped provincial universities such as Orléans and Toulouse to gain their initiative, whilst scholastic logic had by Rabelais' time dominated Parisian philosophy and theology for over two hundred years.

²² Budé 1988: 23; Vives 1913: 95; Cicero 1942: 109; Erasmus *De Pueris statim ac liberaliter instituendis*, trans. B.C. Verstraete, in Bietenholz, P. et al. (eds.) 1974-, XXVI: 344.

Endless debate has surrounded this latter figure, whose classical connotations, apparent in *panourgos*, the Greek root to his name, merely reinforce his ambiguity: do his cunning and his skills (redolent of the wily Odysseus) support or threaten the physical and moral heroism of Pantagruel?²³ Certainly in the Thaumaste episode there is little doubt: he replaces his master, renders the Englishman *quin-aud*, and stimulates even greater admiration for Pantagruel, who, be it said, has here done nothing to deserve it. However a significant sub-theme to the episode lies in its links with that cabalistic humanism revered by many in the spurious writings of Hermes Trismegistus and the *Corpus Hermeticum*.²⁴

Given that Thaumaste alludes to the legendary visits by Pythagoras and Plato to Egypt, home of the *prisca theologia*, and cites his interest in discussing 'aulcuns passages [. . .] de Géomantie, et de Caballe' (282: 'certain passages of geomancy and the cabala'), Rabelais must surely have intended him to evoke some association with the mystical neo-platonists seeking to revive hermetic lore. Moreover Erasmus's hostility to this trend of, originally, Italian humanism, is significant: was its mystical quality not irrelevant to the practical problems facing the contemporary Church?²⁵ Conversely, the conclusion to the Thaumaste sequence dissolves any latent hostility separating him from the Pantagruelists: both sides have, after all, shared equally in an essentially comic performance. Meanwhile, at the deeper level, other scholars assert Rabelais' debt to hermetism, Dupèbe citing his interest in astrology, Masters seeing the cabala as enabling a positive interpretation of 'what would otherwise remain gross humour', and Jeanneret agreeing to the extent that Rabelaisian polysemy, symbolism, and his use of paradoxical topoi reflect a sense whereby the deepest philosophical meanings may be communicated by intuition and analogy even when defying articulate expression.²⁶

This trend explains why Rabelais indulges in enigmatic tags and concepts like *serio ludere* (*Gargantua* prologue), *festina lente* (*Gargantua*, c. 33), and the *morosophe* or wise fool (*Tiers livre*, c. 37), as well as exercising polysemy in his own Quaresmeprenant (*Quart livre* c. 30 ff.) or Messer Gaster (*ibid.*, cc. 57 ff.); meanwhile the paradoxical definition

²³ On the latter case see Defaux 1982.

²⁴ On this tradition see Yates 1964 and Walker 1972.

²⁵ Cf. Walker 1972: 126.

²⁶ Dupèbe 1999; Masters 1969: 87; Jeanneret 1994.

of God used in both *Tiers livre* chapter 13 and *Cinquième livre* chapter 47 ('that infinite intellectual sphere whose centre is everywhere and which has no circumference') comes directly from the Hermetic tradition. Moreover, concerning his own compositions, when *Gargantua* is published roughly two years after *Pantagruel*, he emblematises its complexity via a classical allusion to the Silenus, one clearly less appropriate to the more superficial *Pantagruel*.

Pantagruel enjoyed several editions, which success presumably encouraged Rabelais to write its prequel *Gargantua*, describing a similar epic career for the giant's father. The pattern of birth-education-initiation to manhood recurs, but Rabelais both varies and deepens it, for instance in devising a narrator himself more scholarly than the light-hearted and light-minded voice declaiming the *Pantagruel* prologue.²⁷ The same narrator mentions Plato in his first sentence, propounding (and distorting) the Silenus topos drawn from his *Symposium* to symbolise the rich hidden qualities of his own text, even if traces of pedantry soon emerge in lucubrations on eleven-month pregnancies as endured by the giant's mother Badebec, and on the arcane meaning of the colours blue and white as worn by Gargantua in his infancy: for me the chapters concerned (3 and 8–10) do little but delay the story proper and may contain conscious elements of self-parody.²⁸

The text in general is copiously strewn with classical names, citations and *exempla*, with even an occasional phrase in Greek. Yet Gargantua's education is variously more problematic than Pantagruel's, perhaps so that his own statements in the *Pantagruel* letter be respected concerning the cultural advances achieved between their two generations. Firstly we read of the false start made under scholastic tutors, set in the Middle Ages and before the invention of printing: one of their deaths is dated to 1420, a virtually unique use of historical chronology. Humanism then appears, personified in the young page Eudémon who shames the boy with an extempore Latin eulogy, technically an exercise in demonstrative rhetoric, and conforming precisely to classical models: Gracchus, Cicero and Æmilius are named in context.²⁹ Following this, Eudémon's tutor is recruited to

²⁷ Cf. Zegura and Tetel 1993: 54.

²⁸ In Plato, as in Erasmus's derivative Adage *Sileni Alcibiadis* (originally 1508), the Silenus is a grotesque figurine, while for Rabelais it is a painted container, similar to those in which apothecaries store drugs. On Rabelais' self-parody cf. Gray 1994: 118 ff.

²⁹ The latter is frequently identified as Lucius Æmilius Paulus but is possibly Marcus Æmilius Lepidus, for Cicero a 'summus orator' (q.v. *Brutus* §95).

impose on Gargantua a humanist programme, again in Paris and with intentions barely less ambitious than in *Pantagruel*.

Every task the pupil undertakes is detailed at every moment of each day from his rise at 4 a.m. to a bedtime after dark, it being stressed that 'il ne perdoit heure quelconques du jour' (65). Pantagruel's encyclopaedism reappears in the emphasis on classical literature, Evangelical Christianity, the quadrivium, natural science and medicine, plus the physical training necessary for a future warrior. The difference is that the process is described, not merely announced, so furthering scholarly disagreement. Beaujour, for example, regards the frantic work-rhythm imposed by Ponocrates as no better than the pedantry of the Sophists he has replaced: neither process is relevant to the wisdom Gargantua later achieves. Similarly Rigolot sees the same rhythm as stimulating less an education than an absurd gesticulatory puppet-show denoting no progress: 'Tout est parfaitement ordonné. Mais la machine [...] finit par être ridicule.'³⁰

Concerning the classical heritage, such arguments bear vital significance as implying again that Rabelais is satirising a curriculum he ostensibly upheld. However they cannot endure close examination. Certain readings may convert the Ponocrates education into a comic travesty, but in doing so they must ignore many features implying the cultivation of *sagesse* alongside the acquisition of *science*.

Firstly, before teaching him anything, the tutor exposes the boy to good scholarly companies which stimulate his intellectual curiosity; assuredly Rabelais intends the humanist *cénacles* now numerous in Paris, and who were producing the manpower which spread the humanist programme throughout those provincial *collèges* proliferating everywhere through the 1530s.³¹ At the apex of this movement stood the *lecteurs royaux*, a set of humanists pensioned as of 1529 by Francis I (hence 'royaux'), and who taught publicly the material and methods which Rabelais clearly favoured. As the origin of what is now the Collège de France, their establishment, specifically canvassed by Budé, must be seen as his most important institutional achievement, moreover it has been speculated that in the period of his life between Maillezais and Montpellier, for which no documents survive, Rabelais visited Paris and attended their lectures: are the *lecteurs royaux* not the 'precepteurs tresdoctes' of *Pantagruel* chapter 8?

³⁰ Beaujour 1969: 27; Rigolot 1972: 71.

³¹ q.v. Huppert 1984.

Secondly, though Ponocrates' morning reading programmes seem doctrinaire and pedantic, the mealtime conversations adumbrate those friendly interchanges which become the hallmark of Pantagruelian dialogue as developed in later volumes: 'Lors [. . .] commenceoient à diviser joyeusement ensemble, parlans [. . .] de tout' (66: 'Then they would begin chatting happily, talking of all things'); 'le reste estoit consommé en bons propous tous lettrez et utiles' (70: 'the remainder they used up in good, learned, useful conversation')—again the classical symposium as more fully represented in *Tiers livre* chapters 30–36 or, with the boy fully educated, in *Gargantua* chapters 39–40.

Thirdly the programme, though at first difficult—and rightly so—gradually became a sweet and delectable 'passetemps' (72) even while secreting wisdom and moral improvement in the educand.³² Though bright enough as an infant, he owes to the abundant Greek and Latin readings of his adolescence, which are listed in chapters 23 and 24, the equipment which makes him into the noble-spirited and great-hearted general who wins the war against the tyrannical Picrochole. Again Erasmus describes the process whereby *lettres de humanité* may furnish a well-educated mind, if not, as in this case, an actual philosopher-king:

All that you have devoured in a long course of varied reading must be thoroughly digested and by the action of thought incorporated into your deepest mental processes, not your memory or word-list. Then your mind, fattened on fodder of all kinds, will generate out of its own resources, not a speech redolent of this or that flower or leaf or herb but one redolent of your personality, your sensitivities, your feelings, and the reader will hail [. . .] the manifestation of a mind packed with every kind of knowledge.³³

This war, which in fact interrupts the Parisian education, is a much richer sequence than the corresponding section of *Pantagruel*, though basically following the same pattern: a humanistic classically inspired general defeats a marauding uncivilised invader, then reimposing

³² Cf. Budé 1547: 29: 'Ceste entreprinse requiert longue perseverance et continuation pour raison de la grande difficulté, la longueur du temps, du grand labeur et gros nombre de livres en toutes sciences qu'il fault lire'; Erasmus is equally strict in *De pueris instituendis*.

³³ Erasmus, *Ciceronianus*, trans. A.H.T. Levi, in Bietenholz, P. et al. (eds.) 1974–, XXVIII: 402.

enlightened Christian monarchy. Moreover the campaign is punctuated by a series of rhetorical performances by various Gargantuistes which underwrite the value of humanist culture as they variously personify it: one is Grandgousier's letter summoning Gargantua home; another the ambassador Gallet's harangue to the entrenched foe; thirdly the speech to the vanquished of chapter 50, where Gargantua's eloquence and his political optimism climax.

The syntactic complexity, with accompanying classical neologisms, antitheses, hendiadys and emotional peroration, all recreate the spirit of *Pantagruel* chapter 8, even if closer examination may raise doubts: within Gallet's speech, for instance, Mustacchi perceives confusions, Tournon misrepresentations of reality, and Pouilloux a comic performance.³⁴ To a degree such findings merely show the flexibility of Rabelais' text: his writings permit varied readings and tolerate self-parody. However on perceiving fissures between a passage of narrative diegesis and a rhetorical mimesis commenting on it, one cannot simply conclude that the rhetoric is flawed. Diegesis is not reality, but merely a further rhetorical strategy, which in the case of the often truly comic, and bloodthirstily comic, Picrocholine war, may teach us less about the moral issues it implies than do the idealised accounts evaluating it. So if the wise and merciful Gargantua may seem mildly complacent in his victory oration, I doubt that Rabelais meant it, whilst Gallet's poignantly succinct rhetorical questions, uttered during the war, surely convey irenic humanism most effectively: 'Où est foy? où est loy? où est raison? où est humanité? où est craincte de dieu?' (87)

The war concluded, *Gargantua* ends with Thélème, a utopian abbey built on Gargantua's lands and whose culture, though framed in neo-classical sculpture and architecture, and supported by six libraries (Latin, Greek, Hebrew, French, Italian and Spanish), is vastly more relaxed than in the giant's education. The inmates (young nobles of both sexes) seem more to be enjoying enlightenment already achieved than striving to acquire such enlightenment, as if the one free day per month allowed Gargantua by Ponocrates had been extended indefinitely with its gentle and genteel enjoyments and fruitful conversations. In a context of a religious crisis seen to be growing in these years, when Francis I was proving increasingly unlikely to

³⁴ Mustacchi 1976; Tournon 1995; Pouilloux 1989.

endorse the kind of Counter-reformation favoured by Evangelicals who were themselves being ideologically outflanked by more doctrinaire currents of theology soon to culminate in Calvinism, a gesture favouring the moral sufficiency of humankind, clearly stoical in implication, may have seemed a useful conclusion.

The Tiers and Quart livres

Rabelais now possessed powerful allies in the Du Bellay family, whose house physician he remained for some time, and who both promoted and protected him through Francis I's latter years. Under their tutelage he visited Italy more than once, thanking them for the opportunity in another prefatory epistle, to his 1534 edition of Bartolomeo Marliani's *Antiquae Romae Topographia*.³⁵ As is almost *de rigueur* in the French Renaissance, the letter mutes Rabelais' praise of transalpine scholarship. However the desire to contact Italian *virī docti* with whom to converse *familiariter* (990) was no doubt essentially sincere, as was the abundant praise of the rhetoric Jean du Bellay displayed at the papal court.³⁶

Such undertakings, plus further qualifications in medicine, accompany a continued interest in his two chronicles, which he republished with major revisions prior to the so-called *Tiers livre* of 1546. As many have remarked, this work is misnamed, its title page referring to the heroic deeds and sayings of Pantagruel, who has till now figured in just one book, not two, whilst the story itself virtually excludes heroic deeds, being more a proto-novel than a Renaissance epic. Rabelais could easily have created a third generation of giants, or pursued the polychromatic series of adventures announced in *Pantagruel* chapter 34: Pantagruel will find the philosopher's stone, marry Prester John's daughter, put Hell to sack and so forth. What comes instead is far more original.

Already in *Pantagruel* the series of epic adventures had been doubled by a series of comic pranks, most, though not all, performed

³⁵ On this work and the 'antiquomania' which it reveals, see Cooper 1991: 26–8.

³⁶ Cf. Balsamo 1998. The mission was intended to support Henry VIII over the divorce with Catherine of Aragon; as such, however, it failed totally, hence perhaps the exaggerated eulogy of Du Bellay's oratorical style rather than of his diplomatic expertise.

by Panurge. Now, despite their unquestioned mutual loyalty, Rabelais opposes the two more centrally, imposing on Panurge a desire to marry set at odds with a terror of cuckoldry, and contrasting these attitudes with the calm stoical wisdom of a Pantagruel for whom his friend's perplexity is scarcely worth a thought, it centring on one of those fortuitous matters meriting the sage's contempt.³⁷

From Panurge's inability or unwillingness to achieve stoic ataraxia comes the narrative mainspring of a book where he restlessly seeks advice from varied sources, some learned, some unlettered, some sympathetic, some hostile, some human, some inanimate (e.g. verses drawn at random from Virgil). That these authorities fail to satisfy him implies, moreover, several important philosophical and psychological issues, primarily centred on Panurge himself, who has, after all, received from Pantagruel at the outset the best possible advice: 'If your mind is made up, trust in God and take the plunge.'

That he cannot be thus reasonable is due in part to moral weakness. While philologically learned and rhetorically skilled, Panurge is living proof that knowledge alone, even classical knowledge, is not enough to secure the wisdom apparent in the giants. This he reveals in the long dialogues with Pantagruel portrayed before his central problem emerges, and where he performs his eulogies of debt and of the *braguette* or cod-piece, 'première piece de harnois entre gens de guerre' (374: 'the premier item of a military man's armour'). Thus far the contrast of wisdom and folly is easily reconciled: both Gargantua and Pantagruel were brought up in the spirit of Erasmian *philosophia Christi*, wherein classical erudition is harmonised with the Gospel, whereas the facts of Panurge's education are, like much else concerning him, unknown.

Wherever it was conducted, the effects of that education appear in the 'laughable nonsense' of an erudite fool to whom Screech takes exception and whom Defaux identifies with sophistry.³⁸ However these readings tie Panurge to a serious interpretation which can seem irrelevant in terms of his comic role, this latter possessing as strong a place in the classical heritage as has the serious model opposing it. Lucian, admired equally by Erasmus and Rabelais, composed mock *encomia* as famous as Panurge's. Moreover it is the cynic Lucian,

³⁷ This definition of *pantagruelisme* comes from the prologue to the *Quart livre*, but is implied in the narrator's description of Pantagruel in *Tiers livre*, c. 2; see Nash 1974.

³⁸ Screech 1979: 227; Defaux 1973: chapter 5.

not, let us say, the stoic Epictetus, whom we see Rabelais' own persona emulating in the prologue to the *Tiers livre*, where, in a highly sophisticated and ambiguous analogy with the dialogue *How to Write History*, he draws a comparison between himself as composing the book to follow and those compatriots currently preparing a military defence of France.

The deeper implications of this passage defy brief consideration, but in refracting his persona's narratorial efforts through Rabelais' authorial irony, it certainly helps undermine straightforward interpretations: if we cannot understand the prologue, what basis remains for our reading of what is to follow, and in particular, how should we read the variously ambiguous counsels and warnings given to Panurge, stretching, as they do, from the totally explicit to the totally impenetrable? I would suggest three strategies: the simple one which supports Pantagruel as right in opining that the future is unknowable; a comic one which sees the pronouncements as riddles with ingenious solutions which Panurge finds, while defying the more sober-minded giant; finally a symbolic one which implies a profound critique of Renaissance learning in that if words fail to resolve the dilemma, this is due to a fundamental inadequacy in language itself, even as refined in the classical models Rabelais elsewhere displayed.

Some of the oracles consulted embody precise messages concerning the classical heritage, a key example being Hippothadée, the theologian at the banquet who has achieved an admirable synthesis of Pauline teaching and secular learning (Plutarch figures strongly via the *Coniugalia Praecepta*) which he conveys in the agreeably conversational style cultivated in Erasmus's Latin *Colloquies*. Conversely an equally straight satire of Renaissance learning comes in Her Trippa, possibly based on Heinrich Cornelius Agrippa, another student of the cabala. Unlike Hippothadée, who gives wise if conditional advice (provided Panurge chooses well he will not be cuckolded), Trippa is the most adamant of all the authorities. Conjugal disaster is portended by every mode of divination which he applies, and his skills are legion, yet, morally speaking, his case is no better than Panurge's own. He is, it appears, an unknowing cuckold himself, hence his immense expertise has not enlightened him as to his own nature, upon which, as the Delphic oracle opines, centres the first rule of philosophy: know thyself.

Between these two limits of wise moderation and verbose idiocy may be placed all the remaining people consulted, who in their divers

ways reflect certain aspects of Renaissance culture and are discussed in its terms by Pantagruel and his various friends, Panurge included. Pantagruel for instance, in chapter 10, gives roughly ten examples of the successful use of Virgilian lots (including one from Rabelais' own experience, by Pierre Lamy), then says that it would be prolix to go further and that the method is not infallible anyway. Epistémon lists over twenty-five ancient oracles which could have been consulted over Panurge's problem were it not for the fact that they are now all silent (another Plutarchan reference), that they too were unreliable, and that he is unconvinced of their value: 'Je seroy d'advis (paradvanture non seroys) y aller' (426: 'I would be minded (perhaps I wouldn't) to go there').

Are we to conclude from this that a grain of Panurge's perplexity and of his verbosity are to be found in those of his friends who might be seen as the learned antithesis of his folly, just as he already possesses the kernel of all the wisdom ('congnoy-toy') contained in the classical heritage as they convey it? The implications of such a possibility are not too devastating for Rabelais' confidence: it was an Augustinian topos that truth could be reflected in many mirrors.³⁹ However the *Tiers livre*, coming well into Rabelais' old age and after the deaths of Erasmus and Budé, may reflect his awareness that the optimism they had once shared concerning the power of *bonae litterae* to transform culture, education and politics by slaying the monster of Medieval ignorance, had proved, at least in part, misplaced.⁴⁰

The explosive increase in the number of classical texts available had itself stimulated intellectual confusion: truth was guaranteed by the authority of classical wisdom, but if the wise men of antiquity disagreed, where should one's choice fall, and on what basis should it be made? Simultaneously, the myth of encyclopaedic knowledge might also have proved unrealistic, even hollow: so much was now known that specialisation was inevitable—though Her Trippa reveals its dangers. Moreover a general if not profound humanist culture could be faked on the basis of the *exempla* and common-places compiled in abundance for second-hand use: precisely what Rabelais is doing in the aforementioned listings by Pantagruel and Epistémon.

³⁹ Cf. Miernowski 1998.

⁴⁰ McNeil (1975: 131) reckons that by 1540 humanism as a movement transcending national differences was threatened; for Hale (1993: 102) irenic humanism was by dead by 1530.

Furthermore ancient wisdom was not unproblematic itself once one tried to reconcile it with genuine virtue as guaranteed not by enlightenment, but by grace: to this extent Medieval scholars might well have enjoyed a more fundamentally secure intellectual position than those Renaissance thinkers who affected to despise them, and the eloquence of whose rhetoric need not lead us to take at full value the 'bitter criticisms' they expressed towards their enemies.⁴¹ Besides, the war against Medievalism had been fought only to a truce in that scholastic methods still prevailed in the teaching of dialectics, and whilst humanist rhetoric had been taught, appreciated and applied by a whole new generation of scholars, there was no evidence yet apparent that it would supply a philosophy to replace the need for Aristotle.

Is it into this context that one might read the Trouillogan section of the *Tiers livre* symposium, for it displays an interesting discussion on scepticism as a recent phenomenon? When consulted, this philosopher answers that Panurge should both marry and not marry, and neither marry nor remain single. The riddle defeats him, but is easily solved by Gargantua using a Greek example yet again transmitted via an Erasmian apophthegm.⁴² Thereupon Hippothadée supplies the appropriate Pauline tag (I Corinthians 7.29), 'They that have wives be as though they had none', and Pantagruel turns the discussion into another lesson in moderation: to have a wife is to benefit from her help and company; not to have a wife is to set marital duties alongside a whole range of others—political, religious and social—and so maintain one's emotional equilibrium.

The discussion is an object lesson in the virtue of classical wisdom when shared on a friendly basis and underpinned by Biblical and especially Gospel studies. Even Panurge is impressed: 'Vous dictez d'orgues' (463; meaning they are speaking harmoniously). However in the chapter following he re-engages the dialogue with Trouillogan in a kind of parlour game of evasion wherein his interlocutor even avoids telling straight whether he is married (or a cuckold) himself. Gargantua's response is interesting: exasperated that the most learned and wise philosophers have seemingly deserted truth for doubt, he leaves the company, so in effect ending the dinner-party.

⁴¹ Cf. Baumgartner 1995: 100.

⁴² Q.v. Rabelais 1964: 244–5n.

As Cave has suggested, the episode moves from a clear resolution of doubt back into doubt, finally engendering doubt concerning doubt, while Gargantua walks off in nostalgia for a bygone age (his childhood?) when truth seemed accessible.⁴³ Nor can the irresolution be related simply back to Panurge:⁴⁴ however curmudgeonly, Gargantua is not being personal when he denounces modern thought, and given that the next encounters are with a madman (who probably cannot understand what he is being asked) and with Bridoye (to whom Panurge's problem is never addressed) we see little attempt by Rabelais to reimpose ideological security, however great the appeal of his Christian humanism might remain. In fact the *Tiers livre* ends not with a final oracular pronouncement, nor with Panurge's wedding, but with a decision to convert intellectual exploration into geographical exploration in a journey to the *dive bouteille*, in preparation for which they stock up with the herb *Pantagruelion*, a thoroughly ambiguous talisman of *pantagruelisme* which the narrator describes over four chapters, getting drunk in the process.

In the spirit of the provisional, open-handed and open-minded nature of Erasmian interpretation and rhetoric, the *Tiers livre* thus retains a fluidity and ambiguity defying those seeking in it some 'over-arching structure' or single meaning.⁴⁵ The end of the story lies in the future, and in a future volume, but not in the *Quart livre*, the fullest version of which was to appear in 1552, though still leaving the quest unfulfilled.

As such Rabelais' final book owes something to voyage epics like the *Odyssey* or Apollonius' *Argonautica*, but far more to Lucian's mock-epic journeys as recounted and theorised for example in *A True Story*. The various lands encountered contain some clear satires (e.g. the aforementioned Papimanic episode). Others (like the sighting of the frozen words) are intellectual springboards allowing the characters scope to develop, and particularly via the application of their classical learning. Still others (Ruach, Bringuenarilles?) remain hard to justify or explain on these or perhaps any bases.

⁴³ Cave 1992: 197.

⁴⁴ Cf. Naya 1998: 95 ff., for whom Renaissance skepticism is a way of undermining scholastic logic: if Gargantua is arguably an emblem of 'la philosophie traditionnelle', Panurge, at least here, has few of the appurtenances of a scholastic.

⁴⁵ For the former view see Jeanneret 1993 and Tourmon 1995: 69 ff.; for the latter see Duval 1997 and Screech 1958.

By my reading the text achieves no final unity or integration, nor does Panurge's problem retain genuine significance (something equally true of the latter sections of the *Tiers livre*).⁴⁶ Instead, the reader oscillates between the generally relaxed and positive atmosphere of the Thalamège, flagship of Pantagruel's fleet and site of a kind of everlasting humanistic *convivium*, and a series of variously weird, frightening or puzzling encounters, some land-based (e.g. the Andouilles or the Ennasins), some sea-borne (e.g. the Physetière, the sheep-traders or the storm). Oratorical style still penetrates (for example in the letter-exchange between Gargantua and his son: cc. 3–4), and classical wisdom still elevates the tone of discussion: Pantagruel's comments on the *Cratylus* in chapter 37 help deepen the otherwise shallow intellectual interest of the Andouilles war, while his adaptation of Plutarch's account of the Death of Pan (c. 28) proves a magnificent climax to the storm sequence and its aftermath, though ending in tears and silence rather than an articulate message.

At other points classical learning may even be an impediment to practical business: Epistémon's disquisition on will-making (c. 21) delays the struggle to save the storm-tossed ship no less than do Panurge's panicky babblings; Pantagruel's reassuring suggestions concerning the frozen words (c. 55: are they the disembodied songs of Orpheus, are they the fluttering words of Homer?) fall beside the point; the (possibly uneducated) pilot explains them without demur: they are meaningless noises from a battle long over. So if an illiterate peasant woman can defeat a devil (c. 47), while Pantagruel's sublime wisdom cannot even redeem his closest friend, what value does the classical heritage retain in Rabelais' last published book? Be it noted that none of the lands visited is reformed on Utopian lines, however great the benefits of Pantagruelian civic humanism as seen in the colonisation of Dipsodie (*Tiers livre*, c. 1), and the Macrobe *escale* has even been read as a satire of humanism: the Greek-speaking inhabitants are aged, if not wise, and possess a wealth of dilapidated monuments whose inscriptions Epistémon keenly transcribes, but to no relevant purpose.⁴⁷ Like the text over which Pantagruel is dozing in the calm of chapter 63, or the books sent him by Gargantua in chapter 3, they appear more as scholarly paraphernalia than sources of true enlightenment.

⁴⁶ Contrast Duval 1998: 11 and 15.

⁴⁷ Cf. Duval 1998: 25–6, and Zegura 1993: 138.

Perhaps Rabelais viewed this period negatively; in chapter 27 he has Epistémon suggest that Guillaume du Bellay's death (1543) was a turning-point for France. However such a mood is far from unremitting. Not only does the devil lament how few scholars can nowadays be fed to Lucifer, given that 'ilz ont avecques leurs estudes adjoint les saints Bibles' (646: 'they have added the Holy Bible to their studies'), a precise recipe for Erasmian enlightenment, but the relaxed atmosphere of *pantagruelisme*, always revived after whatever near-catastrophe they encounter, betokens a security in companionship implied when he dedicates the book to 'lecteurs benevoles' (523). In this spirit, the learning brought to their discussions by all the characters, especially but not exclusively Pantagruel, like their humour, their reminiscences and anecdotes, provides a substratum of interest to the work, which, when positively applied, brings rich rewards.

Conclusion

Those rewards may be more relevant to personal than to public life; it is much easier to read the *Pantagruel* of the later books in the intimate contexts of family and friendship than as the philosopher-king whom Rabelais once so idealistically sketched out. In similar ways does much of the literature of the later Renaissance speak to, and even create, a private individual, Montaigne representing the culmination of this trend in France, and to this extent the Renaissance is at best a Pyrrhic victory, a point Rabelais may well have taken. Francis I, despite the mythology surrounding him, was never the Platonic ideal which some of his courtiers might have envisioned; Henry II even less so. Evangelical enlightenment as sought for by Erasmus and his acolytes had not prevented the irrevocable splitting of Christendom into Catholic and Reformed nations. Classical humanism had revolutionised notions of learning, created a new curriculum for all scholars, and opened the ancient world up to a far wider reading public than heretofore, but pedantry, confusion and scepticism stilled darkened intellectual horizons, albeit in different shapes from those of the late Middle Ages.

In such a context Rabelais might be seen as evading issues. His true voice is heard as rarely as is Shakespeare's; at various crucial points in the *Quart livre* his hero figure Pantagruel opts for silence and ambiguity rather than the confident rhetoric of twenty years

before; and as author he never completes his work: the *Cinquième livre* probably contains material dating back to the 1540s, but there must have been reasons why Rabelais chose not to publish an account of the end of the journey which it narrates. Speaking more positively, however, one might conclude that Rabelais was unconcerned with final answers: the classical motto, even as central a one as *congnoy-toy*, is merely a detail within an apparatus to be applied as circumstances suggest. Similarly his vast range of philosophical themes, drawn from the classical heritage and vested in his own 'abysme de science' (245), are presented, particularly in the *Quart livre*, less as definitive lessons than as guides to thought and argument: Tournon uses the term *repère*.⁴⁸ So despite the risk that rhetoric may corrupt truth rather than convey truth, a prime lesson of Erasmus's *Lingua* (1525), the value of the wisdom inspired in Pantagruel by his education and spread by whatever means among his various companions remains clear. It opens up a store-house of suggestions, apperceptions, illustrations, explanations and themes which we can use (or not) for the enrichment of our own reading and personal culture, just as his characters have almost from the outset used their own knowledge to engender, sustain and improve positive relations within their private group.

Small matter, then, that Panurge's folly (or Frère Jean's vulgarity) remain apparent to the end. One could equally criticise Pantagruel and Epistémon for rambling off into irrelevancies when commenting on this folly or on other things besides. For such roles as clown, ruffian, pedant, etc., are less determinants within their roles than features within a polyvalent characterisation and voices within a polyphonic dialogue evoked by Rabelais for our delight. The classical heritage, as shared with us and shared among them, provides an intellectual and historical structure within which to position, deepen and embellish his themes, again to pleasurable effect. We explore it at our leisure, with a gentle guide whose authority is the more welcome for never being abused.

⁴⁸ Tournon 1995: 95; indicators rather than, let us say, solutions.

MICHEL DE MONTAIGNE:
THE *ESSAIS* AND A TACITEAN DISCOURSE

Sue W. Farquhar

A pivotal work in late sixteenth-century humanism, the *Essais* of Michel de Montaigne contributed to the decline of civic humanist values in France and helped introduce a new anti-Ciceronian literary paradigm. Together, these events marked a dramatic shift in humanist outlook with practical implications for ethics and politics as well as a heightened sense of the classical heritage. Antiquity, while considered a discrete era of the past, was also seen to impinge upon the present in curious ways, proving its usefulness for the times.¹ At the centre of this changing Renaissance view of the classical world was Tacitus, whose corpus of works was a major rediscovery of the Renaissance. His only surviving manuscript of *Agricola*, *Germania* and the *Dialogue of Orators* had been found in 1425 by a monk at Hersfeld, and by 1515 the greater part of the *Annals* were subsequently joined to it.² But it was not until Marc-Antoine Muret's lectures on Tacitus at the University of Rome, followed by Justus Lipsius's major edition of his works, which appeared in 1575, that the Latin historian entered the mainstream of humanist culture.³ Rejecting Cicero's model of civic eloquence and Livy's idealized history, Montaigne and other legal humanists favored Tacitus' prudential style of history with its

¹ There were five editions of the *Essais* during Montaigne's life and a sixth, posthumous edition which included his final revisions. The variants, marked in Villey and other modern texts by the letters A, B, C, indicate stages of composition corresponding to the 1580, 1582 editions, the 1588 text and the 1595 edition.

² Sabbadini 1905: 107. An *editio princeps* of Tacitus' minor works appeared in 1472 and subsequent editions followed, notably Milan c. 1475–80 and Venice 1497.

³ For Muret's life, see Dejob 1881: 16–22. Muret, a French humanist renowned for his elegant oratory and innovative teaching, may have taught Montaigne at the Collège de Guyenne. After their 1582 meeting in Rome, Montaigne recognized Muret in the *Essais* as "le meilleur orateur du temps" (I, 26, 174). For Montaigne's *Journal*, see Rigolot 1992: 113. For Lipsius (and neo-Stoicism) see Tuck 1993: 45–64 and Keohane 1980: 129–134. Lipsius, neo-Stoic moral philosopher, orator and political theorist, is described by Montaigne in the *Essais* as "le plus sçavant homme qui nous reste, d'un esprit trespoly et judicieux" (II, 12, 578). Montaigne and Lipsius knew each other through correspondence.

sinewy, terse descriptions of censorship, violence and corruption under the most vicious set of emperors recorded by history. The loss of Republican liberties could hold a lesson of practical value for Montaigne's contemporaries: "Son service est plus propre à un estat trouble et malade, comme est le nostre present," writes the essayist, echoing Maternus' assessment of the conditions leading to the decline of oratory in *A Dialogue on Oratory*.⁴ As a work of transition ushering in the shift from Cicero to Tacitus, the *Essais* offer a penetrating insight into the aspect of Tacitism that is of most interest to this study: the link between language or style, moral ideology, and changing humanist attitudes toward the classical legacy. This question has received less scholarly attention than the political and Machiavellian strands of Tacitean prudence, which became prominent in the early 1600s but is just as crucial to a full understanding of the discourse of Tacitism and its impact on the new humanism at the end of the sixteenth century.⁵

Insofar as Tacitism in France was a product of the anti-Ciceronian movement introduced earlier in the century by Erasmus, the reading of Tacitus' *Germania* at that time inspired what has been called "a profound and mystical search for the founding fathers," provoking a debate over the difficult question of national origins and national spirit.⁶ Germanists cited Tacitus to argue that Germany, not Rome, was the cultural and ethnic source of French customs, institutions, language and character. The question of origins was at the centre

⁴ Villey 1924: 941. "His service is more suited to a disturbed and sick state, as ours is at present" (Frame 1965: 719). All quotations will be from these two editions. In the *A Dialogue on Oratory* Maternus laments the loss of purity and innocence that provided a "cradle of eloquence" in former times; he condemns the "gain-getting rhetoric now in vogue greedily for human blood . . . as a modern invention, the produce of a depraved condition of society" (12.3) "Nam lucrosae huius et sanguinantis eloquentiae usus recens et ex malis moribus natus, atque, ut tu dicebas, Aper, in locum teli repertus." Tacitus 1914, rev. 1970: 261. All quotations of the *Dialogus* will be from this edition.

⁵ For the discursive, moral, legal and political shift giving rise to Tacitism in France, including studies which give Montaigne's *Essais* a prominent role see: Burke 1969, Schellhase 1976: 27–35, Stegman 1976: 213–331, Jehasse 1976: 266–273, 561–577, 578–603, Salmon 1980: 307–331, Tuck 1993: 31–64, Kelley 1993: 152–167. Literary and rhetorical studies of Tacitean and neo-Stoic discourse in the *Essais* are less numerous. See Croll 1966 and 1969, Fumaroli 1980: 63–70 and 1983: 253–64, MacPhail 1990: 147–169, Lyons 1994 39–52, Mathieu-Castellani 1995: 17–26 among others.

⁶ Kelley 1993: 152–167.

of French nationalist aspirations and spurred both pro-Gallican and Protestant sentiment against papal Rome. Above all, pro-Germanists identified France with the image of the freedom of the Franks that Tacitus had projected, as seen both in their democratic government and national spirit of "frankness."

At the time of the *Essais* during the religious wars, Tacitism reflected the changing political scene wrought by violence and dissidence in a weakened monarchy.⁷ The attraction of Tacitus for humanists of Montaigne's generation indicated a growing scepticism about the future viability of the Ciceronian model of civic humanism although it was not necessarily a sign of their disinterest in public life. In the legal milieu especially, mistrust of heroic ideals fostered a pragmatic political outlook traversed by contradictory tensions. Magistrates, jurists and historians focused on questions of liberty and servitude, citizenship, law and state power. Interest in Tacitus was spearheaded by the rising legal culture which had shaped Montaigne both professionally and intellectually during his years as magistrate in the Bordeaux Parlement and his two terms as mayor, leaving a permanent imprint on the *Essais*.⁸ Growing out of the philological and legal studies of classical and medieval texts, called the *mos gallicus*, Tacitism and its companion neo-Stoicism swept the continent and England, becoming a focal point for the new humanism. A discursive shift of this scale and complexity provides an intriguing opportunity to study the transmission and uses of the classical tradition as well as the curious ways the past can be brought to apply to the present.

By the end of the sixteenth century, after Botero's theory of "reason of state" in *Ragion di stato* (1589) had linked Tacitean precepts to Machiavellian cunning, it became imprudent, even dangerous, to defend Tacitus' style in certain circles in Europe and England. Yet just a few years earlier, the revival of Tacitus was not necessarily associated with the "dangerous" Machiavellian ideas nor was it seen almost exclusively in a political light. It probably would not have occurred to Montaigne and his contemporaries, who considered his

⁷ Salmon 1980: 307–331. His analysis of the political and ideological issues informing the concept of style in the Cicero and Tacitus controversy has been influential for this study. Also see Stegman 1976: 213–233.

⁸ For the influence of the rise of legal humanism on historiography and the *Essais* see: Kelley 1970, Tournon 1983, Maclean 1984: 252–272, Schiffman 1991: 18–24, 53–78.

contribution both politically and morally useful, to brand his works either immoral or amoral.

Tacitus' nostalgia for Republican ideals, coupled with his determination to accept present hardships, no matter how unjust, resonated deeply with the changing social and political realities of his sixteenth-century readers. Bringing to bear his political experience as Roman senator, consul and subsequently proconsul of Asia-Minor, it was precisely Tacitus' practical approach to government and his knowledge of the law that appealed to the political theorist Jean Bodin, "Certainly no historian seems more useful to the magistrates and the judge," commented Bodin in the *Methodus* (1566).⁹ Justus Lipsius' fascination with the effects of tyranny made him appreciate Tacitus' unmasking of human duplicity and cruelty. In praise of Tacitus' "excellent prudence," his dedication of the 1575 edition to Emperor Maximilian II states, "He was an acute writer and, by heaven, a prudent one, and if ever he was useful in the hands of men, he would certainly be in these times and circumstances."¹⁰ Lipsius invites his readers to apply Tacitus' portrayal of human character to "the courts of princes, their private life, counsels, commands and deeds."

Not surprisingly, in light of his denunciation by Orosius and Tertullian, Tacitus was viewed with suspicion by Church authorities, especially in papal Rome where Marc-Antoine Muret, professor of law, rhetoric and moral philosophy, had to struggle to receive official permission to renew his humanist curriculum with a series of lectures based on Tacitus.¹¹ His opening double oration of 1580 presented a brilliant defence of the Latin historian against his critics. Objections had been made to Muret's choice of Tacitus who had been accused of focusing on a corrupt period of history, dwelling too much on human vices and harboring hostility toward the Christians.¹² In

⁹ Bodin 1966: 70. Schellhase 1976: 116 argues that Tacitus was essential for Bodin's thesis in the *Methodus* that "all power must rest with one man."

¹⁰ Mellor 1995: 43. Translated from *C. Cornelii Taciti* 1600 by Mellor: 1994. Also see Morford 1991: 138–40.

¹¹ For the denunciation of Tacitus by the Church Fathers see Burke 1969: 149, Schellhase 1976: 87, Smith 1986: 379–90.

¹² Muret briefly taught at Paris and Toulouse as professor of law but after being burned in effigy for allegedly being a Huguenot and a homosexual, he fled France for Venice, eventually settling in Rome to pursue an illustrious career as university professor and official orator to the papacy. Dejob 1881: 46–187, 319–34. For Muret's Tacitism see MacPhail 1990: 129–160.

Tacitean fashion, Muret reminded his audience, "There are very few republics today," hence the rule under the emperors is more nearly similar and applies far better to "our own times."¹³ Tacitus had also been accused of poor Latin and an obscure and harsh style that created "a thicket of thorns," in the words of Alciati. Once again Muret adopted a historical perspective to defend Tacitus' so-called "bad" Latin, justifying the pursuit of different styles of diction at different times and citing *varietas* with reference to Cicero's style and its many innovations.¹⁴ As for the Tacitean obscure and harsh style, Muret's riposte had a witty edge, "These simple-minded complaints about Tacitus show that he accomplished what he wanted," for he had set Thucydides as his model whose "obscurity and harshness are noted by the Greeks."

Sed istae fatuae de Tacito conquestiones affectum esse eum, quod volebat ostendunt. Imitandum enim sibi Thucydidem proposuerat, ejusque: se in scribendo similitimum esse cupiebat. In Thucydide autem & obscuritas & asperitas notatur a Graecis, & utraque inter virtutes illius non inter vitai numeratur. Quanquam enim nuda & perspicua oratio delectat: interdum tamen in scribendo certi cujusdam generis laudatur obscuritas, quae orationem à vulgari loquendi consuetudine abducens, ex ipsa peregrinitate dignitatem ei majestatemque conciliat, & attentionem legentium continet. Asperitas autem illa idem plane est, quod in vino amarities; quae in quo est, id optime ferre vetustatem putatur.¹⁵

For although plain and unadorned speech is pleasing, nevertheless sometimes in writing, obscurity of a certain kind is praised, which, by drawing away the mode of speech from the common manner of talking, produces by this very departure a dignity and a majesty, and holds the attention of the reader. . . . And Thucydides' harshness is clearly the same thing as bitterness is in wine: wine that has, it is said, to carry its years well.¹⁶

Hellenistic Rhetorical Theory: A Vehement "Forcible" Style (Deinotes)

The harsh obscurity and majesty (*genus grande*) of Tacitus' style fascinated Montaigne and his contemporaries; yet their critical perception

¹³ Mellor 1995: 38–9. Translated from *Muret* 1834–1841 2: Oration xiv.

¹⁴ Muret's apparently anti-Ciceronian stance in his Tacitus lectures is belied by a fuller interpretation of Ciceronian "varietas". See Fumaroli 1980: 162–175.

¹⁵ Muret 1707: 352 Oration xvii (alias xiv).

¹⁶ Mellor 1995: 38–9. *Opera Omnia* 1834–1841 2: Oration xiv. Translated by Ann Reynolds Scott (1993).

has received relatively little scholarly attention. On the other hand, Morris W. Croll's seminal study linking late sixteenth-century style to neo-Stoicism has set the stage for a prevailing tendency to identify Tacitus, Seneca and other Silver Age Latin authors with a clear, brief "Attic" plain style (*genus humile*). Associated with philosophy and essay writing by Croll and contrasted with oratory, the plain style is generally accepted as furnishing a model for Montaigne and Lipsius.¹⁷ Nevertheless, recent studies have convincingly argued that Croll's category of an "Attic" plain style is actually better perceived as a "vigorous" or "forcible" style influenced by late Greek or Hellenistic rhetorical theory, vindicating Muret's description of Tacitus' uncommon manner of speaking which holds the attention of the reader through "obscurity," "harshness" and "dignity."¹⁸ Even Croll had been uneasy about his categories, admitting that a neo-Stoic "Attic" plain style was not always plain nor did it always maintain the desired "cold passionless objectivity" and "repression of feeling" that he associated with rational, philosophical discourse.¹⁹ Following the lead of recent studies of the impact of Hellenistic rhetorical theory on Renaissance poetry and prose, we suggest that the shift in literary taste in the 1580s associated with Tacitism included Hellenistic influences that informed Montaigne's more mature writing, heightening his poetic sensibility with power, brevity and the sharpness of a wine that carries its years well. Most of all, the shift to Tacitus focused his attention on the reader with a more intense appeal to the emotions.

It was in the context of Tacitean political pragmatism and neo-Stoic preoccupation with the human emotions that the rational foundations of classical morality seemed most vulnerable to attack, prompting the question of reader address: can moral virtue be taught?

¹⁷ See Croll 1966: 51–72, 77–82, 107–163, 167–202. Also see Williamson 1951: 125–130 who observes that Croll's categories do not always work.

¹⁸ For recent studies of the impact of Hellenistic or Greek rhetorical theory on Renaissance poetry and prose see Monfasani 1983: 174–190 and 1976, Patterson 1970, Shuger 1987: 3–13, 160–164, and Biester 1996: 289–332. Their studies have questioned Croll's two-fold division of post-Aristotelian rhetoric into philosophic plain style and oratorical style, undercutting his argument that roughness and obscure brevity popular in the early seventeenth century were characteristic of an Attic plain style. As Shuger suggests, these dichotomies lend themselves to an opposition between rhetoric as deceit and sophistry and rhetoric as dialectic, philosophy and intellectual sincerity or truth.

¹⁹ Croll 1966: 86, 70.

At the centre of this intellectual crisis affecting late humanism was a Stoic distrust of the passions. Uncertain the passions could be controlled by rational means, Montaigne thought, nevertheless, that they might be channeled by other emotions, a possibility that stimulated his interest in the power of the imagination and brought urgency to his task of writing convincingly, in ways that would engage readers' beliefs.²⁰ Montaigne's response to the question of reader address, we suggest, was an original contribution to late Renaissance ethical theory and practice. Thus, his specific investment in Tacitus, while bordering on that of Bodin and Lipsius, took an explicitly ethical turn. In the context of Muret's defence of a Tacitean style, he explored practical problems of applied morality, often centering on the emotions or human "psychology" in modern parlance.

Style was an issue in the Renaissance because language use reflected fundamental beliefs and attitudes toward society and tradition. Although the Renaissance notion of "style" is no longer recognized as central to our intellectual debates, it does continue to inform scholarly and other practices, as we shall see in returning briefly to Morris Croll's work. Recognizing that Montaigne's discourse never entirely fit the mould of an "Attic" plain style, Croll was aware of the essayist's penchant for giving the greatest possible range of expression to individual differences but he rejected the possibility of any Hellenistic influence in France at this time and characterized Montaigne's stylistic freedom as "libertine."²¹ The *Essais* were thus linked to the "radical and rationalist" libertine tendencies of seventeenth-century philosophical skepticism, *raison d'état*, and scientific method.²² It is worth noting that *genera dicendi* or characters of style indirectly pull larger cultural and ideological issues into the trajectory of rhetorical theory, as in this instance where a connection between the plain style and the rise of modern science and modern individualism has been observed.²³ Overall, the attribution of "libertine" and rational tended to cast Montaigne as an empiricist, an assumption that was seriously challenged in the 1980s by post-structuralist approaches,

²⁰ Montaigne's approach to the emotions reflects Aristotle's view and can be found in Plutarch, as will be explained later.

²¹ For early pioneering studies of style and rhetoric on Montaigne's *Essais* emphasizing variety over plain style see Gray 1958 and McGowan 1974.

²² See Croll 1966: 80–81, 121–22.

²³ Shuger 1987: 8.

fueling controversy over the status of representation and subjectivity in the *Essais*. For one thing, the ancients did not associate philosophy with a plain style but with poetry and “wonder.” Moreover, within the Augustinian tradition of Christian inwardness that contributes to a branch of individualism emerging in the late Renaissance and seventeenth century, spiritual existence or the inner life is affective.²⁴ The question of Montaigne’s individualism or the particular form that subjectivity is given in the *Essais*, we think, is better served by Hellenistic concepts of passion and elevation than by Croll’s definition of a dialectical plain style.²⁵ Even so, Croll’s study has left an enduring imprint on Montaigne studies.

Clearly, Montaigne’s libertine “Attic” plain style, as defined by Croll, could not adequately account for the emotional impact and astonishing ethical force of his discourse, striking readers vehemently, often by surprise. The author’s encounters with the classical tradition resemble hand-to-hand combat more than a reasoned exercise of judgment, although they partake of both. Given the protean character of this discourse, its complicated relationship to the classical tradition cannot be neatly summed up by a single model or tradition.²⁶ Our hypothesis—that Montaigne’s reading of Tacitus had a decisive influence on ethical inquiry in the *Essais*—will initially be pursued by focusing our attention on Hellenistic rhetorical theory in particular. Ranging from the third century B.C. to the second century A.D., these include the stylistic Greek rhetorical theories of Demetrius, Dionysius of Halicarnassus, “Longinus” and Hermogenes which make up an essential, though largely neglected, background for Renaissance rhetorical theory.²⁷ Following the premise that cer-

²⁴ Among the many studies of this topic, representative works include: Regosin 1977, Cave 1979, Kritzman 1980, Beaujour 1980, Compagnon, 1980, Brody 1982, Defaux 1987, Rigolot 1988, Rendall 1992. For a recent anthology on this topic see Kushner 1995.

²⁵ With Descartes there is a change. See Taylor 1989: 183–184, 283–4 and Shuger 1987: 244–45.

²⁶ Montaigne’s anti-Ciceronianism does not exclude a Ciceronian influence in the *Essais*. It was the purism of Ciceronians and their emphasis on a Ciceronian ornate grand style that spurred the anti-Ciceronian controversy, but we may be reminded that Cicero was a master of varied styles. Fumaroli has argued in this respect that Tacitism (anti-Ciceronianism) was an extension of Cicero’s rhetoric (Fumaroli 1980: 63–69). From another angle, recent intertextual and rhetorical studies of the *Essais* have emphasized their variety, bringing out a poetic prose and poetic intertexts.

²⁷ See footnote 18 for references.

tain features and emphases of Hellenistic rhetorical theory invest Montaigne's discourse with its ethical force, our strategy is to show how certain beliefs may be brought home to the reader and experienced or questioned.

Hellenistic rhetorical theory tends as a whole to centralize the emotions and the reader while cutting across characters of style, or *genera dicendi*, and multiplying them to provide more scope to expression. Roman rhetoric has a quite different orientation, adhering to three levels of style (plain, middle, grand) and defining the *genus grande* narrowly in the context of forensic oratory, usually limiting its effects to emotions of anger and pity. Characterized by copia, periodicity and ornament in the service of civic oratory, it is this kind of Ciceronian discourse that Montaigne finds boring and ineffectual as he "confesses":

(A) *Mais, à confesser hardiment la vérité (car puis qu'on a franchi les barrières de l'impudence, il n'y a plus de bride), sa façon d'écrire me semble ennuyeuse, et toute autre pareille façon. Car ses préfaces, définitions, partitions, étymologies, consomment la plus part de son ouvrage; ce qu'il y a de vif et de nouvelle, est estouffé par ses longueries d'apprets.* (II, 10, 413)

(A) *Les orateurs voisins de son siècle reprenoyent aussi en luy ce curieux soing de certaine longue cadence au bout de ses clauses, et notoient ces mots: "esse videatur" qu'il employe si souvent. Pour moy, j'ayme mieux une cadence qui tombe plus court, coupée en yambes* (415-6).²⁸

Although Montaigne does not jettison Cicero, so all-pervasive is his influence in the *Essais* and Renaissance texts as a whole, nevertheless the essayist's preference for a *style coupé* is stated repeatedly: [B] ". . . en toutes façons est mon langage: trop serré, desordonné, coupé, particulier;" (I, 40, 252) Or as he expresses it in a well-known passage:

[A] *Le parler que j'ayme, c'est un parler simple et naïf, tel sur le papier qu'à la bouche; un parler succulent et nerveux, court et serré, [C] non tant délicat et peignée comme véhément et brusque.*

²⁸ [A] "But to confess the truth boldly (for once you have crossed over the barriers of impudence there is no more curb), his way of writing, and every other similar way, seems to me boring. For his prefaces definitions, partitions, etymologies consume the greater part of his work: what life and marrow there is, is smothered by his long-winded preparations (301). [A] The orators who lived near his time also reprehended in him his sedulous care for a certain long cadence at the end of his periods, and noted the words *esse videatur* which he uses so often. As for me, I prefer a cadence that falls shorter, cut into iambics" (303).

*Haec demum sapiet dictio, quae feriet,
[A] plustot difficile qu'ennuieux, esloigné d'affectation, desreglé, descousu et hardy:
chaque lopin y face son corps; (I, 26, 171-2)²⁹*

His curt style, while showing a "comic and private" ethos that coincides with the *genus humile* also shows a deep affinity with the Hellenistic tradition of a vehement or "forcible" style (*deinotes*). Eliminating copia and ornament from the passionate grand style, Greek rhetorical theory favours a harsh, rough, brief, highly dense, compressed style that is suggestive rather than clear and gives the impression of natural disorder or spontaneity.³⁰ Some forms of Hellenistic and late Greek grand style are quite simple and utterly plain, such as Hermogenes' solemnity and the idea of the sublime in "Longinus" which reside in qualities of thought and emotion rather than schematic devices.³¹ Turning away from civic oratory toward literature, these Greek teachers and writers replace the Roman aim of persuasion with a notion of transport. Yet "Longinus" (*On the Sublime*) attempts to retain a political ethic by locating the true source of the sublime in the character of the man who speaks well, who will express "noble emotion in the right place" and never harbour ignoble thoughts (8.3, 9.1). These qualities also ground Montaigne's project in an ethic of commitment, for he is intent on exposing illusion and self-deception while preserving the integrity, if not the tyranny, of certain beliefs or elements of tradition.

In the late sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Greek rhetorical theory influences the meaning of "wonder" going back to Aristotle's principle that wonder excites the desire to know, hence is pleasurable. Whereas the Romans connect the quality of wonder with sweetness and ornament, the Greek tradition refers wonder to a perception of strange and unfamiliar grandeur or awe (*deinotes*) through a clus-

²⁹ [A] "The speech I love is a simple, natural speech, the same on paper as in the mouth; a speech succulent and sinewy, brief and compressed, [C] not so much dainty and well-combed as vehement and brusque: *The speech that strikes the mind will have most taste; [A] rather difficult than boring, remote from affectation, irregular, disconnected and bold; each bit making a body in itself;*" (127).

³⁰ Greek writers seemed eager to distinguish one style that is polished, lofty and draws on epideictic oratory from another that is rough, forceful, passionate and agonistic. Whereas Roman writers, such as Cicero and Quintilian, often collapsed the two, Greek writers tended to keep them distinct and preferred the forceful, rough style associated with Demosthenes. Shuger 1987: 14-20.

³¹ Shuger 1987: 35-4.

ter of multivalent features.³² Reacting against the formalism of sophistic rhetoric, the hallmarks of Greek wonder were also variety and naturalness, principles that carry Montaigne's signature. Readers have noticed Montaigne's extraordinary range and variety of ethical strategies combining wit, brevity, vehemence, asperity and a dense compactness, traits that also describe the idea of a "forcible" or admirable style. Moreover, while he does not consider himself a poet, of all the literary forms it is poetry he admires the most as it is able to ravish and transport the will. This Longinian motif appears in several essays including "De la vanité" (III, 9) where a poetic prose inspiring wonder through its natural freedom, suggestive brevity and force is described, recalling aspects of Hellenistic rhetorical theory. Montaigne's admiration of a Greek tradition of wonder and his ambivalent flirtation with the obscure-brevity of a Tacitean style hold a key, we suggest, to his more mature ethical inquiry in which a poetic prose comes to have a larger role.

Hermeneutics: Tacitean Obscure-Brevity and Montaigne's Poetic Prose

The relationship between language and ideas, specifically the set of social and political issues characterizing Tacitism in the 1570s–1580s in France, acted as a conduit for initiatives in such diverse areas as political theory, historiography, law and ethics. Not least of these was Montaigne's original approach to self-exploration through the

³² *Deinotes* (*deinos*) has a cluster of meanings. Demetrius makes force and passionate intensity the primary qualities of the character *deinos* which he alone among critics considers a separate style. The word is first seen in Plato's *Phaedrus* (272a): "to make things appear terrible" as a means of arousing emotions in the audience. Aristotle uses the word four times in the *Rhetoric* in a similar sense of intensifying the emotional reaction by making something appear dreadful. (2.21.10 and 2.24.4) The same meaning is found in Quintilian (6.2.24): "rebus indignis asperis invidiosis addens vim oratio;" also see 8.3.88 and 9.2.104. Demosthenes was thought to exemplify this oratorical virtue. See Grube 1961: 136–38. Greek views on *deinotes* became accessible to Renaissance writers through new editions and translations into Latin of Demetrius (*On Style*), "Longinus," (*On the Sublime*) Dionysius of Halicarnassus and Hermogenes (*On Ideas*), through the treatises of George of Trebizond, Sturm and Vossius and especially through Quintilian. In these authors it is associated with frightfulness, awesomeness, cleverness and appropriateness or decorum. Thus, Montaigne would have had access to these ideas of style through various channels. For the availability and transmission of Greek views on specific stylistic elements see: Monfasani 1983: 174–190, Patterson 1970, Shuger 1988: 14–50, Biester 1996: 289–332, Weinberg 1950: 145–51.

genre he developed of the *essai*. An early description of his project in “De l’oisiveté” (I, 8) emphasizes “wonder” as its impetus. Writing allows him to contemplate at leisure the “chimeras” and “monsters” produced by his mind (“esprit”) so that he can study their strangeness and his own ineptitude:

(A) [*mon esprit*] *m'enfante tant de chimeres et monstres fantasques, les uns sur les autres, sans ordre, et sans propos, que pour en contempler à mon aise l'ineptie et l'estrangeté, j'ay commencé de les mettre en rolle, esperant avec le temps luy en faire honte à luy mesmes* (33).³³

Wonder arouses a desire to know himself, not out of curiosity (*curiositas*) to gain intellectual mastery, but from a moral impulse to curb his own fantasies or illusions, seen here as out-of-control, “faisant le cheval eschappé.” Later he describes his project in “De l’exercitation” (II 6) as “s’espier de près” (spying on himself from close up) and describes it as both “espineuse” (thorny) and “un amusement nouveau et extraordinaire” (377–78). Stressing the novelty and difficulty of this path, he claims that only two or three ancients have travelled it before him, leaving no trace of their work.

(C) *C'est une espineuse entreprinse, et plus qu'il ne semble, de suyvre une alleure si vagabonde que celle de nostre esprit de penetrer les profondeurs opaques de ses replis internes; de choisir et arrester tant de menus airs de ses agitations* (378).³⁴

An even more compelling reason for his writing is to communicate with an ideal reader who no longer exists: La Boétie. Invoking his beloved friend in “De la vanité,” whose absence/presence is palpable throughout, he makes it clear that this irreparable loss estranges him from present society.³⁵ For not only was their friendship beyond

³³ (A) [my mind] “gives birth to so many chimeras and fantastic monsters, one after another, without order or purpose, that in order to contemplate their ineptitude and strangeness at my pleasure I have begun to put them in writing, hoping in time to make my mind ashamed of itself” (21).

³⁴ (C) “It is a thorny undertaking, and more so than it seems, to follow a movement so wandering as that of our mind, to penetrate the opaque depths of its innermost folds, to pick out and immobilize the innumerable flutterings that agitate it” (II, 6, 273).

³⁵ La Boétie was an admirer of Tacitus and described him as a good author in his *Discours de la servitude volontaire* (1574) which adopted a Tacitean tone in its indictment of tyranny. Composed around 1550, the *Discours* was not published until after the St. Bartholomew’s Day Massacre (1572) when it was used by the Huguenots to condemn the monarchy.

comparison in “present” times but, as well, La Boëtie’s incomparable virtue placed him among the ancient models whose excellence can no longer be imitated. Ironically, Montaigne publishes his innermost secrets to the world—(C) “Plaisante fantasie: plusieurs choses que je ne voudrois dire à personne, je les dis au peuple” (981)—hoping thereby to find a friend like La Boëtie and restore to his life the wholeness of an ideal friendship. His writing restores wholeness as well to La Boëtie’s reputation which otherwise would have been torn in “a thousand contrary appearances”: (B) “Et si à toute force je n’eusse maintenu un amy que j’ay perdu, on me l’eust deschiré en mille contraires visages” (983). The death of La Boëtie not only motivates Montaigne’s writing, it also gives him a vantage point or distance, qualifying him to speak about human *vanitas* from a Tacitean perspective. In “De la vanité” writing is described as both a compulsion and a journey with no end in sight, “Qui ne voit que j’ay pris une route par laquelle, sans cesse et sans travail, j’iray autant qu’il y aura d’ancre et de papier au monde?” (945).³⁶ This meandering route will lead him to his intellectual origins in Rome where he feels more at home than on the soil of his native France. But his journey does not end there. The classical hermeneutic principle of the journey as a return from the dangers of a foreign land does not apply in his case, or only partly, as we shall see. More emblematic of his ethical project are discomfort and defamiliarization.

Our analysis of Montaigne’s approach combines rhetoric and hermeneutics; for these two disciplines were inseparable, both in classical times and the Renaissance, and together they inform the ethical theory and practice in the *Essais*.³⁷ As a reader of Tacitus, Montaigne was not merely an interpreter but an inquirer intent on reanimating issues turning on belief and understanding, especially the question of accommodating oneself as a private citizen to present political realities of public life.³⁸ The essayist presents his ethical work as a practice of self exploration based on the *essai* (a trial or test), which involves a strategy of assaying or trying out discourses to test their

³⁶ “(B) Who does not see that I have taken a road along which I shall go, without stopping and without effort, as long as there is ink and paper in the world?” (721).

³⁷ See Eden 1997 and Copeland 1991 for ways that the rhetorical tradition informs and intersects with the history of hermeneutics.

³⁸ See Struever 1992: ix–xii for a view of Renaissance humanists as “serious inquirers rhetorically presenting their work as available practice.”

weaknesses and strengths against his own powers. His approach is neatly articulated by Plutarch in *On Listening to Lectures* for whom the sense of hearing is “the most emotional of all senses yet more rational than emotional.” When Plutarch emphasizes the crucial role of listening, he sketches a hermeneutical form of inquiry, advising Nicander to take a topic that was inadequately treated in a lecture and try his hand at the same thing “supplying a deficiency here or amending there or attempting to teach the subject in an entirely new way as Plato did for the discourse of Lysias” in *Phaedrus*. The advantage of this comparative technique is “to get a picture of our own discourses in the discourses of others” and by so doing, he says, “our presumption and self-esteem are speedily cut short by being put to the test in such comparisons.”³⁹ To function fully as an hermeneutic inquiry, however, Plutarch’s notion of self-testing calls for an economy (*oikonomia*) of reading. According to this Greek interpretive concept, the case as a whole must be accommodated to particular facts before it can become familiar and make sense, a point to which we shall later return.⁴⁰

What is the textual evidence to suggest that Tacitus may have influenced the orientation of Montaigne’s ethical inquiry, or *essai*, especially in its later form? Tacitus’ appearance in an essay on the art of *discussion*, “De l’art de conferer” (III, 8), has seemed incongruous to some readers: why did Montaigne not include him instead in his earlier essay on books, “Des livres” (II, 10), where historians are featured? However, in view of the hermeneutical approach he proposes—combining conversation and reading—it makes sense as we shall see.

In “De l’art de conferer” Montaigne says he devoured the *Histories* in one sitting, attesting to the magnetism of the historian’s narrative art, for it was the first time in twenty years that he had spent “one

³⁹ Plutarch 1949: 40e–f.

⁴⁰ Eden 1997: 28. Eden points out that the Greek concept of *oikonomia* (borrowed from domestic usage) was applied by Hermagoras, the Greek Hellenistic rhetorician, to various elements of style (*elocutio*). Roman rhetoricians, however, borrowed it for matters of arrangement and it acquired the sense of accommodating the particular case. “Illa enim potentissima est quaeque vere dicitur oeconomica totius causae dispositio, quae nullo modo constitui nisi velut in re praesente potest.” (“For the most effective, and what is justly styled most economical arrangement (*oeconomica dispositio*) of a case as a whole, is that which cannot be determined except when we have the specific facts before us.”) Quintilian 7.10.11–12.

whole hour at a time on a book" (718).⁴¹ Tacitus rates among the top historians in Montaigne's eyes to judge from the special attention and place of honor he receives in this essay. It is above all his manner ("forme") of history-writing that intrigues Montaigne for the ethical and political insights it imparts:

(B) *Cette forme d'Histoire est de beaucoup la plus utile. . . c'est une pepiniere de discours ethiques et politiques, pour la provision et ornement de ceux qui tiennent rang au maniement du monde* (941).⁴²

In singling out Tacitus' talent for creating "discours ethiques," this is one of only three times the word "ethical" appears in the *Essais*, suggesting a focus for his critique.⁴³ Accordingly, what he most admires or finds lacking in this "forme d'Histoire" will be of special interest to us for what it reveals about ethical inquiry in the *Essais*.

Three points in particular stand out in Montaigne's critique and these will structure our discussion of the essayist's discursive practice. First, he praises Tacitus for writing "a judgment rather than a recital of history." Secondly, the historian is accused of self-effacement, of not speaking openly of himself, "Car le n'oser parler rondement de soy a quelque faute de coeur" (942). Finally, the *Histories* are valued for intermingling the private and public registers of life, blending personal motive with historical event. In treating these points consecutively yet discursively for the remainder of this essay, let us keep in mind that together they suggest a deepening of issues and a more mature direction for Montaigne's ethical inquiry.

A certain notion of inquiry is given priority by Montaigne when he writes, (B) "C'est plustost un jugement que (C) deduction (C) d'Histoire" (941), "rather a judgment than a *recital* of history" (my emphasis).⁴⁴ He values the reflection prompted by this kind of history.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Villey 1924: 921, dates Montaigne's reading of Tacitus' *Histories* at around 1586, a short time after he had begun to compose Book III. It was also during this period that he borrowed liberally from the Latin historian, not only to create new essays, but also to make additions to Books I and II.

⁴² (B) "This form of history is by far the most useful. . . it is a nursery of ethical and political reflections for the provision and adornment of those who hold a place in the management of the world" (III, 8, 719).

⁴³ Leake 1981: 464.

⁴⁴ In Cotgrave 1611, "Deduction" is translated as "a deduction; diminution, abatement, withdrawing, deducting, also, a guiding." Frame translates "deduction" as "recital" and Screech as "narrative."

⁴⁵ For a somewhat different interpretation see Compagnon 1984: 9–26. My reading

Yet it is not necessarily the historian's personal judgment of history he praises but rather his manner of opening a space for a critical reading. How does Tacitus do this? We are told that, on the one hand, he offers a plain, straightforward narrative providing the barest essentials while, on the other, his personal judgment takes its own slant, "often going beyond the matter he is presenting to us" (719), even provoking sharp disagreement. Although exonerated by the essayist for supporting the religion of his time against the Christians, Tacitus' opinion is questioned in several other instances.⁴⁶ He may have judged Pompey's character too harshly or he may have judged Tiberius' motives too sympathetically, giving credence to the tyrant's expression of "poignant remorse," but it is precisely the soundings Tacitus makes into the psychology and characters of these powerful figures that are fascinating and useful to Montaigne. What puzzles and seems to tantalize him the most, however, is Tacitean ambiguity: he is not certain what Tacitus' judgment *is* in every case. Is it the disparity between a dual perspective—what is left unsaid and what is opined—that stimulates curiosity while giving him a critical foothold to judge for himself? The very "tacit" quality of Tacitus' discourse provides a clue, for it is neither his simple, sincere narrative nor is it his penetrating judgment that stimulates reflection but rather the space of uncertainty between the two. Using ellipsis, allusion and irony to suggest more than is literally said, Tacitean brevity often reaches beyond suggestiveness to create obscurity. His veiled meanings create *deinotes* (translated into Latin as *gravitas*) according to his sixteenth-century readers. According to Muret, Tacitus possessed to a high degree that virtue which made Demosthenes so venerated among the Greeks:

*At Tacitus habitus est etatis suae sine controversia eloquentissimus, & quae virtus Demostheni maximam inter Graecos gloriam peperit, quam illi δεινότητα (awe-someness) appellant, eam ut propriam & peculiarem Tacito tribuunt omnes. Eloquentissimum quidem illum vocat Plinius.*⁴⁷

is based on Montaigne's preference for historians who do not chew the material in advance for the reader but rather make space for reflective judgment.

⁴⁶ For Church censorship and hostility toward Tacitus see Smith: 1986: 379–390. Also see Henry 1987 for 5 Montaigne and censorship. In "De la liberte de la conscience" (II, 19), Montaigne indirectly criticizes Church authorities for censoring and destroying the works of Tacitus whose legacy might have been entirely lost to us due to "cinq ou six vaines clauses contraires à nostre creance" (669).

⁴⁷ Muret 1707: 352 Oratio xvii (alias xiv).

But Tacitus was considered without dispute the best writer of his day, and that virtue which produced for Demosthenes the greatest glory among the Greeks, which they call δεινότης, all attribute to Tacitus as peculiarly his own. The younger Pliny calls him most eloquent.⁴⁸

Tacitean “obscura brevitās” acquires an intellectual strength and elevation, a majesty and dignity in Muret’s eyes that are wondrous and awesome, but not meant for the multitude:

*Hoc quasi velum est, quod profanis obtenditur. Sic templa sublustria ingredientēs sacro quodam horrore perfundunt.*⁴⁹

It is like a veil that is drawn before the profane. Thus dimly-lit temples suffuse those who enter with a kind of holy dread.⁵⁰

Montaigne implicitly draws parallels between Tacitean obscurity and his own in “De la vanité,” admitting tongue-in-cheek that if he cannot hold his readers’ attention any other way he will hold it by his “embroilment,” (B) “Puisque je ne puis arrester l’attention du lecteur par le poids, ‘manco male’ s’il advient que je l’arreste par mon embrouilleure” (995).⁵¹ While unintentional, yet admittedly reprehensible, his obscurity will nevertheless elevate his book in his readers’ esteem for they will think his meaning more profound than it actually is.

Montaigne’s discourse does, in fact, spare his readers boredom, his greatest source of apprehension, and force them to reflect. Ruptures in normal syntax and fragmented sentences create an abrupt, rough, energetic discourse that lends itself to ambiguities and ambivalent interpretations, inevitably arousing reader puzzlement and “wonder.” Readers have no choice but to fill in the gaps, to supply what is left unsaid. It is known that the essayist systematically cultivated a *style coupé* through revisions to his 1588 edition, adding punctuation, such

⁴⁸ Mellor 1995: 35. *Opera Omnia* 1834–1841 2: Oration xiv.

⁴⁹ Muret 1707: 352 Oration xvii (alias xiv).

⁵⁰ Mellor 1995: 38–9. *Opera Omnia* 1834–1841 2: Oration xiv.

⁵¹ Two forms of brevity are to be distinguished, that which says nothing more than what is absolutely necessary and a “suggestive brevity.” Tacitus pushes suggestive brevity to the point of obscurity and is disparaged for it by Seneca. See Williamson 1951: 123. However, Demetrius had attached almost unqualified value to obscurity in his description of the “forcible” style. See Demetrius 1902, 1979: 181, 185. Montaigne, like Muret, seems to have appreciated Tacitus’ obscure style for he calls it “sinewy” and compares it to Seneca’s “pointed” brief style, the former being more “charnu” and the latter more “aigu.”

as commas or semi-colons, to break up the rhythm of longer phrases, inserting periods to make shorter sentences and adding capitals for emphasis.⁵² Yet in “De la vanité” he typically disclaims any knowledge of, or interest in, punctuation: “Je ne me mesle ny d’ortografe, et ordonne seulement qu’ils suivent l’ancienne, ny de la punctuation: je suis peu expert en l’un et en l’autre” (965). Practice shows otherwise. A handwritten note on the 1588 edition directs the printer to pay particular attention to (copious) revisions in punctuation, “Mais regardez de pres aux pouints qui sont en ce [sti]le de grande importance. [C’e]st un langage coupé qu’il n’y espargne les pointcs & lettres majuscules.”⁵³ Because of his revisions, punctuation functions differently. Instead of rounding off phrases and marking closure, the inserted capitals invest his prose with restlessness, causing the eye to leap forward at each juncture. As readers have noticed, his *style coupé* contributes an impression of spontaneity and movement, following the fluctuations of his thought as though recorded in the “present” moment of writing, (C) “Mon stile et mon esprit vont vagabondant de mesmes” (994). But while heightening the effect of naturalness, brevity does not clarify the muddle, nor does he want it to. Here, ambiguity is a key to his writing, not its by-product. It is from a tacit manner of “speaking by halves” or “ne dire qu’à demy” (996) that confusedly and discordantly a modern reader takes shape in the *Essais*.⁵⁴ Leaving more to the reader’s imagination than is literally said will be a necessary part of the author’s strategy of inquiry.⁵⁵ In his essay “Consideration sur Cicéron” (I, 40) he criticizes Cicero’s “empty and fleshless” eloquence “that leaves us wanting itself not things” (185)! Quite appropriately it is also in this essay that he defines reading in the context of Tacitean *obscura brevis* as a hermeneutical task in which the reader will produce (C) “numberless essays” from the “many stories which say nothing of themselves” (185); (C) “Et combien y ay-je espandu d’histoires qui ne disent mot, lesquelles

⁵² See Tournon 1992: 219–31 and 1995: 117–33.

⁵³ “But look closely at the periods that are of great importance for this style. It is a curt language that does not spare periods and capitals” (my translation). To give an idea of the systematic nature of Montaigne’s revisions, Tournon 1992: 220–2 reported two thousand changes in punctuation for Book I alone.

⁵⁴ Lyons 1994: 51 in his analysis of Montaigne’s tacit style astutely concludes that “the *Essais* help form the modern reader of *romans*.”

⁵⁵ Montaigne’s strategy is also motivated by caution in the face of censorship.

qui voudra esplucher un peu ingenieusement, en produira infinis Essais?" (251).

Yet another hermeneutical perspective is opened through Montaigne's reading of the *Histories*. He finds there more precepts ("preceptes") than stories ("contes") and rather a judgment of history than a recital of it. Because Tacitus speaks *for* history while narrating or talking *about* histories, his text can be read both as a history and a discourse on history. This is why the essayist can congratulate Tacitus for being on the right side of Roman affairs, "Il a les opinions saines et pend du bon party aux affaires Romaines" (941). But this is also why Tacitus succeeds in shattering readers' complacency. His acuity in describing his contemporaries makes readers squirm, both then and now, "Vous diriez souvent qu'il nous peinct et qu'il nous pince" (941).⁵⁶ In a *Dialogue on Oratory*, Tacitus also practises a discursive strategy that allows his dialogue to be read simultaneously as a discussion *about* the decline of civic oratory under censorship in imperial Rome and a call *for* private choice and personal freedoms through a poetic medium. In the *Dialogus*, Maternus, a celebrated orator, has retired from the law courts to write a tragedy of Cato. But his laudatory biography of the man whose life and death symbolized Republican liberties has offended those in power. He refuses to revise the objectionable passages, a decision that may cost him his life. In appropriating the *Dialogus* as an unacknowledged subtext for "De la vanité," Montaigne borrows Maternus' voice to question the viability of Ciceronian civic oratory: (B) "Quand escrivimes nous tant que depuis que nous somme en trouble? Quand les Romains tant que lors de leur ruyne?" (946).⁵⁷ Maternus had variously reminded his interlocutors that oratory is "an art which comes to the front more readily in times of trouble and unrest: '... quae facilius turbidis et inquietis temporibus existit'" (37.6). "De la vanité," like the *Dialogus*, is open to a plural reading since Montaigne, like Tacitus, believes that writing

⁵⁶ (B) "You would often say that it is us he is describing and decrying" (719).

⁵⁷ (B) "When did we write so much as since our dissensions began? When did the Romans write so much as in the time of their downfall?" (722) In Montaigne's time, because of its emphasis on Ciceronian, style the *Dialogus* was often *not* recognized as authored by Tacitus. Yet this work was clearly considered by contemporaries as part of the anti-Ciceronian, hence Tacitean, tradition. The Tacitean discourse is the primary focus of our interest, not simply the influence of Tacitus. Also see Martin 1981: 59–60 and Luce 1993: 11–12 for recent dating of the *Dialogus*.

for freedoms is just as important as writing *about* them, keeping in mind that the times call for dissimulation.

It is this hermeneutic writing strategy, so prominent in Tacitus, that Montaigne exploits in "De la vanité" interweaving two parallel discourses: a narrative of the author's journey to Rome and a reflection on the vanity of writing. Villey found this structure so capricious and disorderly that he thought two distinct essays had been joined in piecemeal fashion—one on vanity and the other on travel—deliberately to confuse the reader.⁵⁸ However, the essayist's whimsy was not without method judging from his pointed references to two works with similar "disorderly" hybrid compositions: Plato's *Phaedrus* and Plutarch's *On Socrates's Daemon*.

At this juncture, Montaigne's stylistic commentary on these two texts relative to his own reveals his notion of a poetic prose as philosophical, theological *and* hermeneutical. Montaigne describes the arrangement of *Phaedrus* as a fantastic motley in two parts: "le devant à l'amour, tout le bas à la rhétorique." Similarly, he admires Plutarch for smothering his subject in foreign matter and appearing to forget his theme in "lusty sallies" or "gaillardes escapades" (994). Montaigne is transported by their digressive tactics and their "light, flighty, daemonic" art, revelling in the "furor" of the ancient poetic prose, its oracular function and sudden wind-tossed shifts. His transport recalls the effect of "Longinus" sublime, which "produced at the right moment, tears everything up like a whirlwind or thunderbolt and exhibits the orator's whole power at a single blow" (1.4).⁵⁹ For Tacitus, as well, in the *Dialogus* "[poetry] was the language of the oracles," "Sic oracula loquebantur" (12.2). The more casual and seemingly accidental, the more beautiful to him it seems. In stressing the vigor and boldness of this poetry, as well as its oracular function, he aligns it with the Greek conception of philosophical and theological poetry

⁵⁸ Villey 1924: 944.

⁵⁹ Russell 1965: 1. Montaigne could also have found the notion of "rapt" (ravisish) in Quintilian although there were Latin translations of Longinus available. Michel 1962: 80 remarks on the influence of Longinus on Tacitus' *Dialogus*. We may note that Longinus also framed the idea of the sublime with the topos of civic oratory's demise and the loss of freedoms: "Are we to believe, he went on, the common explanation that democracy nurtures greatness, and great writers flourished with democracy and died with it? . . . We of the present day, on the other hand, he continued, seem to have learned in infancy to live under justified slavery." (44.2-3).

rather than with the sophistic variety that flourished at his time in courtly circles drawing on an Isocratean tradition.⁶⁰ As Montaigne assays the studied carelessness and freedom of this ancient poetic prose in its leaps and gambols, tumultuous changes and indiscriminate roaming, we are reminded of the function of poetry in Tacitus' *Dialogus*. Maternus had turned to poetry to escape the "gain-getting rhetoric now in vogue, greedy for human blood" (12.2), trading the unrest and anxiety of the bar for a quiet life away from the bustle of the city. Where a career in public oratory enslaved him, poetry gives him freedom, even licence to write a tragedy of Cato's life in praise of Republican liberties, although at a certain risk. In the context of the *Dialogus*, Montaigne's poetic prose thus takes on a serious ethical mission. It is by *design* that his style takes such liberties, (B) "Je m'escare, mais plustot par licence que par mesgarde. Mes fantasies se suyvent, mais parfois c'est de loing, et se regardent, mais d'une veuë oblique" (994).⁶¹

Alerting readers to the "apparent" disorder of his *Essais* and problematizing interpretation, he lures, even defies them to seek an order of reading. It is the "inattentive reader" who loses his subject, not he. In spite of Montaigne's playful innuendos challenging the reader, the "fantastic motley" and poetic freedom of "De la vanité" do not necessarily conceal a decipherable code or hidden allegory but point rather to their own internal order. Once again the *Phaedrus* provides a clue, for it is here that discourse is defined by Socrates as both unified and plural according to an organic model that influenced Renaissance texts:

Every discourse must be organised, like a living being, with a body of its own, as it were, so as not to be headless or footless, but to have a middle and members, composed in fitting relation to each other and to the whole (264,C).

As Socrates goes on to mock an allegorical discourse lacking any internal ordering principle, we may assume by implication that interpretation cannot be imposed from the outside as a form of exegesis on a passive text. How then should such a text be read? In the

⁶⁰ However, the two conceptions were often mixed in the Renaissance. For this distinction see Shuger: 1987: 14–20.

⁶¹ (B) "I go out of my way, but rather by licence than carelessness. My ideas follow one another, but sometimes it is from a distance, and look at each other, but with a side-long glance" (761).

Essais, the self, initially treated as an example or gloss of the (classical) subjects he writes about, increasingly becomes expressed in terms of a body: (C) “Je m’estalle entier: c’est un SKELETOS où d’une veuë, les veines, les muscles, les tendons paroissent, chaque piece en son siege” (379).⁶² His actions, voice, thoughts, humors are indistinguishable from the words he writes. They are the subject matter and the ordering principle of his book, giving it a living presence.

Is this why Tacitus’ self-effacement is so harshly criticized in “De l’art de conférer”? The historian’s reticence to talk about his professional achievements indicates some “lack of heart” to Montaigne. The latter’s reaction would seem exaggerated were it not for a later addition which goes to the crux of the matter, (C) “J’ose non seulement parler de moy, mais parler seulement de moye: je fourvoye quand j’escry d’autre chose et me desrobe à mon subject” (942).⁶³ Montaigne dares not only to speak of himself but to speak only of himself because he has a double objective. Presenting himself as subject matter makes his text intelligible, providing context and also the conditions for an *application* of knowledge. Success depends on the writing/speaking subject’s being part of the inquiry itself; self-effacement, out of a false sense of modesty or objectivity, would threaten the ethical project itself.

Accordingly, in “De la vanité,” a hermeneutical principle of reading is suggested, based on an organic unity—the self-imposing order and full meaning from within:

(B) *Tant y a qu’en ces memoires, si on y regarde, on trouuera que j’ay tout dict, ou tout designé. Ce que je ne puis exprimer, je le montre au doigt:*

**Verum animo satis haec vestigia parva sagaci
Sunt, per quae possis cognoscere caetera tute.**

Je ne laisse rien à desirer et deviner de moy (983 my emphasis).⁶⁴

⁶² (C) “I expose myself entire: my portrait is a cadaver on which the veins, the muscles, and the tendons appear at a glance, each part in its place” (274). The text as a body evoking a tangible physical presence has received much attention. For a subtle, imaginative analysis of this facet of Montaigne in the context of Renaissance imitation theory and mimesis, see in particular Jeanneret 1991: 266–69.

⁶³ (C) “I dare not only to speak of myself, but to speak only of myself; I go astray when I write of anything else, and get away from my subject” (720).

⁶⁴ (B) “At all events, in these memoirs, if you look around, you will find that I have said everything or suggested everything. What I cannot express I point to with my finger: *But if you have a penetrating mind, These little tracks will serve the rest to find* (Lucretius). I leave nothing about me to be desired or guessed” (751).

The author has said or suggested everything there is to know about himself. He has tried to guard against this threat of fragmentation and splintering of meaning by proclaiming the wholeness of his book, (C) "Mon livre est tousjours un" (964). He has made his book and it has made him, (C) "Je n'ay pas plus fait mon livre que mon livre m'a fait, livre consubstantiel à son auteur, d'une occupation propre, membre de ma vie" (665). Yet from the beginning, fault lines appear. Although Montaigne would be only too willing to rise from the dead to ensure a "correct" interpretation, he cannot prevent discrepancies from arising between the written word and his authorial intention, (C) "Je reviendrois volontiers de l'autre monde pour démentir celui qui me formeroit autre que je n'estois, fut ce pour m'honorer" (983). The resurrected author returning to defend his text recalls the adversarial, forensic origins of interpretation, relying on the intention of the lawmaker/author in the face of controversy caused by textual ambiguity and contradiction.⁶⁵

Inherited by the Romans from the Hellenistic rhetorical tradition, *interpretatio scripti*, as Cicero called it, was the prevailing model of interpretation without which humanist hermeneutics would be unthinkable. Montaigne draws on this tradition to contextualize the interpretation of his book in surrounding passages, the entire work and even the whole life of the author. Here, interpretation appears to be entirely text- and author-centred. In this composition, the decisive relation is between the whole and the parts.⁶⁶ It is tempting to see the principle of *sola scriptura*, the self-interpreting text promoted by Luther, at work here. Montaigne, however, suspects the vanity of any effort to follow this hermeneutical principle to full circle, to make his book self-sufficient and fully autonomous, like the Scriptures. No matter how tempting an illusion, his text will not successfully be able to control its own interpretation, for as he points out, having

⁶⁵ This Aristotelian insight—that the spirit of the law or the intention of the lawmaker should be given priority in an ambiguous case to ensure equity—appears in the *Nicomachean Ethics*: "Such a rectification corresponds to what the lawgiver himself would have said if he were present." (5.10.1137b). It is appropriated by Cicero who in the *De inventione* advises the lawyer to argue that "the author of the law himself, if he should rise from the dead, would approve this act." ("Scriptorem ipsum, si existat, factum hoc probaturum et idem ipsum, si ei talis res accidisset, facturum fuisse.") (2.47.139). Cited in Eden 1997: 16.

⁶⁶ As Quintilian suggested, the most economical arrangement of a case as a whole is that which cannot be determined except when we have the specific facts before us" (*Institutiones* 7.10. 11–12) Cited in Eden 1997: 28.

mortgaged his book to the world, it is now part of the public domain. He does not have the right to change what he had once written nor can he guarantee its interpretation, "Premierement, par ce que celuy qui a hypothecqué au monde son ouvrage, je trouve apparence qu'il n'y aye plus de droit" (963). Apart from its interaction with a reading public, moreover, the very medium or language of the *Essais* may barely outlive its author, "Selon la variation continuelle qui a suivy le nostre jusques à cette heure, qui peut esperer que sa forme presente soit en usage, d'icy à cinquante ans" (982)?

Rather he shifts the hermeneutical emphasis from exegesis to practice: participation or non-participation in a tradition that rivets attention on the task of writing/reading itself and the reader.⁶⁷ In so doing he underscores the task of application that is recognized as the central problem of hermeneutics.⁶⁸ All understanding involves application as well as interpretation and this points us toward practical tasks in concrete ethical situations. For Montaigne, these experiences involve everyday encounters with something familiar that asserts its own truth, hence cannot be totally appropriated. Consequently, understanding in "De la vanité" and the *Essais* does not depend on feeling at "home" with the unfamiliar even though this is a basic principle of hermeneutics. Nor does it originate in the thinking subject. Rather it comes from listening to other voice that address us. The principle of listening, of being attuned to other voices, traditions, laws, times, and to the self is key. We shall call this a "listening voice."

The Reader: A Listening Voice

What absorbs and captivates Montaigne in Tacitus's *Histories* is the of mix private motives with public events. He brings into relief the particular lives of the emperors, their bizarre acts of cruelty mixed

⁶⁷ A similar compositional structure in Plato's *Phaedrus* and Plutarch's *On Socrates' Daemon* also serves this hermeneutical function, pointing the way to some form of knowledge: about love or truth (Plato) about oracles (Plutarch). Also see Gadamer 1992: 174–76, 340–1, 390–1.

⁶⁸ The philosophical hermeneutics of Hans-Georg Gadamer is most helpful in understanding Montaigne's approach. Both look to the ancient legal and rhetorical tradition and emphasize the concept of hermeneutical application. Gadamer 1992: 315. Also see Bernstein 1985: 272–296 and Risser 1997: 206–208.

with public deeds and words, to reveal the corruption of the times. By juxtaposing the harsh demands of public life with the necessity of making personal accommodations under tyranny, Tacitus rehearses the central problem of Montaigne's ethic: how everyday practices, including "ordinary vices," constitute our lives and impinge on our beliefs.⁶⁹ This concern focuses attention on the reader or listener, especially the task of awakening vigilance. While emphasis on reader persuasion is characteristic of Renaissance writers from Petrarch on, Montaigne's objective is not so much to persuade as "to find out in each case the existing *means* of persuasion."⁷⁰ In "De la vanité," he turns from a Roman (Ciceronian) notion of persuasion predicated on the possibility of teaching virtue through example to an interactional, dialogical Greek format that focuses attention on the effectiveness of discourse.⁷¹

His attentiveness to the problem of reader address reflects a growing scepticism regarding classical, especially Ciceronian, belief in ethical capacity. The *Essais* contribute, perhaps more than any other work of its time, to a crisis in exemplarity, undercutting the belief that classical ideals could provide a model for present times, that virtue could be learned by imitating heroic ideals.⁷² Once confidence in a simple transparency between theory and practice is problematized, ethical work is put at risk. It is this uncertainty that spurs Montaigne to seek fresh solutions to the problem of belief and persuasion. Just as Tacitus impresses upon Montaigne (and other readers) his passion for history, so does Montaigne effectively communicate his profound commitment to an ethical life. Rather than teaching readers how to live through example, he makes them interlocutors in an "art of conversation" and participants in an inquiry. It is by theorizing reading as an "embroilment" ("embrouilleure") and tacit

⁶⁹ From the title of Judith N. Shklar's book.

⁷⁰ Aristotle 1975: I.1.14. See Kahn 1985 for the use of deliberative rhetoric by humanists to argue on both sides of the question and to "persuade" in the sense of training judgment.

⁷¹ This move is significant in the context of Greek and Roman rhetorical theory. Citing Lohmann 1951: 205–36, Nancy S. Struever suggests that Greek rhetoric emphasizes the dialogical domain of persuasion and a notion of belief as shared or as relational engagement, whereas Roman rhetoric focuses on the faculty of judgment and a speaker's ability to 'make believe' as a unilateral act of personal judgment (Struever 1992: 187–91).

⁷² Greene 1982, Kahn 1985, Hampton 1989, Lyons 1989, Stierle 1972.

“manner of speaking by halves” (“ne dire qu’à demy”) that a modern reader takes shape in the *Essais* as a necessary part of the author’s strategy of inquiry.⁷³

This involves a shift from the model of reading presented earlier in “Des livres” (II, 10) as a pleasurable process of sorting through and appropriating materials to the format in Book III of a conversation or jousting exercise. In “Des livres” (II, 10) he had described reading as a playful process of sifting through a variety of authors at leisure, a pleasant exercise as long as one did not pause too long or pore over interpretation. Gleaning useful insights from others was the reward, *not* gnawing one’s nails over obscure passages, (A) “Les difficultez, si j’en rencontre en lisant, je n’en ronge pas mes ongles” (409). In “Des trois commerces” (III, 3) and *De l’art de conferer*” (III, 8), however, discussion has now become a more fruitful and “natural” way of exercising judgment than reading, (B) “Le plus fructueux et naturel exercice de nostre esprit, c’est à mon gré la conference” (III, 8, 922). He now finds discussion even more exhilarating and intellectually stimulating than reading:

(B) *L’estude des livres, c’est un mouvement languissant et foible qui n’eschauffe point: là où la conference apprend et exerce en un coup. Si je confere avec une ame forte et un roide jousteur, il me presse les flancs, me pique à gauche et à droite, ses imaginations esclangent les miennes. La jalousie, la gloire, la contention me poussent et rehaussent au dessus de moy-mesmes. Et l’unisson est qualité du tout ennuyeuse en la conference* (923).⁷⁴

The ideal discussion pits one antagonist against the other to argue forcefully and spur the other on, recalling the agonistic vehemence and passion of the Hellenistic grand style for which Demosthenes was admired.⁷⁵ Because conversing is more confrontational than reading, it makes more “vigorous” demands on its interlocutors in the

⁷³ Lyons 1994: 51 in his essay on Tacitus and Montaigne astutely concludes that “the *Essais* help form the modern reader of *romans*” by stimulating the reader’s imagination through “that which the historian has left unspoken.”

⁷⁴ (B) “The study of books is a languishing and feeble activity that gives no heat, whereas discussion teaches and exercises us at the same time. If I discuss with a strong mind and a stiff jouster, he presses on my flanks, prods me right and left; his ideas launch mine. Rivalry, glory, competition, push me and lift me above myself. And unison is an altogether boring quality in discussion” (704).

⁷⁵ Montaigne’s preference for Demosthenes over Cicero appears, he says, to go against the grain of common opinion but not “if we will consider the truth of the thing and the men in themselves” (II, 32, 549).

name of a common “cause of truth” conceived by the author as the freedom to speak one’s mind:

(B) *Quand on me contrarie, on esveille mon attention, non pas ma cholere; je m’avance vers celuy qui me contredit, qui m’instruit. La cause de la verité devoit estre la cause commune à l’une et à l’autre* (924).⁷⁶

Freedom to speak openly recalls Tacitus’ pursuit of freedom and is founded on a model of civility. Here mutual respect and orderly debate take precedence over the subject matter or conclusions. Montaigne finds conversing “sweeter” than any other action of our life provided that an “order” or “art” or method of inquiry be observed as each interlocutor strives to control emotions of anger or rivalry in order to gain the critical edge on truth. Yet truth is something to be sought, not possessed, suggesting we are all apprentices in the art of discussion, learning to apply knowledge to ourselves and make it useful to others. This ethical capacity is not to be taken for granted. The most powerful and highborn are often the most inept in this art, observes Montaigne. He reserves mastery to an elite whose wit and perspicacity place them above the rest regardless of rank or position.⁷⁷

Also included under the rubric of the art of conversation are the playful bantering style, keen retort and witty repartee. This witty style suits his natural gaiety, (B) “Exercice auquel ma gayeté naturelle me rend assez propre” (938). Like his gaiety, his wit is “natural” or inborn, and he wears it as a badge of membership in an elite group of conversationalists. Not coincidentally, the categories of witticism Montaigne mentions can be traced to the admirable style in Demetrius’ discussion of the character *deinos*, who puts the emphasis on

⁷⁶ (B) “When someone opposes me, he arouses my attention, not my anger. I go to meet a man who contradicts me, who instructs me. The cause of truth should be the common cause for both” (705).

⁷⁷ In “De la vanité, where the question of a reader is given special attention, Montaigne says he is writing for few men and few years and that some will see further into his essays than those of ordinary understanding (982 B). Here the fictional reader takes various forms: 1) a general reading public, 2) an elite group of readers (acquaintances) who may understand his innuendos and whom he is willing to enlighten privately, face-to-face if they should have questions and 3) an ideal reader like La Boétie who may not exist in real life but whom he is seeking to recreate through his *essais*. These constructs point to a more active role for the fictional reader than one finds in classical times and among most of Montaigne’s contemporaries.

“deceiving or frustrating the audience’s expectations, on surprise.”⁷⁸ Witticisms inevitably create ambiguity, and for Demetrius consist especially of allegory hyperbole and *emphasis*, which he associates with poetic allusiveness and “suggested brevity.” Because it signifies more than what it says, suggested brevity, according to Demetrius, allows hearers to pride themselves on their insight.

Books have not lost their importance but the model of reading selectively proposed earlier in “Des livres” is now seen as too unilateral, not sufficiently interactional or confrontational, to sustain his ethical inquiry as he now perceives it. With this, Montaigne’s concept of reading has changed dramatically. Whereas his short chapters in the first two volumes seemed to “disrupt and dissolve” readers’ attention before it was even aroused, he has now lengthened his chapters and cajoles his readers into giving him at least an hour of their time while challenging them to a more purposeful approach, “En telle occupation, à qui on ne veut donner une seule heure on ne veut rien donner” (III, 9, 995). The fictional reader is given a considerably more active and complex role than in Books I and II, outstripping Renaissance and classical constructs of the reader. The enthusiastic reception of his first two volumes has provided confidence and an impetus to assume authority, as author and subject of his *Essais* and as their publisher, editor and reader.⁷⁹ Moreover, the model of a discussion has been internalized: books serve as catalysts for an inner conversation, which he finds potentially more stimulating in the long run than conversing with acquaintances, male or female. Books have now become his best companions in this “human journey,” “C’est la meilleure munition que j’aye trouvé à cet humain voyage” (III, 3, 828). In Book III a theory of reading and readership takes shape that fits his own, more mature project of writing, for with intimate involvement and the controversy it generates, comes a deeper engagement with the problem of applying knowledge to oneself. Reading Tacitus has shaped this changing paradigm of inquiry, making it come to life throughout Book III, particularly in

⁷⁸ Beister 1996: 315–316. With respect to the transmission of Demetrius’ analyses, see Cicero’s discussion of wit in *De oratore* Book II, Quintilian’s in the *Institutes* and Castiglione’s in the *Book of the Courtier*.

⁷⁹ For Montaigne’s active role in publishing his *Essais* and an enlightening study of the publishing practices that may have motivated him to make additions to volumes I–III, see Hoffmann 1998: 63–108.

“De la vanité” where the art of discussion takes a hermeneutic and highly poetic form.

Conclusion

Montaigne’s appropriation of a Tacitean discourse to help define a strategy of address and a mode of reading, while not commonly noticed, is a decisive contribution to late Renaissance ethical theory and practice. The Latin historian’s unsparing descriptions of public/private antinomies and their disabling, tragic consequences on human life inform the essayist’s conception of ethical capacity and he conveys this Tacitean pragmatic outlook to readers persuasively with a sense of urgency. Yet, is “persuasive” an adequate description of his approach after all? As Montaigne’s sceptical strategies imply, is it possible to “convey” (self) knowledge “persuasively” to a reader? As we have shown, his wariness toward the Ciceronian model of persuasion poses the stickiest, most resistant challenge to his own ethical practice.⁸⁰ Tacitean discourse helps provide a response to this problem caused by the breakdown of the humanist ideal of imitation. Montaigne develops a hermeneutic of reading that engages the reader more actively as a participant, drawing on Tacitus and the Greek tradition of rhetorical theory along with Plutarch and Seneca to formulate an original approach to the problem of reader address.

Plutarch’s model of reading and listening in *On Reading Poets* and *On Listening to Lectures* provides valuable insights for our study of the *Essais* and a Tacitean discourse.⁸¹ Plutarch tells Nicander that it is “a shame not to direct forthrightly his gaze upon himself,” urging him to try his hand at a topic treated by another speaker/author, an exercise that will prevent disdain toward others (42.A). Plutarch compares the effects to seeing our eyes reflected in the eyes of others, a principle of self-testing which also informs Montaigne’s practice of the *essai*. It is predicated on a notion of listening that Plutarch illustrates through two analogies. These reappear in the *Essais* illustrating the interactive nature of Montaigne’s inquiry as well as its

⁸⁰ Montaigne problematizes the faculty of judgment (based on the Ciceronian or Roman model) and the notion of efficacious persuasion, or counsel throughout the *Essais*. See “De la praesomption” II, 17, among others.

⁸¹ The following passage on Plutarch is indebted to Eden 1997: 31–40.

ethical, hermeneutical thrust.⁸² Plutarch cautions the listener not to sit passively at a lecture like the man who goes to his neighbor for fire and stays there warming himself at the blaze but rather to “ignite his innate flame” and bring a spark home (47.D). Just as striking is his definition of listening as being attuned to the other. As in throwing and catching a ball, the listener’s function is to move and change position so as to be in a rhythm that corresponds with that of the speaker.

Equally important for our understanding of Montaigne’s hermeneutical approach is Plutarch’s use of the principle of *oconomia* in *On Reading Poets* to promote reading as a way of gaining familiarity with certain aspects of living in a community and as an arrival home. The route of poetry digresses and bends variously as opposed to the straight and single path of philosophy, but this is because fiction accommodates human emotions, or psychology, to the variety and change of human existence, regarding these as a source of pleasure as well as pain. Emphasizing the telling or weaving of tales, Plutarch reads parts of Homer’s *Odyssey* “as an allegory of reading” and looks to Homer as an archetype to show the young reader a *manner* of reading that is ethical, not to allegorize.

Likewise, Montaigne’s journey to Rome is both an allegory of reading/writing and more than that. The author rejects allegory to focus on the task of writing, thereby guiding us to read his journey as a model for reading the self. In his intellectual odyssey, the suppleness of a conversation is maintained on various fronts: with an unnamed interlocutor, through an intermixing of Tacitus, Plutarch, Plato, Seneca and Cicero, vis à vis a confrontation between past/present and private/public. These encounters flexibly structure the author’s voyage to Rome in search of his cultural origins, culminating in a vision of Republican Rome haunted by the images of the ancients whose friendship (“acquaintance”) and presence come alive as he imagines them walking, dining together and engaged in conversation. Yet at the same time, these meetings remain problematic for author and reader alike: how is it possible, within a Ciceronian

⁸² The analogy with throwing the ball occurs in III, 13, 1088: (B) “La parole est moitié à celuy qui parle, moitié à celuy qui escoute.” The metaphor of the fire occurs in I, 25, 137 (A). Also see Bauschatz 1980: 264–292 and McKinley 1995: 51–65 for these metaphors.

paradigm that links oratorical eloquence and civic consciousness, to define a self apart from its commitment to the city or state and shared civic origins? Tacitism provides Montaigne with an answer or means of redefining the ethical paradigm. In addition to the author's liminal status as a voyager to Rome seeking passage between past and present, servitude and freedom, public and private duties, his quest for self definition comes to focus on the question of citizenship. Citizenship is a metaphor used by Plutarch for familiarizing oneself with philosophy and it also signifies being at home.⁸³ But the author's disenchantment with his French citizenship in a monarchy on the brink of collapse coupled with his desire for Roman citizenship as an expression of (his vision of) ancient Republican Rome "libre, juste et florissante" (996) amount to nothing but "inanité et fadaise" (1000). He knows these are vain illusions, like his love of travel and writing, but he cannot rid himself of them without doing away with his very being. Thus, a Tacitean irony and love of *libertas* leave their imprint on this essay alongside a more difficult, at times painful, awareness that he must accommodate himself to the present. Echoing Tacitus' lesson in the *Histories*, he urges, (B) "On peut regretter les meilleurs temps, mais non pas fuyr aux presens; on peut desirer autres magistrats, mais il faut, ce nonobstant obeyr à ceux icy" (994). His awareness that worldly virtue "est une vertu à plusieurs plis, encoigneures et coudes," a virtue with many "bends, angles and elbows" to adapt itself to human weakness ties in with Plutarch's view of poetry and fiction as an accommodation, bringing pleasure in its *varietas* while mitigating harshness and pain of present realities. Montaigne's free-spirited, circuitous journey does just that. A major discovery for author and reader alike is the recognition that understanding the past is related to self understanding. This is why the actual products of writing or travel are incidental to this process; what matters is the *manner* of reading it elicits. Montaigne's journey to Rome is a hermeneutical application, a journey that takes him beyond the illusions of *civitas Romana* and the dream of a unified Christian empire. It ends not in Rome but at the Pythian oracle in ancient Greece. This highest of ancient authorities echoes the solemn allusion to *vanitas* in *Ecclesiastes* that had opened this essay, ending it with a harsh reminder, (B) "Regardez dans vous, reconnoissez vous,

⁸³ See *On Listening to Lectures* 37 F.

tenez vous à vous;” . . . “tu es le scrutateur sans connoissance, le magistrat sans jurisdiction et apres tout le badin de la farce” (1001).⁸⁴

Montaigne’s uncertainty about the outcome of his journey reflects a cautious scepticism that lends itself to a deconstructive approach although we have treated it here as a motivating force centering on emotions and opinions that affect ethical capacity. Readers are made to question the foundations of what they know, reflect on what it means to *have* beliefs. To borrow Bernard Williams’ formulation: beliefs do not relate to the excellence of a life “as premise stands to conclusion” but “rather an agent’s excellent life is characterized by *having* those beliefs.”⁸⁵ Williams’ philosophical approach is quite relevant to the project of the *Essais*, as we perceive it, for both emphasize the need for a commitment to an ethical life. What Charles Taylor calls the “individualism of personal commitment” also describes our view of Montaigne’s ethical turn in his more mature inquiry to the emotions and psychological analysis, but without Stoic condemnation of the emotions or Stoic detachment.⁸⁶ His ethical discourse can be seen to contribute to one of the strands of nascent modern individualism. However, Cartesian subjectivity or self-persuasion as a form of self-mastery and disengagement are not his path. He takes a more humble route toward questioning the limits of his capacity to recognize his own particularity and accept himself as he is, accommodating his private “self” with the public conventions and institutions that constitute his life in all its *vanitas*.

⁸⁴ (B) “Look into yourself, know yourself, keep to yourself; . . . you are the investigator without knowledge, the magistrate without jurisdiction and all in all, the fool of the farce” (766).

⁸⁵ Williams 1985: 154.

⁸⁶ Taylor 1989: 182–185. Taylor cites the legacy of the Stoic conception of the will—Chrysippus’ *synkatathesis* or Epictetus’ *prohairesis*—as the source of an individualism of personal commitment which values the power of the will to give or withhold consent standing by its commitment in the face of society’s less stringent rules. The Augustinian heritage was receptive to this view and identified the inability to will fully with sinfulness. The emphasis on commitment has “helped fix that sense of self which gives off the illusion of being anchored in our very being, perennial and independent of interpretation” (185). Also see 177–184; 346–47.

PLUTARCH'S *LIVES*

Alain Billault

Introduction: Plutarch in France before Amyot

Jacques Amyot's translation of Plutarch's *Lives* was the major event in the destiny of Plutarch's *Lives* in France. It was published in Paris by Michel de Vascosan in 1559, with the title: *Vies des hommes illustres grecs et romains comparées l'une avec l'autre par Plutarque de Chaeronée, Translatées premièrement de Grec en François par maistre Jacques Amyot*. Its publication was the main cause of Plutarch's esteem in modern France and exercised a long-lived influence on French literature, but it was not an isolated event. From the beginning of the sixteenth century ancient Greek texts had become mainstream in French intellectual life. They were edited in their original version or translated into Latin or French. The original editions often bore a relation to courses of public lectures but were also used by people who could not attend the lectures but wanted to learn ancient Greek.¹ The Latin translations were read by educated people who could read Latin, but not Greek. They were published before the French translations that appeared later and gradually became prominent. Plutarch's case provides a good example of this trend.²

Plutarch's works were unknown in the Middle Ages.³ Italy rediscovered them in the fifteenth century. The first edition of Plutarch in France was published in Paris by Gilles de Gourmont on April 30, 1509. The book included three texts from the *Moralia*: *De uirtute et uitio*, *De fortuna Romanorum* and *Quemadmodum oporteat adulescentem poemata audire*. They were reprinted with an additional preface from Aldo Manuce's *editio princeps* of the *Moralia*, which had been published in Venice in 1509. The Italian Girolamo Aleandro, known in French as Jérôme Aléandre, wrote this preface. He had been educated in Padova and in Venice where he had served as an assistant

¹ Irigoin 1998: see Fumaroli 1998: 391–404.

² Aulotte 1965: 21–38.

³ Aulotte 1965: 21–22. Walter 1951: I, XIV–XV.

of Aldo Manuce. He was a priest and became later Archbishop of Brindisi and Cardinal of the Roman Church. From 1508 to 1513, he was teaching in Paris and working to introduce French people to Greek writers, particularly Plutarch. His edition was part of this endeavour. It was the beginning of a powerful trend of publications of Plutarch's works in France.

Those publications were brought out as other ones were issued abroad. In Florence, Junta published the *editio princeps* of Plutarch's *Lives* in 1517. From 1514 to 1525 in Basel, Erasmus translated into Latin ten texts from the *Moralia*. In 1542, Froben's edition of the *Moralia* was released. He provided a better text than Aldo Manuce and inspired a new series of Latin translations. Xylander and Crusenius made their own which was published in Basel by Guérin in 1570. Many French translations of the *Moralia* were also published at that time. R. Aulotte has listed them.⁴ They included a wide range of texts, but none of them provides the complete *Moralia*. More often than not they were based on a Latin or an Italian translation because most translators could not read Greek. Nevertheless, their books were successful. From 1530 to 1540, 27 books by Plutarch were published in France including 15 French translations, six Latin translations, three editions of the original text and three volumes which contained Greek text and facing Latin translation.⁵ Those figures confirm that Plutarch had indeed become a popular writer in sixteenth-century France. Therefore Amyot's success with his translation of Plutarch's *Lives* cannot be considered an exception. His book appears as a bright star in a vast Plutarchean galaxy which included already other translations of the *Lives*.

The first one was by Simon Borgouyn who translated before 1515 a Latin translation of the *Lives* of Pompey, Cicero and Scipio Africanus.⁶ In 1519, a reprint of Junta's *editio princeps* was published in France and Françoise de Foix, who was Countess of Châteaubriand and the mistress of King François I asked an anonymous writer to translate the *Life of Anthony*. Then François I commissioned Lazare de Baïf, a clever diplomat and a genuine scholar, to edit and translate an anthology of Plutarch's *Lives*. In 1530, the king was presented with the translation of the *Lives* of Theseus and Romulus. He disliked de

⁴ Aulotte 1965: 53–128.

⁵ Bunker 1939, see Aulotte 1965: 34, n. 4.

⁶ Sturel 1908: 8–9.

Baif's style and asked Georges de Selves for another translation. De Selves was Bishop of Lavaur, in the Southwest of France. He had been appointed as French ambassador to Venice after Lazare de Baif. He planned to translate all the *Lives* but died before he could carry out his project. His translation of eight *Lives* was published in Lyons in 1548. Meanwhile Arnaud Chandon, who was prior of the Benedictine monastery of Saint-Robert de Montferrand, in the country-side of Auvergne, was also translating for the king the *Lives* of Agesilaos, Marcellus, Alexander and Pyrrhus. He finished his work before 1547.⁷ Amyot came later, but he had been working on his own translation for a long time.

Jacques Amyot and His Translation of the "Lives"

Jacques Amyot was born in Melun on 30 October 1530.⁸ He was a pupil at Cardinal Lemoine's College in Paris, where he studied Latin with Nicolas Vigoureux and Greek with Jean Bonchamps whose surname was Evagrius. Then he was a student at the Collège des Lecteurs Royaux which had been founded by François I in 1530 and became later the Collège de France. There he studied Hebrew with Vatable and Greek with Toussaint and Danès. Calvin and Henri Etienne, the latter of whom became a famous editor of many classical texts including Plutarch's *Lives*, which he published in Geneva in 1572, attended the same lectures.⁹ Amyot became an accomplished Hellenist and, in 1535, Jacques Colin, who was Reader to the King, hired him as a private tutor for his children. In 1536, Colin, Jean de Morvilliers, who was governor of Berry, and Marguerite de Navarre, who was Duchess of Berry and the king's sister, helped him to be appointed as Lecturer in Latin and Greek at the University of Bourges after his friend, the German Hellenist Melchior Wolmar, had gone to Tübingen. Amyot stayed on in Bourges until 1546 and revealed himself as a man of many activities.¹⁰ In 1541, he was hired as private tutor of his children by Secretary of State Guillaume Bochetel. At the same time, he started to translate Euripides' *Trojan*

⁷ Sturel 1908: 9–11.

⁸ Balard 1986: 5–7.

⁹ Lefranc 1893: 141–142. Cioranescu 1941: 29.

¹⁰ Ribault, see Balard 1986: 105–122.

Women and Iphigeneia at Tauris, Heliodorus' *Aithiopica*, and, from Plutarch's *Lives*, the lives of Theseus, Romulus, Philopoemen, Flaminius, Sertorius, Eumenes and Demetrius. Jean de Morvilliers showed the king the manuscript translation of those *Lives*. François I liked Amyot's style and commissioned him to translate all the *Lives*. In 1547, he appointed him as Abbot of Bellozanne. The king died a few days later, but Amyot was to enjoy the protection of Henri II, François II and Charles IX, who succeeded François I to the throne.

In 1547, Amyot's translation of Heliodorus was published. From 1548 to 1552, he served as a diplomat in Italy. First he worked in Venice with Jean de Morvilliers, who was then the French ambassador to the Republic. Then he went to Rome to assist Claude de la Guiche, Bishop of Mirepoix, who was representing France at the Council of Trent. Finally he returned to Venice as an assistant to the Cardinal of Tournon who was the new French ambassador. In the libraries of Venice and Rome he had the opportunity to work on the manuscripts of Plutarch's *Lives*. But at the same time he was also translating seven books of Diodorus' *Histories* and Longus' *Daphnis and Chloe*. His translation of Longus was published in 1559, the same year as his translation of Plutarch's *Lives*.

In 1559, Amyot had been for two years the private tutor of the sons of King Henri II. The Cardinal of Tournon had helped him to be appointed. He was now a man of consequence at the court and was to stay in a high position for a long time. Henri II was killed during a tournament in 1559 and François II died in 1560. Then Amyot's pupils succeeded to the throne. Charles IX immediately promoted him to the rank of Lord High Almoner of France and State Counsellor. In 1570, he appointed him as Bishop of Auxerre. From 1574, under the reign of his other pupil Henri III, Amyot's situation was unchanged, but later he got entangled in the turmoil of the religious wars. In 1588 the Duke of Guise, the leader of the riotous Catholic League, was murdered. The League accused Amyot of giving his support to the murderers and expelled him from Auxerre. In 1589, Henri III was murdered. King Henri IV did not extend the same protection to Amyot, whose influence was now declining. Several suits were brought against him by members of his chapter and he lost huge sums of money. He was ruined when he died in 1593.

During his bright priestly and political career, Amyot never ceased to study and translate classical texts. Plutarch was clearly one of his

favourite authors. In 1572, his translation of the *Moralia* was published and excited a long-lived interest in the well-read audience. The two volumes, which included 75 works, were reprinted six times from 1574 to 1604.¹¹ The *Lives* were equally successful.

In his dedication to the king of his translation of the *Lives*, Amyot declares that his intention has been to respect the original text and the complexity and harshness of Plutarch's style:

*Je confesse avoir plus estudié à rendre fidèlement ce que l'Autheur a voulu dire que non pas à orner ou polir le langage, ainsi que luy-mesme a mieux aymé escrire doctement et gravement en sa langue, que non pas doucement ny facilement.*¹²

However, he acclimatizes the Greek of Plutarch to the French taste of his time. For example, he gives Latin names to Greek characters: Demetrios becomes Demetrius, Lamachos Lamachus, Agatharchos Agatarcus, Theophrastos Theophrastus. Similarly, he resorts to Latin names of institutions and to Latin technical words to translate the original Greek: the Council of the Areopagus becomes the Senate of the Areopagus and the trireme is transformed into a galley. He also frenchifies many names of places: he writes Tanagre instead of Tanagra and Naxe instead of Naxos. The military ranks are frenchified too: Alcibiades, who is appointed as *strategos autokrator*, becomes Capitaine Général of Athens. Thus Amyot tries to make Plutarch's text sound familiar to French ears. While he dedicates to the king his translation, he also means it for the well-read audience. This is why he writes a notice *To the readers*.

In this text, he vindicates his undertaking and emphasizes the usefulness of writing history. Some books, he says, aim only at pleasing the readers and consequently waste their time, but historical books are pleasant and useful as well. Therefore one has to be grateful to the historians:

pour autant que l'histoire est une narration ordonnée des choses notables, dites, faites, ou avenues par le passé, pour en conserver la souvenance à perpétuité et en servir d'instruction à la postérité . . . Aussi se peut-il dire, que l'Histoire est à la vérité le tresor de la vie humaine: qui preserve de la mort d'oubliance les faits et dits memorables des hommes, et les aventures merveilleses, et cas estranges, que produit la longue fuite du temps.

¹¹ Aulotte 1965: 163–237.

¹² I quote the text from the reprint by Jean Libert: Paris, 1615. The pages of dedication to the king and of the notice *To the readers* are not numbered.

With his translation of Plutarch's *Lives*, Amyot wants to hand down to the French people this "tresor de la vie humaine." It is worth noting that he does not restrict himself to characterizing his work from an erudite and technical point of view. To provide an intellectual and ethical justification of his translation, he develops literary and philosophical reflections upon history:

C'est une peinture qui nous met devant les yeux, ne plus ne moins qu'en un tableau, les choses dignes de memoire, qu'anciennement ont faites les puissants peuples, les Rois et Princes magnanimes, les Sages gouverneurs et vaillants Capitaines et personnes marquées de quelque notable qualité, nous représentant les moeurs des nations estrangeres, les lois et coustumes anciennes, les desseins des homes particuliers, leurs conseils et entreprises, les moyens qu'ils ont tenus pour parvenir, et leurs deportemens, quand ils sont parvenus aux plus hauts, ou bien qu'ils ont esté dejettez au plus bas degrez de la fortune.

With this definition of history, Amyot makes clear his own conception of Plutarch's *Lives*. He sees them as a panoramic picture of the life of the nations and of the destiny of their leaders, of the extreme diversity of human laws and habits and of human behaviour in good and bad fortune. He reads them as a historical, anthropological and ethical encyclopaedia and also as a work of art. As a writer, he admires their wide range and variety and highlights their ethical usefulness. Presumably the readers were of the same opinion as he, for he achieved enormous success with his translation.

He continued to work on it. Two revised editions were published in 1565 and 1567, and the volume was reprinted many times after Amyot's death. His success was certainly not an isolated event. Translations of classical texts were fashionable and many were printed at that time. P. Bercheure's Livy was published in 1487, E. Delaigne's Caesar in 1531, C. de Seyssel's Appian in 1544, Maignet's Sallust and Polybius in 1547 and 1552, E. de la Planche's Tacitus in 1555. But Amyot was not only successful because he made Plutarch's *Lives* accessible to the cultured who could not read Greek. He was also praised for the elegance and the beauty of his style. He was commended as a writer whose translation was considered a genuine work of art and the beginning of a new era in the history of French prose.¹³ This is why in the nineteenth century Emile Egger called Amyot "le prince des traducteurs en prose."¹⁴ Learned people in the

¹³ Cioranescu 1941: 141, 192.

¹⁴ Egger 1869: I, 262.

sixteenth century formed the same judgement. The poet Pierre de Ronsard extols Amyot and his teacher Danès as “lumières de nostre age.”¹⁵ Such raptures of admiration give a notion of Amyot’s influence on French literature in the sixteenth century.

*The Influence of Amyot’s Translation of the “Lives” on the
Literature of the Sixteenth Century*

Amyot’s translation of Plutarch’s *Lives* influenced playwrights and, above all, Montaigne’s writing of the *Essais*.

The Influence on Playwrights

In the sixteenth century, French tragedy starts developing on the scene. The playwrights often pick up the theme of their plays in Plutarch’s *Lives*, which they read in Amyot’s translation.¹⁶ This why Ferdinand Brunetière, the famous historian of French literature, was entitled to write in 1907: “De même que l’*Illiade* est à l’origine de la tragédie grecque . . . pareillement le Plutarque d’Amyot, les *Vies parallèles*, sont à l’origine de la tragédie française.”¹⁷ Plutarch’s *Lives* can be considered a source of French tragedy because of their content and of the appeal of Amyot’s style. The great men of antiquity with their bright and often dramatic destiny were seen as an heroic stock to be used on the stage. And Amyot’s rendering of Plutarch’s political oratory and ethical remarks on his heroes’ words, deeds and fate could inspire the writing of lofty speeches.¹⁸ Several playwrights actually acknowledge their debt to Amyot. For example, Robert Garnier (1545–1590) makes clear in the dedication of some of his tragedies that his reading of Amyot’s translation was the starting-point of his work. Thus he could find the theme of *Porcie* (1568) in the *Lives* of Cicero, Brutus and Anthony,¹⁹ the theme of *Comélie* (1574) in the *Lives* of Pompey, Caesar and Cato Minor²⁰ and the theme of

¹⁵ Laumonnier-Lemerre 1914–1919: V, 373.

¹⁶ Lavoine, see Balard 1986: 273–283.

¹⁷ Lavoine, see Balard 1986: 273.

¹⁸ Lavoine, see Balard 1986: 273–275.

¹⁹ Lebègue 1973: 56.

²⁰ Lebègue 1973: 152.

Marc Antoine (1578) in the *Life of Anthony*.²¹ Antoine de Montchrestien (or Montchrétien) was also inspired by Plutarch. In *Les Lacènes* (1601)—*The Women of Lacedemon*—he recounts the end of the life of Cleomenes III, the king of Sparta whose reign took place from 235 to 222 B.C. He draws his material from Plutarch's *Life of Cleomenes*, mainly from chapters 61–71.²² But Amyot's translation also influences prose writing, especially in the case of Montaigne.

Amyot's Influence on Montaigne

According to Pierre Villey, the main French editor of Montaigne in the twentieth century,²³ Montaigne borrows from Plutarch more than 500 times in the *Essais*.²⁴ His borrowings from the *Lives* are less than fifty per cent of this figure. The rest comes from the *Moralia*, from which Montaigne draws more and more as he rewrites his book. In the edition of 1588, he draws 130 times from the *Moralia* and 45 times from the *Lives*.²⁵ But it is not easy to form a true notion of his borrowings. They include quotations, references, plain or implicit allusions and rewritings. Thus one cannot set unquestionable criteria to define them. This is why figures other than Villey's have also been stated. I. Konstantinovic, for instance, has counted 459 borrowings from the *Moralia* and 293 from the *Lives*.²⁶ Moreover, one may distinguish between the *Moralia* and the *Lives* in the *Essais*, but the two collections may sometimes mingle in Montaigne's mind and Montaigne himself, more often than not, does not resort to this distinction. He just says he quotes from Plutarch.

Montaigne read not only Amyot's translation of the *Lives* and of the *Moralia*, but also his translations of Diodorus of Sicily and of Heliodorus.²⁷ He personally met Amyot who told him a story he reports in the *Essais* (I, XXIV).²⁸ He defended the translator's cause when he incurred censure for the mistakes he had made: in his

²¹ Lebègue 1974: 13.

²² Petit de Julleville 1891: 299.

²³ Villey 1965. I quote from his edition of the *Essais*.

²⁴ Villey 1965: 363.

²⁵ Villey 1933: II, 100–119.

²⁶ Konstantinovic 1982: 43, 47.

²⁷ Villey 1965: 268, 400.

²⁸ Villey 1965: 124–125.

Journal de voyage,²⁹ he reports that he had dinner in Rome with the French ambassador and the scholar Marc-Antoine Muret. As they were reproaching Amyot with his errors in his translation of Plutarch's *Lives*, Montaigne replied "que où le traducteur a failli le vrai sans dans Plutarque, il y en a substitué un autre vraisemblable et s'entretenant bien aus choses suivantes et précédantes."³⁰ But his friends picked up two examples and collated Amyot's translation with the meaning of the Greek text, and Montaigne had to concede that Amyot was wrong. This story makes clear Montaigne's admiration of Amyot whose mistakes he is ready to justify because they convey a meaning which seems likely and fits in well with the whole text, even if it is not Plutarch's meaning. Thus, Montaigne admires of Amyot not as a philologist, but as a writer. He makes it plain in the *Essais* (II, IV):³¹

Je donne avec raison, ce me semble, la palme à Jacques Amiot sur tous nos escrivains François, non seulement pour la naïfté et pureté du langage, en quoy il surpasse tous austres, ny pour la constance d'un si long travail, ny pour la profondeur de son sçavoir, ayant peu développer si heureusement un autheur si épineux et ferré. (car on m'en dira ce qu'on voudra; je n'entens rien au Grec, mais je voy un sens si beau, si bien joint et entretenu par tout en sa traduction que, ou il a certainement entendu l'imagination vraye de l'autheur, ou, ayant par longue conversation planté vivement dans son ame une générale Idée de celle de Plutarque, il ne luy a au moins rien presté qui le desmente ou qui le desdie); mais sur tout je lui scay bon gré d'avoir sçu trier et choisir un livre si digne et si à propos, pour en faire présent à son pays. Nous autres ignorans estions perdus, si ce livre ne nous eust relevez du boubrier: sa mercy, nous osons à cett' heure et parler et escrire; les dames en regentent les maistres d'escole; c'est nostre breviaire.

This praise expresses Montaigne's conception of Amyot's work. Because he cannot read Greek, he greatly appreciates his French prose. As Amyot writes extremely good and coherent French, Montaigne suspects that he has got Plutarch's Greek quite right. Amyot deserves to be praised for it because Plutarch seems to Montaigne to be difficult to read and to require a learned and steadfast translator. But Amyot must also be praised because he made Plutarch's works accessible to the French reader. Montaigne does not distinguish the *Moralia* from the *Lives*. There is one book by Plutarch. It has been

²⁹ Rigolot 1992: 114.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ Villey 1965: 363-364.

published at the right moment to enable Montaigne and others—"nous" is singular and plural at the same time—to speak and write. Men and women as well like it. To its readers it is what a breviary is to a priest. This is a daring comparison in sixteenth-century France where religious wars had been raging. It must not be taken in the figurative sense. Montaigne considers Amyot's Plutarch a book of wisdom where he reads some truths which are as important to him as the divine truths which a priest can find in a breviary.

Those truths are political and ethical truths which bear a relation to the meaning of the *Essais* in the context of French religious wars. The *Essais* may be considered an ethical answer to the crisis through which France has been going. The religious wars have shown to what barbarian acts of violence could lead the uncompromising heroic ethics that hold sway in French aristocracy.³² Montaigne is propounding another aristocratic way of life where moral grandeur is an inner virtue that does not need to be displayed on the battlefield. To promote this ethical reform, Montaigne resorts to antiquity. According to him, the ancient Greek and Roman could design a noble type of human behaviour that rules out intransigency and arrogance. Examples of this type can be found in Plutarch.³³ This why his book is invaluable. But is Plutarch its real author in the eye of Montaigne?

It is worth noting that he proclaims first Amyot to be the best French writer of his time and then emphasizes the importance of Plutarch's book, which Amyot enabled the French to read. Thus he seems not to distinguish between Amyot and Plutarch, and this is why G. Mathieu-Castellani is entitled to speak of the part which is played by "Plutarque-Amyot" in the *Essais*.³⁴ It is an important part precisely because of Montaigne's high esteem of Plutarch's works.

In the *Essais*, Plutarch unquestionably appears as Montaigne's favourite ancient writer. Montaigne prefers him to Seneca (II, XVII)³⁵ whom he also reads. He likes Tacitus, too, but he reproaches him for preferring the historical events to the emperors' lives (III, 8).³⁶ On

³² Quint 1998.

³³ Fumaroli 2000: 41–53.

³⁴ Mathieu-Castellani 1988.

³⁵ Villey 1965: 638.

³⁶ Villey 1965: 940–941.

the other hand Plutarch prefers the lives of the great men of history and Montaigne praises him for this choice:

Les historiens sont ma droite bale: ils sont plaisans et aysez; et quant et quant l'homme en general, de qui je cherche la cognoissance, y paroist plus vif et plus entier qu'en nul autre lieu, la diversité et vérité de ses conditions internes en gros et en destail, la variété des moyens de son assemblage et des accidens qui le menacent. Or ceux qui escrivent les vies, d'autant qu'ils s'amusest plus aux conseils qu'aux evenemens, plus à ce qui part du dedans qu'à ce qui arrive au dehors, ceux là me sont plus propres. Voyla pourquoy, en toutes sortes, c'est mon homme que Plutarque. (II, X).³⁷

Thus Montaigne finds in Plutarch's *Lives* the very object of his own inquiry. He wants to know what a man is and he can watch men talking, acting and living under the eye of an historian who "aime mieux que nous le vantions de son jugement que de son savoir" (I, XXVI).³⁸ According to Montaigne, "Plutarque est admirable par tout, mais principalement où il juge des actions humaines" (II, XXXI).³⁹ This is why he can never stop drawing from him: "Je n'ay dressé commerce avec aucun livre solide, sinon Plutarque et Senèque, où je puyse comme les Danaïdes, remplissant et versant sans cesse" (I, XXVI).⁴⁰ Plutarch actually has taken a strong hold on Montaigne, who plainly acknowledges the fact and the huge profit he derives from it:

Mais je me puis plus malaisément deffaire de Plutarque. Il est si universel et si plain qu'à toutes occasions, et quelque sujet extravagant que vous ayez pris, il s'ingere à votre besongne et vous tend une main libérale et inespisable de richesses et d'embellissements. Il m'en faict despit d'estre si fort exposé au pillage de ceux qui le hantent: je ne le puis si peu raconter que je n'en tire cuisse ou aile (III, V).⁴¹

Whatever topic he is addressing, Montaigne meets Plutarch on his way. He takes from him everything he can offer. To express his greedy appetite, he resorts to the image of the chicken which guests at dinner cut up and eat. But there is a paradoxical risk in this feast. As Montaigne plunders Plutarch to write the *Essais*, he may be plundered as well by writers who plunder Plutarch and draw from him

³⁷ Villey 1965: 416.

³⁸ Villey 1965: 157.

³⁹ Villey 1965: 714.

⁴⁰ Villey 1965: 146.

⁴¹ Villey 1965: 875.

the same stuff Montaigne has stolen before. Montaigne is not lacking in humour and appears as a remorseless looter. However, he often acknowledges his huge debt to Plutarch. This debt includes stories, ideas and words as well. Writes Montaigne: “Je des-roberay icy les mots mesmes de Plutarque qui valent mieux que les miens” (I, XLVII).⁴² He admires Plutarch so much that he speaks modestly about his own style and some times chooses to keep silent and is satisfied just to repeat Plutarch’s words. Thus Plutarch speaks on behalf of Montaigne in the *Essais*. This deliberate substitution reveals how intimate Montaigne has become with Plutarch.

As he continues to read Plutarch, Montaigne thinks he is deeply acquainted with his works and his personality. This is why he feels he can write (II, XXXI), “Les escrits de Plutarque, à les bien savourer, nous le descouvrent assez, et je pense le connoistre jusques dans l’ame.”⁴³ Nevertheless he has some regrets: “si voudrois-je que nous eussions quelques mémoires de sa vie.”⁴⁴ As a matter of fact, Montaigne wishes Plutarch had written his own *Essais*. Montaigne undertakes to write his own with Plutarch’s help and welcomes Plutarch into the core of his autobiographical project.

This is why one may consider the *Essais* a rewriting of Plutarch’s works.⁴⁵ Montaigne draws hugely from him, but above all he wants to imitate his way of watching men’s lives from many points of view without judging them hastily, often without forming any judgement at all (II, XII):

*Combien diversement discourt il de mesme chose? Combien de fois nous presente il deux ou trois causes contraires de mesme subject, et diverses raisons, sans choisir celle que nous avons à suivre.*⁴⁶

Plutarch is among the writers who “ont une forme d’escrire douteuse en substance et un dessein enquerant plustot qu’instruisant.”⁴⁷ Montaigne writes the same way. He follows the trend of his thoughts at his own convenience. This is why he indulges in so many digressions: “Je m’egare, mais plustot par licence que par mesgarde. Mes fantasies se suyvent, mais parfois c’est de loing et se regardent, mais

⁴² Villey 1965: 284.

⁴³ Villey 1965: 716.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ Mathieu-Castellani 1988: 78–89.

⁴⁶ Villey 1965: 509.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

d'une veuë oblique" (III, IX).⁴⁸ Montaigne takes Plutarch as his model in this wandering way of writing. Montaigne starts with a praise of Plutarch's digressions and finishes with a vindication of his own. He smoothly comes from "son theme" to "mon subject." The osmosis of the two writers is complete. G. Mathieu-Castellani rightly remarks that Montaigne "montaignifies" Plutarch more than he "plutarchifies" himself.⁴⁹ But Montaigne is not Plutarch. He does not write a sequel to the *Lives*. He takes them as a model, but also keeps his distance. He is no historian. Therefore, he is not expected to write an orderly, coherent, likely and complete story to relate another man's life.⁵⁰ He writes about his own. It is the object of his inquiry. This is why the *Essais* have not the same form as the *Lives*. But Montaigne merges the substance of Plutarch's works into his book. He also shares his attitude of mind, the way he looks at human life. He rules out the haughtiness of manufactured seriousness and prefers the unconcerned nonchalance, the aristocratic sprezzatura. This also belongs to Plutarch's influence.⁵¹

We may certainly conclude that, had Plutarch not written the *Lives*, the contents and form of the *Essais* would not be the same. Seldom has a book owed so much to another one. Plutarch's influence on Montaigne is indeed unique. But other writers were also inspired by him in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries.

*The Influence of Amyot's Translation of the "Lives" in the
Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*

The Seventeenth Century

In the seventeenth century, Amyot's translation is still widely read. In his *Discours sur la traduction* (1636),⁵² Claude Gaspar Bachet de Méziriac censures its alleged archaisms, but this is an isolated case.⁵³ Amyot remains popular even among creative writers. In *Les Caractères*

⁴⁸ Villey 1965: 994.

⁴⁹ Mathieu-Castellani 1988: 89.

⁵⁰ Mathieu-Castellani 1988: 88; 1994: 13–15.

⁵¹ Quint 1998: 60.

⁵² Aulotte 1965: 256.

⁵³ Ballard 1998.

(1688), La Bruyère remarks that “un style grave, sérieux, scrupuleux, va fort loin: on lit Amyot et Coeffeteau, lequel lit-on de leurs contemporains?”⁵⁴ Nicolas Coeffeteau, who is forgotten nowadays, was a theologian and a preacher who wrote a *Roman History*. At the time of La Bruyère, he was as famous as Amyot whose success La Bruyère attributes to the seriousness of his style. La Bruyère does not read Amyot with the same eyes as Montaigne. He is in tune with the French *Age Classique*, which asks Plutarch for models of wisdom. For instance, at that time, the *Life of Phocion* is very successful among the lawyers who try to emulate Phocion, whom they consider the exemplar of shrewd and terse eloquence.⁵⁵ But Plutarch is also referred to in other spheres where his books can be found unexpectedly and sometimes play unpredictable roles.

This is, at least, what we can infer from Molière’s *Les Femmes Savantes* (1672). In this play, Chrysale, the head of the family, makes it plain to the women in the house that he does not approve of their reading books. Indeed he regards books as useless, though he makes an exception to the rule for Plutarch:

*Vos livres éternels ne me contentent pas
Et hors un gros Plutarque à mettre mes rabats
Vous devriez brûler tout ce meuble inutile
Et laisser la science aux docteurs de la ville.* (II, VII, 561–564)

Thus Plutarch may be useful even to a man who does not read. His books can be used to press collars and maintain their elegant shape. This big book Chrysale is alluding to certainly includes a translation by Amyot, but Chrysale is in no condition to specify which one it is. Molière presumably read Amyot. Other playwrights plainly acknowledge the influence of Plutarch’s *Lives* on their works.

Corneille’s tragedies are mainly inspired by Roman history, but he wrote some “Greek” tragedies too. He sometimes found his themes in Plutarch. To write his *Sertorius* (1662), he specifies that he read Plutarch’s *Life of Sertorius* and, for his *Agésilas* (1666), he resorted to the *Lives* of Agesilaos and Lysander.⁵⁶ As for Racine, he insists upon his debt to Amyot and Plutarch in his preface to *Mithridate* (1673). He says he was inspired by the *Lives* of Pompey (30–42) and Sylla

⁵⁴ Pignarre 1965: 91.

⁵⁵ Fumaroli 1994: 485.

⁵⁶ Marty-Laveaux 1862: VI, 361. VII, 5.

(11–25) and above all of Lucullus (6–26). In the latter's *Life*, he could find the character of Monime and remarks that Plutarch "semble avoir pris plaisir à décrire le malheur et les sentiments de cette princesse."⁵⁷ He quotes at great length from chapter 18 in Amyot's translation and he explains why. Plutarch's words, he says, "ont une grâce dans le vieux style de ce traducteur, que je ne crois point pouvoir égaler dans notre langue moderne."⁵⁸ So he regards Amyot as an old writer whose style belongs to the history of French prose and is endowed with an inimitable charm which modern French cannot match. This is why he values so much Amyot's translation. He even read it to Louis XIV while he was ill, and the king liked it very much.⁵⁹

So we may conclude that in the seventeenth century, Amyot was considered a genuine author and that his translation was highly esteemed. In the eighteenth century, diverse judgements were passed on his work.

The Eighteenth Century

In the eighteenth century, well-read people continued to refer to Amyot. More than two centuries after his translation of Plutarch's *Lives* has been published, Voltaire thinks he has to give his opinion about it. He does not really share Racine's admiration of Amyot's old style. In the article "Franc ou Franq; France, François, Français" of his *Dictionnaire philosophique* (1764), he says he is "naïf."⁶⁰ At the time of Montaigne, who also insisted on the "naïf" of Amyot's style, the word meant "pure." In the eighteenth century, it means "artless." This artlessness Voltaire attributes to the poverty of sixteenth-century French prose which lacked noble and melodious words. Amyot's style bears evidence of an era of linguistic want. This era has come to an end. French prose is rich now and Voltaire, as a man of the Enlightenment, does not yearn for an indigent past. This is why he looks condescendingly on Amyot. In this matter as in many others, he takes the opposite view to Rousseau.

⁵⁷ Picard 1950: 602.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ Picard 1950: 61.

⁶⁰ Voltaire 1879: XIX, 184.

Rousseau often emphasizes the important part Plutarch played in his life from the beginning to the end. In the second of his *Lettres à Malesherbes* (1762), he writes that he was still a child when he discovered Amyot's translation of Plutarch, "A six ans Plutarque me tomba sous la main, à huit je le savais par coeur."⁶¹ In *Rousseau juge de Jean-Jacques* (1772–1776), he specifies that he was passionately fond of the *Lives*:

*Les hommes illustres de Plutarque furent sa première lecture dans un âge où rarement les enfants savent lire. Les traces de ces hommes antiques furent en lui des impressions qui jamais n'ont pu s'effacer.*⁶²

In his *Confessions* (1765–1767), he recalls his passion for Plutarch and the preference he gave to Amyot's style over that of novelists:

*Plutarque, surtout, devint ma lecture favorite. Le plaisir que je prenois à le relire sans cesse me guérit un peu des Romans. Le style d'Amyot me dégouta de celui de La Calprenède, et je préférerai bientôt Agesilas, Brutus, Aristide à Orondate, Artamene et Juba. (I, 4)*⁶³

Thus Rousseau liked Plutarch because he liked Amyot's style. He appreciated Amyot as a writer. He considered him superior to La Calprenède, a famous novelist of the seventeenth century whose characters were still remembered. Rousseau recalls their names, but he preferred Plutarch's "hommes illustres". He valued Agesilaos, Brutus and Aristides, the heroes of Greek and Roman antiquity, over fictional figures. But he reads Amyot's Plutarch as philosophical literature. This book always provokes him into thinking. Amyot's style brings Plutarch's remarks and lessons into relief. Rousseau never grows tired of learning from him, as he points out in the *Quatrième Promenade* of his *Rêveries d'un promeneur solitaire* (1776–1778), where he cites Plutarch as his favourite reading:

*Dans le petit nombre de livres que je lis quelquefois encore, Plutarque est celui qui m'attache et me profite le plus. Ce fut la première lecture de mon enfance, ce sera la dernière de ma vieillesse; c'est presque le seul auteur que je n'ai jamais lu sans en tirer quelque fruit.*⁶⁴

⁶¹ Gagnebin et Raymond 1969: 1134.

⁶² Gagnebin et Raymond 1969: 819.

⁶³ Gagnebin et Raymond 1969: 9, 1237.

⁶⁴ Gagnebin et Raymond 1969: 1024.

Amyot's Plutarch has been Rousseau's companion in his lifetime. Rousseau's passion for this book may remind us of Montaigne's. But Rousseau did not shape the style and the form of his works according to the model provided by Plutarch. Plutarch had an influence on his imagination when he was a child. He inspired his thinking when he was grown up. But he did not fashion his art of writing. This is why his influence is not easily recognised in Rousseau's words, but may sometimes be traced back in his ideas. We may regard Rousseau as the last important witness to the importance of Amyot's translation of the *Lives* in French literature, but Amyot actually never was forgotten.

Epilogue

Other translations of Plutarch's *Lives* were, of course, published, but no translator could achieve the same celebrity as Amyot. After the Abbé Tallemant (1663–1665), André Dacier, who also worked on Plato, Aristotle, Horace, Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius, turned to Plutarch. His translation of the *Lives* was published in Paris in 1721, one year before he died. He completed the first volume, which was published in 1694, with the help of his wife Anne, who was also a famous translator.⁶⁵ Dacier's Plutarch was widely read in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. After it came scholarly editions and translations. But in 1951, when Plutarch's *Lives* entered the prestigious Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, the editor G. Walter decided to publish Amyot's translation.⁶⁶ It was and is still considered an outstanding rendering of Plutarch's prose and a major work in French literature.

⁶⁵ Foulon 1993.

⁶⁶ Walter 1951.

JACQUES AMYOT AND THE GREEK NOVEL: THE INVENTION OF THE FRENCH NOVEL*

Laurence Plazenet

The Greek novel *a priori* comes as a surprise in any study of the Classical heritage. Not only was it a creation of late Antiquity (thus not included in the poetics which shaped Christian European literature), but extant examples were rare and the titles known even more so between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. In fact, only three were read during the period: the *Aethiopica* of Heliodorus, *Leucippe and Clitophon* of Achilles Tatius, and *Daphnis and Chloe* of Longus. To this short list, we must add *Hysmine and Hysminias* by the Byzantine Eustathios Macrembolites, which, because it closely imitated the other three, was not identified as belonging to the twelfth century.¹

Still, this handful of novels considerably influenced European fiction from 1550 to 1700. They contributed plots, themes, and characters to a wide range of plays including those of Shakespeare,² the tragicomedies of the Baroque period,³ and the tragedies of Racine.⁴ Mainly, however, they played an essential role in the renewal of the novel. Even though it was translated after Jacopo Sannazaro published his seminal *Arcadia* (1504) and Jorge de Montemayor his *Diana* (1542), Longus's *Daphnis and Chloe* provided an early model of the genre for writers such as François de Belleforest (*La Pyrénée amoureuse*, 1571), Honoré d'Urfé (*L'Astrée*, 1607) or Miguel de Cervantes (*Galatea*, 1611). The *Aethiopica* and, to a lesser extent, *Leucippe and Clitophon*

* I am most grateful to Dr. April Shelford (American University, Washington, DC) who agreed to read and edit the English version of this paper. She displayed so much talent, alertness and friendship during this usually tiresome process that it became a fruitful and challenging dialogue for both of us. Obviously, remaining errors are mine alone.

¹ See T. Hägg 1983, *The Novel in Antiquity* (Oxford, Blackwell): 75–80.

² See C. Gesner 1970, *Shakespeare and the Greek romance* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky) and T. Hägg 1983: 195.

³ See A. Cioranescu 1941, *Vie de Jacques Amyot d'après des documents inédits* (Paris: Droz): 183.

⁴ See R.C. Knight 1974 [first edition, 1951], *Racine et la Grèce* (Paris: Nizet) and Hägg 1983: 205–210.

and *Hysmine and Hysminias* challenged the moral and aesthetic legitimacy enjoyed until then by the novel of chivalry in the genre of love and adventure.⁵ From 1540 to 1548, the various versions of the chivalric *Amadis* series were best-sellers in France; widely acclaimed and printed as beautiful in-folios,⁶ they were only occasionally published with poems praising them and, after the publication of the first volume, never with explanatory prefaces or defences.⁷ But after Jacques Amyot published a translation of the *Aethiopica* in 1548, the translator of *Amadis*, Nicolas Herberay des Essarts, stopped promoting the diffusion of the Spanish novel; in addition, he invariably provided new publications such as *Primaleon* (1549) or *Dom Florès* (1552) with apologetic prefaces in which he attempted to argue that, despite their being novels of chivalry, they employed the same devices as Heliodorus's novel.⁸ In 1548, Michel Servin prefaced the eighth book of *Amadis* with a "Discours sur les Livres d'Amadis," which already took into account the criticisms formulated in Amyot's preface to his translation of the *Aethiopica*.⁹ Ultimately, the success of the novel of chivalry faded among the social elites during the 1560s.¹⁰ Typically, Cervantes, while meditating in *Don Quixote* (1605) on the future of fiction as embodied in the chivalric novel, saw a way out of this literary dead end through imitating Heliodorus, a realisation he put into practice in his last work, *Los trabajos de Persiles a Sigismunda* (published posthumously in 1617). In France, Montaigne briefly enumerated in the *Essays* "les livres simplement plaisans" that captured his attention: Giovanni Boccaccio's *Decameron*, François Rabelais' nov-

⁵ See L. Plazenet 1997, *L'Ébahissement et la délectation, Réception comparée et poétiques du roman grec en France et en Angleterre aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles* (Paris: Champion): 142.

⁶ See Y. Girauld 1986, "Introduction" in *Le premier livre d'Amadis de Gaule*, ed. H. Vaganay (Paris: Nizet, STFM): 27–28 et M. Simonin 1984, "La disgrâce d'Amadis," *Studi francesi*, 82: 3.

⁷ Nicolas Herberay Des Essarts, added a prologue to the first volume, but he neglected to do so afterwards: it was no longer necessary to introduce or defend the book. See M. Simonin 1984: 8–11.

⁸ See M. Fumaroli 1985, "Jacques Amyot and the Clerical Polemic Against the Chivalric Novel," *Renaissance Quarterly* 38: 26–35.

⁹ See S. Cappello 1996, "Il *Discours sur les livres d'Amadis* di Michel Servin (1548)" in *Il romanzo nella Francia del Rinascimento: dall' eredità medievale all' Astrea* (Fasano: Schena): 214. *L'Histoire éthiopique* was issued 15 February 1548, the eighth tome of the *Amadis* 28 August 1548.

¹⁰ See M. Fumaroli 1985: 27–28. M. Simonin 1984: 13–14, quoting the *Premier livre de la chronique du tres vaillant et redouté don Florès de Grece* (1551), which reminds the reader of the incidental role in the author's estrangement from the genre played by the death of Herberay des Essarts' wife in 1549.

els, and the Flemish humanist Jean Second's cycle of erotic Latin poems. He mentioned the *Amadis* and similar books, but only to reject them explicitly.¹¹ In 1582, he added a new title to his list of favourites: *L'Histoire éthiopique*. The exemplary role of the Greek novel, especially the *Aethiopica* is a leitmotiv of the period, advanced by authors as different as Nicolas de Montreux in the dedicatory epistle of *L'Œuvre de la chasteté* (1595); Charles Sorel in *Le Berger Extravagant* (1627) and later in *La Bibliothèque française* (1671); Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac in the letter he contributed to *L'Histoire indienne d'Anaxandre et d'Orazie* (1629) of François de Boisrobert; Georges and Madeleine de Scudéry in the prefaces of *Ibrahim* (1640) and *Clélie* (1654); the abbot of Aubignac in the preface of his *Macarise* (1664); Bernard Lamy in *Nouvelles Reflexions sur l'art poétique* (1668); and Pierre-Daniel Huet in *Lettre-Traité sur l'origine des romans* (1671). The metaphor of paternity, applied to Heliodorus or his protagonists and ubiquitously employed, aptly describes the fecund relation between the *Aethiopica* and sixteenth- and seventeenth-century production.

Amyot played a prominent role in this process, as both the *Aethiopica* and *Daphnis and Chloe*, which had the most profound and enduring influence, were known almost exclusively through his translations. Still, they have never received the kind of attention René Sturel and Robert Aulotte have paid to his translations of Plutarch. They have frequently been cited as sources to be investigated, but they have never been appreciated in and of themselves. The reasons why are simple: they are early works, and definitely works of less scope than *Les vies des hommes illustres grecs et romains* (1559) or *Les œuvres morales et mêlées de Plutarque* (1572). Moreover, Amyot did not revise them extensively, possibly because he himself considered them *opera minora*. Critics have also frequently remarked on the strange, even enigmatic attraction that these amorous novels had for the preceptor of the king's children, the Grand Aumônier de France and the bishop of Auxerre.¹² In addition, reception of the *Aethiopica* and *Daphnis and Chloe* differed greatly. As twenty-one reprints by 1700 suggest, the former met with instant and continuous success, while the latter

¹¹ See M. de Montaigne 1980, *Les Essais* (Paris: Gallimard): II, X, 389: "Quant aux *Amadis* et telles sortes d'escrits, ils n'ont pas eu le credit d'arrester seulement mon enfance".

¹² M. Fumaroli 1985: 27 writes: "What a strange start for a priest, and a priest who everything suggests was sincerely attached to the Catholic Reformation, to put out a Romantic novel!"

enjoyed only seven printings during the same period.¹³ For all these reasons, scholars have concluded that the *Aethiopica* and *Daphnis and Chloe* do not represent any definite and coherent project on Amyot's part.¹⁴

This traditional conclusion is invalidated by a close consideration of the works in the context of Amyot's entire œuvre. In fact, *L'Histoire éthiopique* and *Les Amours pastorales de Daphnis et Chloé* have enough in common to assert quite the contrary: that is, that their translator had precise and identical goals when he translated them. They also had a rhetorical mission comparable to the one Amyot attributed to *Les vies des hommes illustres* or *Les œuvres morales et mêlées de Plutarque*. In the end, ambitious and consistent enterprises, they demand a reappraisal of the contribution of the Greek novel to fiction in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century France, as well as the significance of French fiction between 1550 and 1660, when the model of the Greek novel began to be challenged.

i *Early Works and Opera Minora: The Equivocal Place of Jacques Amyot's Translations of the Greek Novel in His Œuvre, and the Philological Doxa It Engendered*

Amyot published his very first work, *L'Histoire éthiopique de Heliodorus, contenant dix livres traitant des loyales et pudiques amours de Theagenes Thessalien et de Chariclea Æthiopienne, nouvellement traduite de Grec en François*, in 1548.¹⁵ *Les Amours pastorales de Daphnis et Chloe, escriptes premierement en*

¹³ *Daphnis and Chloe* surged in popularity during the eighteenth century, with 38 editions of Amyot's lone translation appearing between 1700 and 1799. This lag is due to the fact that *Daphnis and Chloe* was assimilated to the Renaissance pastoral novel, from which it differed markedly. Because it made readers uneasy, it was put aside. But, during the eighteenth century, when *La Nouvelle Héloïse* inspired a combination of the pastoral and the novel of adventure (see F. Lavocat 1998, *Arcadies malheureuses. Aux origines du roman moderne* (Paris: Champion)), Longus's work was given a second chance. Then, *Daphnis and Chloe* became the model of *Paul et Virginie* (1787).

¹⁴ See F. Lestringant 1986: "*Les amours pastorales de Daphnis et Chloé: fortunes d'une traduction de Jacques Amyot*," in *Fortunes de Jacques Amyot*, Actes du colloque international, ed. M. Balard (Paris, Nizet): 237 and M.F. Ferrini 1992: "Il romanzo di Longo, *Dafni e Cloe*, e la traduzione di Jacques Amyot," *Quaderni di filologia e lingue romanze* 7: 62.

¹⁵ The "achevé d'imprimer" bears the date of 15 February 1547, but it is uncertain whether *L'Histoire éthiopique* was actually published in 1547 or 1548. Indeed, before Charles IX ordered in an edict of 1564 that January 1 be considered the

grec par Longus et puis traduites en François went to press in 1559. Despite the fact that eleven years separated their publication, it was long believed that the translations were completed during the same period of Amyot's life. In the "Sommaire de la vie de messire Jacques Amyot," appended to his edition of *Les vies des hommes illustres* (1619), Frédéric Morel asserted that Amyot translated Heliodorus and Longus during his tenure as preceptor of Guillaume Bochetel's children (1537–1543).¹⁶ Modern scholars have offered a later dating, between 1545 and 1547.¹⁷ In either case, Amyot would not have had the time to complete *Les Amours pastorales* before his arrival in Paris and presentation at court; moreover, he would have deferred publishing *Les Amours pastorales* until 1559 because of his departure in 1548 for Italy. Although the "Sommaire" is not altogether reliable,¹⁸ Morel's

beginning of the year throughout the kingdom, the year could begin at different moments between January and the end of March, so that a date of 15 February 1547 can, in fact, mean 1548 according to the Roman calendar or the "new style" of dating. It is an important question in the case of *L'Histoire éthiopique*, as it determines whether there is any possibility that Jacques Amyot received the abbey of Bellozanne (18 March 1547, n.s.), a few days before Francis I's death (31 March 1547, n.s.), as a reward for it, and when he was free to leave to Italy. Three elements suggest that *L'Histoire éthiopique* was issued in 1548. In the "Proësme," Amyot writes that Obsopoeus's edition of the novel was printed "il y a quelque quatorze ou quinze ans". As it was published with the date of February 1534, that results in a date of 1548 for *L'Histoire éthiopique*. Amyot's vague "quelque quatorze ou quinze ans" probably does not imply his lack of knowledge of the date of publication of Obsopoeus, a work which he had perused; rather, as it, too, was published in February, Amyot hesitates whether "1534" means "1533" or "1534". This suggests that the date "1547" printed in the volume of *L'Histoire éthiopique* is expressed in old style (that is, not situating the beginning of the new year before March) and should very probably be converted to 1548. R. Sturel 1908: *Jacques Amyot, traducteur des Vies parallèles de Plutarque* (Paris: Champion): 5, n. 1 confirms this solution to this problem of dating, as he observes that most official documents before 1564 were dated in old style. Finally, there is no evidence that Francis I ever knew of *L'Histoire éthiopique*, when, on the other hand, we definitely know that he thought highly of *Les vies parallèles* and wanted to encourage Amyot in his task, probably by giving him the abbey of Bellozanne.

¹⁶ F. Morel 1619, "Sommaire de la vie de messire Jacques Amyot, vivant evesque d'Auxerre, Grand Aumosnier de France, Extrait des Memoires de Me Regnauld Martin Chanoine et Archidiacre en l'Eglise dudit Auxerre, Secretaire dudit Sieur Amyot" in *Les vies des hommes illustres grecs et romains* (Paris, Cl. Morel) writes that Amyot "passoit les heures de son loisir à traduire quelques poësies Grecques en François et quelques autres œuvres, comme l'histoire d'Heliodore, de Theagenes et Chariclea, et les Amours Pastorales de Daphnis et de Chloë, qu'il apres imprimer," when he was preceptor of Guillaume Bochetel's children.

¹⁷ See, for instance, A. Cioranescu 1941: 48 and 184.

¹⁸ It claims, for instance, that Amyot started to translate Plutarch after Heliodorus and Longus, when manuscript evidence suggests that he had already translated

opinion remained unchallenged until 1931. Then Alice Hulubei explained the delay in publication of *Daphnis and Chloe* by arguing that Amyot must have gained access to a manuscript unavailable in Bourges (there was no printed edition of the work before 1598); she further suggested that the translator encountered *Daphnis and Chloe* later, presumably while Amyot was in Italy between 1548 and 1552—and, indeed, Amyot could have consulted several manuscripts of the novel there.¹⁹

Many scholars have also considered *L'Histoire éthiopique* and *Les Amours pastorales* the products of a transient, youthful interest.²⁰ Sturel and Aulotte have demonstrated that, though *Les vies des hommes illustres* was issued for the first time in 1559 and *Les œuvres morales et meslées* in 1572, Amyot had begun translating them during the 1540s. After their publication, he never stopped lavishing attention on them, continuously improving them with all the means at his disposal (manuscripts, new editions, Latin translations, collations of variant readings). In contrast, he published only one revised edition of *L'Histoire éthiopique* and none of *Les Amours pastorales*. The 1549 edition of *L'Histoire éthiopique*, often considered as the second of three editions prepared by Amyot, is not authentic.²¹ As Amyot left for Italy at most a couple of months after publication of *L'Histoire éthiopique*,²² it is doubtful that he could have revised it before his departure or while he was abroad. Secondly, the introductory poem Amyot addressed to his readers in 1548 was replaced in the 1549 edition by Claude Colet's "Aux Dames Françoyes" and "Aux lecteurs";²³ these in turn

Plutarch's treatise *De la loquacité* in 1542. Moreover, Frédéric Morel dates Amyot's departure to Italy in 1546, whereas the translator must have left after having received the abbey of Bellozanne in 1547 and more probably after the publication of *L'Histoire éthiopique*. Indeed, there exists no record of his presence in Italy before the spring of 1548.

¹⁹ See A. Hulubei 1931, "Henri Estienne et le roman de Longus, *Daphnis et Chloé*," *Revue du seizième siècle*: 324–325 and R. Aulotte 1965: *Amyot et Plutarque, La tradition des moralia au XVI^e siècle* (Genève: Droz): 157, n. 2.

²⁰ See A. de Blighnières 1851: *Essai sur J. Amyot et les traducteurs français au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, Durand): 135.

²¹ Its "achevé d'imprimer" bears the date of 26 October 1549. The Latin life of Amyot published in Philippe Labbé 1657: *Novæ Bibliothecæ Manuscriptorum librorumque* (Paris, Cramoisy): 522 suggests that it constitutes an authorised second edition as it calls the 1559 edition "tertia Gallica versione". Paul-Louis Courier seems to share this opinion in the notes of the edition of *L'Histoire éthiopique* he provided in 1822, as he often prefers the 1549 reading to the 1559 reading.

²² See R. Sturel 1908: 57–58.

²³ Claude Colet did a similar job for Vincent Sertenas in 1553 for the ninth tome of the *Amadis*. See M. Simonin 1984: 15, n. 73.

were replaced with the original poem in the 1559 version published under Amyot's auspices, indicating his repudiation of Colet's initiative. Finally, the unknown editors of the version published in 1549 made minor alterations to the one published in 1548, correcting some crude *errata*, though not improving the translation itself. Their main interest appears to have been introducing changes that supported the orthographic reforms promoted by Lois Meigret in his *Traité touchant le commun usage de l'écriture françoise*, published in 1542 by Denis Janot, Jean Longis and Vincent Sertenas.²⁴ Estienne Groulleau, who inherited Janot's workshop after his death in 1545 and who published the 1548 and 1549 editions of *L'Histoire éthiopique*, quite rigorously implemented these reforms. While the *editio princeps* already showed traces of them, they were more thoroughly applied in 1549, a change signalled in a new address to the readers, possibly composed by Meigret himself:

Quant à l'orthographie vous avez peu cognoistre aussi, que le traducteur n'a voulu suyvre en tout la commune, ains, en partie, celle dont plusieurs modernes veulent maintenant user, qui est de n'escire autrement que nous prononçons par ce que l'écriture est l'organe de la prolotion et par plusieurs aultres raisons deduictes par Lois Meigret Lyonnois, au traicté qu'il a faict, du commun usage de l'écriture Françoise, auquel pourrez avoir recours s'il vous plaist en avoir plus ample intelligence.

Most likely, Meigret and Groulleau took advantage of Amyot's absence to publicise their views through his book. Their innovations were not reproduced in the 1559 edition, which was probably based on a manuscript revised by Amyot and printed not by Groulleau, as the title-page of the book claims, but by his colleague Robert Le Mangnier. The 1549 version, then, has all the features of a counterfeit edition motivated by commercial, not scholarly interests. The only genuine second edition of *L'Histoire éthiopique* is the volume entitled *L'Histoire éthiopique de Heliodorus, contenant dix livres, traitant des loyales et pudiques amours de Theagenes Thessalien et Chariclea Aethiopienne. Traduite de Grec en François, et de nouveau reveüe et corrigée sur un ancien exemplaire escript à la main, par le translateur, où est déclaré au vray qui en a esté le premier autheur*, it was published during the fall of 1559 under the name of Groulleau for Sertenas, who had received a new privilege on 9 September.

²⁴ See R. Sturel 1908: 107–108 and N. Catach 1968, *L'Orthographe française à l'époque de la Renaissance* (Genève: Droz): 87–90 and 186–187.

The philological value of this unique emended version of *L'Histoire éthiopique* is ambiguous. In the preface, Amyot wrote that, when he translated the novel for the first time, he could rely only on the Greek *editio princeps* published by Vincent Obsopoeus in February 1534 “quelque quatorze ou quinze ans” before his French translation.²⁵ Indeed, Heliodorus arrived in Renaissance Europe only after the sack of Buda in 1526. A German soldier stole the richly bound manuscript from the famous Bibliotheca Corviniana, selling it later to Obsopoeus.²⁶ Before then, only a few scholars had any knowledge of it, for example, Angelo Poliziano, who mentioned it in his *Miscellanea* (1489). Thus, Amyot emphasised in the “Præsme” that he was the first to translate the *Aethiopica*:

[. . .] A' raison dequoy, si d'avanture mon jugement m'a trompé en restituant par conjecture aucuns lieux corrompuz, et vicieusement imprimez, les equitables lecteurs m'en devront plustost excuser: tant pource que je n'ay peu recouvrer diversité d'exemplaires, pour les conferer, que pour autant que j'ay esté le premier qui l'ay traduit, sans estre du labeur d'aucun precedant aydé. D'une chose me puis-je bien vanter, que je ne pense y avoir rien omis, ny ajousté, ainsi comme les lecteurs le pourront trouver, s'il leur plaist prendre la peine de le conferer.

As he could not consult any manuscript version of the novel, the young professor was understandably concerned that his translation meet minimal philological standards, though he might also have believed its publication was justified by its pioneering quality. Nevertheless, when he did find a satisfactory manuscript in the Vatican Library, he transcribed its variant readings carefully into a copy of the Obsopoeus edition, which he brought back to France in 1552. When he was later requested to authorise a reprinting of *L'Histoire éthiopique*, he used this collation as a basis for revisions. We can precisely assess the nature and extent of his corrections, because his copy of Obsopoeus has survived.²⁷ Apparently, the intuitive corrections that Amyot had made for his 1548 edition, when the text edited

²⁵ ΗΛΙΟΔΩΡΟΥ ΑΙΘΙΟΠΙΚΗΣ ΙΣΤΟΡΙΑΣ ΒΙΒΛΙΑ ΔΕΚΑ. *Heliodori Historiæ Æthiopice libri decem*, nunquam antea in lucem editi, Basilæ ex officina Hervagiana an. M.D. XXXIII, mense februario.

²⁶ Amyot tells this story in the 1548 version of the “Præsme”. He follows the account first provided by Obsopoeus himself in the dedicatory epistle of his edition, dated June 26, 1531.

²⁷ This volume is held by the Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève (Paris) under the catalogue designation Y. 4° 573 inv. 1006.

by Obsopoeus was poor or manifestly faulty, anticipated in a significant number of cases the readings found in his Roman manuscript.²⁸ As he claimed in his 1559 version of the "Prœsme," he also rather dutifully filled in the lacunas in the 1548 version, using his recent findings.²⁹ Yet, he generally made very little use of his collation to improve his translation's accuracy.³⁰ Gerald Sandy observes that:

[. . .] for unknown reasons [J. Amyot] decided not to alter his translation in response to these variants, just as most of his recorded variants that appear elsewhere in the manuscript tradition did not result in the revision of the translation".³¹

Rather, Amyot contented himself with a lesser degree of accuracy than the one he strove for in his translations of Plutarch.³² He devoted most of his attention to polishing his French. His work on *Daphnis and Chloe* lends further support to this conclusion. In that case, he used but one manuscript and never cared to improve the philological value of the volume, but managed to achieve such an impressive use of the French language that this alone earned his translation enduring fame. Assuredly, Amyot did not ignore the literary qualities of his French in his translation of Plutarch, but these did not take the precedence over his philological emendations, as seems to be the case with his translations of the Greek novel.

The fact that *L'Histoire éthiopique* and *Les Amours pastorales* are the only translations Amyot published anonymously further distinguishes them from his translations of Diodorus or Plutarch. The six-year privilege which protected the former was granted "au Traducteur de ceste presente histoire Aethiopique," but nowhere do we find his

²⁸ See G.N. Sandy 1984-1985: "Jacques Amyot and the Manuscript Tradition of Heliodorus' *Æthiopica*," *Revue d'histoire des textes* 14-15: 15-17.

²⁹ See G.N. Sandy 1984-1985: 17-19. The list provided by G.N. Sandy does not indicate the modifications made to the first book. For an exhaustive record, see Héliodore (forthcoming): *L'Histoire éthiopique*, texte établi par L. Plazenet, présenté et annoté par L. Plazenet et S. Rabau (Paris: Champion).

³⁰ See G.N. Sandy 1984-1985: 3.

³¹ See G.N. Sandy 1984-1985: 12-13.

³² Though the extent of the philological researches really undertaken by J. Amyot is hard to assess. He speaks in the "Prœsme" of only one manuscript. Did he really encounter just this interesting sample? Is his finding it the result of a search as exhaustive as the ones he did for Plutarch? Amyot never writes of the manuscripts kept in the Royal Library at Fontainebleau: see H. Omont 1889: *Catalogues des manuscrits grecs de Fontainebleau sous François I^{er} et Henri II* (Paris: Imprimerie Nationale). Was he ignorant of their existence, or did he ignore them because they were of little interest, especially in comparison with the manuscript he had used in Italy?

name—not in the privilege, not in the “Prœsme du Translateur,” not in the decasyllabic ten-line poem that follows and that addresses the reader. The translator’s invisibility is even more complete in *Les Amours pastorales*. Their privilege, valid for six years from 1 July 1559, is attributed to the printer, the Parisian editor Sertenas. This time, there is no allusion whatsoever even to the existence of a translator. In marked contrast, the translation of Diodorus published in 1554 was announced as *Sept livres de l’Histoire de Diodore Sicilien, traduits de grec en françois par M. Jacques Amyot*, and the author signed the dedicatory epistle. Again, his name appears on the title-page of *Les vies des hommes illustres grecs et romains* (1559), and it appears yet again in the address to the king of the dedicatory epistle. In *Les œuvres morales et meslées* (1572), Amyot’s name is accompanied by the list of the honours that he had received. The title-page attributes it to *Messire Jacques Amyot, à present évesque d’Auxerre, conseiller du Roy en son privé conseil et grand aumosnier de France*.

Amyot’s choice of printers and other bibliographic evidence might also be proof of a different attitude toward his translations of the Greek novels. *L’Histoire éthiopique* was printed in 1548 by Groulleau for Longis. In 1559, Sertenas shepherded *Les Amours pastorales* through press, as well as of the reprinting of *L’Histoire éthiopique* issued the same year. Longis, Groulleau and Sertenas were partners, and they specialised in editing novelties and fashionable books of literature.³³ Classical texts were not their forte. Sertenas published a French translation of Homer’s *Iliad* in 1545, but it was written in verse and its author, Hughes Salel, was a poet now considered a forerunner of the Pléiade. In this context, Sertenas’ editing of Amyot’s translations of Heliodorus and Longus, whose titles claim an erudite dimension by stressing that they were made from ancient originals,³⁴ is quite surprising. The fact that Amyot gave *L’Histoire éthiopique* and *Les Amours pastorales* to such editors is all the more conspicuous, given that he entrusted *L’Histoire de Diodore Sicilien*, *Les vies des hommes illustres* (just a few months before *Les Amours pastorales* and the second

³³ See M. Simonin 1988, “Peut-on parler de politique éditoriale au XVI^e siècle? Le cas de V. Sertenas, libraire du Palais” in *Le livre dans l’Europe de la Renaissance* (Paris, Promodis): 264–284 and 1992, *Vivre de sa plume au XVI^e siècle, ou la carrière de François de Belleforest* (Genève, Droz): 226.

³⁴ They respectively bear the mention: “nouvellement traduite de Grec en François” and “escriptes premierement en grec par Longus et puis traduites en François”.

edition of *L'Histoire éthiopique*)³⁵ and *Les œuvres morales et meslées* to the king's academic editor, Michel de Vascozan.³⁶ Similarly, both *L'Histoire éthiopique* and *Les Amours pastorales* appeared in more affordable formats (a small *in-folio* 165 ff. long, and an 84 ff. long *in-octavo* respectively), while *L'Histoire de Diodore Sicilien*, *Les vies des hommes illustres* and *Les œuvres morales et meslées* are all voluminous *in-folios*. Moreover, the latter three were all addressed to the reigning king, while neither the Heliodorus nor the Longus contained any dedication. While *L'Histoire éthiopique* includes a preface (the "Præsme") and a short poem to the readers to enhance its lustre, *Les Amours pastorales* are entirely bereft of such prefatory material. The volume does have a "Preface," but this is only Longus' προοίμιον, distinguished from the narrative and italicised under a title created by Amyot—an innovation entirely unjustified by the manuscript version. There the copyist had begun to write marginal subtitles as ὑπόθεσις τῆς πραγματείας or διήγησις Μιτυλήνη, but had suppressed them later;³⁷ though still readable, they were clearly not to be taken into account. Essentially, Amyot's innovation was a trick enabling him to adorn his book without personally contributing anything to it. On the other hand, each of Amyot's more self-consciously scholarly works—*L'Histoire de Diodore Sicilien*, *Les vies des hommes illustres* and *Les œuvres morales et meslées*—include both a dedication and epistle "Aux lecteurs"; Amyot used both to give different, but complementary arguments defending his work, seeking doubly to ensure the reader's understanding and the translations' success. Finally, Amyot did not provide his Greek novels with any chapter, paragraph, or marginal notations, or even a table of contents, all of which were common practice in translations of Ancient texts (including Amyot's translations of Diodorus and Plutarch).³⁸ Whenever we find such paraphernalia in other editions of his Greek novels, they signal their counterfeit nature. For his part, Amyot denied his novels any critical apparatus.

³⁵ The "achevé d'imprimé" of *Les vies des hommes illustres* is dated from May 1559, while the privilege of *Les Amours pastorales* (which have no "achevé d'imprimer") bears the date 1 July 1559. The date of "mardi 12 septembre 1559" is printed on the "achevé d'imprimer" of the second edition of *L'Histoire éthiopique*.

³⁶ See R. Sturel 1908: 95 and R. Aulotte 1965: 191.

³⁷ See M.F. Ferrini 1992: 64.

³⁸ Notably the case with the second edition of *Les vies des hommes illustres* of 1565, where Amyot replies to some of Xylander's objections to his own translation. See R. Sturel 1908: 274–275.

But do these peculiarities prove that Amyot himself accorded a lesser status to his translations of the Greek novel than to his translations of Diodorus and Plutarch? A passage of the “Prœsme” to *L’Histoire éthiopique* appears to support this conclusion:

Toutesfois je ne me veux pas beaucoup amuser à la recommander: pource que (quand tout est dict) ce n’est qu’une fable, à laquelle encore default (à mon jugement) l’une des deux perfections requises pour faire chose belle, c’est la grandeur [. . .].

Apparently, the genre itself induced him to treat them casually. He himself admits that he intentionally did not provide them with the same scholarly apparatuses as his other works, because he did not deem them worthy of comparable efforts. He also confesses:

[. . .] j’ay moy-mesme adoulcy le travail d’autres meilleures et plus fructueuses traductions en le traduisant par intervalles aux heures extraordinaires.

Presenting *L’Histoire éthiopique* as a mere diversion from more worthy projects, he deprecates them in order to enhance *Les vies des hommes illustres*, a sample of which he had already presented to Francis I.³⁹ Indeed, in comparison with Plutarch’s writings, which belonged in part to the “noble” genre of history and thus always carried significant moral weight, the subjects of the *Aethiopica* and *Daphnis and Chloe* appear a powerful incentive to neglect, if not to disavow, them. Both works are love stories. The προοίμιον which opens *Daphnis and Chloe* claims as much unequivocally, with the narrator referring to his work as “four books dedicated to Love, the Nymphs and Pan”. Not only was it inspired by the contemplation of a painting depicting a love story, the author claimed that he was compelled to write by erotic concerns:

[. . .] ἐξηγητήν τῆς εἰκόνοϋ τέτταραϋ βίβλουϋ ἐξεπονησάμην, ἀνάθημα μὲν Ἔρωτι καὶ Νύμφαιϋ καὶ Πανί, κτῆμα δὲ τερπνόν πᾶϋιν ἀνθρώποιϋ, ὃ καὶ νοσοὔντα ἰάϋεται, καὶ λυπούμενον παραμυθήϋεται, τὸν ἐρασθέντα ἀναμνή-

³⁹ A. de Blignièrès 1851: 65–66 writes that Amyot’s translation of the *Aethiopica* was un “délassement” from the “rude professorat” at Bourges. Amyot already presents his translation of Plutarch as a long-standing work in the epistle to Henry II of *L’Histoire de Diodore Sicilien*: “[. . .] je ne veux point pour ceste heure entrer plus avant en ce discours à la louange de l’Histoire, le reservant à un autre plus grand et plus excellent œuvre des Vies de Plutarque, que j’avois commencé dès le temps de l’heureuse memoire du feu Roy, vostre pere, qui en a veu plusieurs de ma traduction: et vous verrez le total dedans quelque temps, s’il plaist à Dieu me prester vie en santé”.

σει, τὸν οὐκ ἐρασθέντα προπαιδεύσει. Πάντως γὰρ οὐδεὶς ἔρωτα ἔφυγεν ἢ φεύζεται, μέχρις ἂν κάλλος ἢ καὶ ὀφθαλμοὶ βλέπωσιν. Ἡμῖν δ' ὁ θεὸς παράσχοι σωφρονῶσι τὰ τῶν ἄλλων γράφειν.⁴⁰

Amyot, abbot of Bellozanne and preceptor of the king's children since 1557, could hardly express a similar view. Thus, whatever the merits of *L'Histoire aethiopique* and *Les Amours pastorales*, the circumstances of their publication and the other features enumerated here might suggest that they represented little more to Amyot than a pleasant detour before setting to work in earnest on Plutarch, which was to be his life's real achievement. More positively, they were training, an opportunity for the translator to exercise his skills.

ii *Philology Subordinated to Literature: The Functional Clues to the Presentation of Amyot's Translations of the Greek Novel*

As convincing as the above interpretation might appear, a consideration of the literary context of the two works decisively challenges it. Despite Amyot's seeming carelessness, his translations of Heliodorus and Longus are, in fact, very respectable philological works. First, both were made from Greek originals that had never been translated. Although a fragmentary and contemporary translation of the *Aethiopica* exists, its author, Lancelot de Carle, could not have begun it before the 1534 publication of Obsopoeus' edition. He did present a manuscript copy of it to Francis I, who died on 30 March 1547,⁴¹ yet it is doubtful that Amyot could have known or used it.

⁴⁰ Longus, *Daphnis and Chloe*: 3–4. Amyot translates as follows: “[je] composay quatre livres, que maintenant je dedie (comme une offrande) à amour, aux Nymfes, et Pan, esperant que le compte en sera plaisant et agreable à plusieurs manieres de gens: pource qu'il pourra servir à guerir le malade, consoler le dolent, remettra en memoire de ses amours celuy qui aura autrefois esté amoureux, et instruira celuy qui ne l'aura encores point esté: car il ne fut ny ne sera jamais homme qui se puisse tenir d'aymer, tant qu'il y aura beauté au monde, et que les yeux auront puissance de regarder: mais Dieu vueille qu'en descriptvant les amours des autres je n'en sois moy mesme travaillé”.

⁴¹ Its title is *Le premier livre d'Heliodore de l'histoire d'Aethiopie, translaté de grec en françois par Carle* (BN ms fr. 2143). See P. Bonnefon 1883, “Une traduction inédite du premier livre de Théagène et Chariclée,” *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'Encouragement des Études grecques en France*: 331, n. 3. E. Picot 1906, *Les Français italianisants au XVI^e siècle* (Paris, Champion), vol. I: 235–249, followed by L.-C. Harmer 1939, “Lancelot de Carle. Sa vie,” *Humanisme et Renaissance* 11: 456, considers that de Carle would have translated the first book of the *Aethiopica* around 1538. Indeed, the *Aethiopica*

By the time Amyot left Bourges in 1547, his translation must have been well under way, and it is unlikely he had access to the royal library at Fontainebleau, where de Carle's translation was kept.⁴² Amyot's sixteenth- and seventeenth-century biographers all agree that he went to Italy after the king's death, because he despaired of further promotion and lacked manuscripts on which to work. Surely he would not have felt that way if he had access to the royal collections. Moreover, he asserts in the "Prœsme" of *L'Histoire æthiopique* that he was not able to consult any manuscript of the *Aethiopica* before going to Italy, whereas Francis I's library obviously contained one.⁴³ A private transmission of de Carle's translation is not impossible, but there is not a shred of evidence for it. In any event, the matter is inconsequential, as de Carle translated only the first book. Such a short sample of Heliodorus' novel could not have had any real influence on Amyot's work. The dissemination of the *Aethiopica* had greatly increased when Amyot revised his translation, but there was no new edition of the novel (the second one appeared only in 1596 after the translator's death) and no translation which could challenge his own. A Latin translation by René Guillon was published in Paris in 1552, but it contains only the *Aethiopica*'s first book, and its author closely followed the reading of the novel proposed by Amyot in the "Prœsme"—indeed, he seems much indebted to Amyot.⁴⁴ The first complete Latin version of the novel by Stanislas Warszewiczki came

was edited only in 1534 and de Carle was busy travelling back and forth to England between 1536 and 1537, carrying messages for Castelnau and Francis I. There are several testimonies of his interest in Greek literature from 1538 on. Notably, he started a verse translation of the *Odyssey* before 1547. Bonnefon suggests a later date for de Carle's translation, as he imagines that it may have remained unfinished because he heard of Amyot's and did not want to compete with the young professor. De Carle may have simply switched from Heliodorus to Homer at a time when the translation of the *Odyssey* was much in favour with Guillaume Pelletier and Hughes Salel. On de Carle, also see G. Colletet 1873, "Lancelot de Carles" in *Vies des poètes bordelais et périgourdiens* (Bordeaux): 5–50, L.C. Harmer 1945, "Lancelot de Carle et les hommes de lettres de son temps," *Bibliothèque d'Humanisme et de Renaissance*, 7: 95–117 and M. Péronnet 1988, "Les évêques français et le livre au XVI^e siècle: auteurs, éditeurs et censeurs" in *Le Livre dans l'Europe de la Renaissance*, Actes du XXVIII^e Colloque international d'Études humanistes de Tours (Promodis: Éditions du cercle de la librairie): 161–162.

⁴² See R. Sturel 1908: 160.

⁴³ See H. Omont 1889: 82.

⁴⁴ *Heliodori Aethiopicarum Historiarum Liber primus*. Renato Guillonio Vindocinensi interprete. Parisiis, Excudebat Christianus Wechelus, sub Pegaso, in vico Bellovacensi. M. D. LII.

out the same year in Basel.⁴⁵ Amyot does not mention either Latin translation in 1559, and his corrections do not show any influence, anyway. In fact, it was his translation that apparently served as the model for several other vernacular translations published during the period.⁴⁶ For a long time, Amyot unquestionably played the leading role in diffusing Heliodorus' novel.

Establishing the conditions in which he translated *Daphnis and Chloe* is somewhat more challenging. After 1931, conventional wisdom had it that Amyot translated the novel in Italy, working from a *codex deperditus*, as no Italian manuscript can fully account for his choices.⁴⁷ In 1981, Michæl Reeve challenged this view, suggesting that Amyot actually worked in France on the *Parisinus 2895*, which appears in a list of fifty Greek manuscripts brought to Paris from Venice in 1539 by Girolamo Fondulo of Cremona for Francis I.⁴⁸ Jean-René Vieillefond agreed with Reeve in his 1987 edition of the novel,⁴⁹ and Maria Fernanda Ferrini definitively proved his suggestion in 1995.⁵⁰ Thus, Amyot must have translated Longus either in the interval between his introduction to the court in the first months of 1547 and his departure for Italy in spring of 1548, or after his return to Paris in autumn of 1552. The first hypothesis does not seem plausible. Even if Amyot had had access to the royal library in 1547,

⁴⁵ *Heliodori Aethiopicæ Historiæ libri decem*, nunc primùm è Greco sermone in Latinum translati: Stanislao Warszewiczki Polono interprete. Cum Cæs. Majest. gratia et privilegio ad quinquennium. Basileæ, Per Joannem Oporinum, M.D. LII.

⁴⁶ Francisco de Vergara, for instance, had started a Spanish translation of the *Aethiopica* before Amyot, but it was not completed when he died in 1545. His correspondence reveals that, at that time, a Greek manuscript was being collated for him in the Bibliotheca Vaticana. His brother Juan finished his work and solicited a privilege to print the volume. In 1548, he offered a manuscript copy to the Duke of the Infantado. But it remained unprinted in the Duke's library: see M. Bataillon 1937, *Érasme et l'Espagne, Recherches sur l'histoire spirituelle du XVI^e siècle* (Paris: Droz): 661–662. Finally, a Spanish translation of the *Aethiopica* was published in 1554, entitled: *Historia Ethiopica*. Traslada de Frances en vulgar castellano, por un secreto amigo de su patria, y corrigida segun el Griego por el mismo, dirigida al ilustrisimo señor, el señor Don Alonso Enrriquez, Abad de la villa de Valladolid, En Anvers, En Casa de Martin Nucio, con privilegio imperial. It is a new version of the novel modelled on *L'Histoire éthiopique*; it even reproduced the "Præsmè".

⁴⁷ See for instance R. Aulotte 1965: 160.

⁴⁸ See M.D. Reeve 1981, "Five Dispensable Manuscripts of Achilles Tatius," *Journal of Hellenic Studies* 101: 144–145.

⁴⁹ See Longus 1987, *Pastorale*, ed. and tr. J.-R. Vieillefond (Paris: Belles Lettres): xxxvi and lxxii.

⁵⁰ See M.F. Ferrini 1995, "Il romanzo di Longo e la traduzione di Amyot. Il problema del testo seguito," *Giornale italiano di filologia* 47: 77–100.

he would have had very little time to find and translate the book between his arrival at court and his departure for Italy. The second is more convincing. In 1552, Amyot returned to France as a familiar of the famous and powerful Cardinal de Tournon, who introduced him once again to the court and looked after his promotion. Moreover Amyot soon became known as the translator of several books of Diodorus' *History* that had been hitherto ignored. He had, then, all the recommendations necessary to obtain permission to use the royal collections. Thus, it is most probable that he translated Longus only between 1553 and 1559.⁵¹

Such a late dating of Amyot's translation undercuts the notion that his interest in the novel was altogether surprising, because *Daphnis and Chloe* would no longer be a work previously known to Amyot only through a brief passage of Poliziano's *Miscellanea*.⁵² Many codices circulated in Italy, where it enjoyed a reputation, at least in erudite circles.⁵³ Giovanni da Otranto, who was "scrittore" for the Bibliotheca Vaticana from 1535 until after 1561, produced several manuscript copies of the novel.⁵⁴ These attest to the popularity of the book. The humanist Annibale Caro began a translation in 1537 while in Rome as a familiar of Mgr del Gaddi.⁵⁵ In a letter dated 10 January 1538, he wrote that he had made just a rough draft, which he had not revised because he had lent the manuscript to his friend, the Florentine poet Antonio Allegretti, who had taken it with him to the Marches. A year later, it was still incomplete, because, according to a letter of 5 December 1538, "la mia Pastorale dorme perche non ho tempo".

⁵¹ The *Parisinus 2895* is bound with the arms of Henry II, which seems to indicate that it attracted attention after 1547. See H. Omont 1889: iv-v.

⁵² See A. Hulubei 1931: 324.

⁵³ See Longus 1987: xxiii-xxxvi.

⁵⁴ Fulvio Orsini acquired one of them after 1553; the *Parisinus 2903* in the Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris is another.

⁵⁵ It was printed at Parma in 1784 by the editor Bodoni and edited with notes in 1812 in the tome VII of the *Opere del Commendatore Annibal Caro* (Milano); the latter was reprinted in 1925 with an introduction by G. Lipparini under the title Longo Sofista, *Gli amori pastorali di Dafni e Cloe* (Signorelli: Milano) and in A. Caro 1982, *Opere*, ed. S. Jacomuzzi (Torino; Unione Tipografico-editrice torinese): 471-562. Caro paraphrases the Greek text and systematically enriches it. He inserts a new episode to fill in the lacuna of book I in manuscripts (see Longus 1987: lxxvii). He translates and amplifies the episode of Lycaenion: see J.-R. Vieillefond 1980, "Longus, Annibal Caro et Paul-Louis Courier," *Prometheus* 6: 274-282 and 1982, *Pour l'Amour du Grec . . . Xénophon, Longus, Lucien et autres auteurs grecs dans l'Œuvre de Paul-Louis Courier*, in *Cahiers Paul Courier*: 77-80.

Caro's text would be published only in 1784, though it circulated in manuscript long before then.⁵⁶ Amyot could perfectly well have known of its existence. Indeed, in 1548, Caro had joined the household of the Cardinal Farnese, with whom the Cardinal of Tournon entertained relations during his Roman mission of 1550–51. He actually wrote a couple of the letters sent by Farnese to Tournon during this period.⁵⁷ Amyot, on his part, visited the Cardinal de Tournon during his own stay in Rome with the bishop of Mirepoix between September 1550 and June 1551; it was the Cardinal who despatched him to the Council of Trent during the summer of 1551. When the bishop of Mirepoix went back to France in 1551, Amyot stayed in Italy with the Cardinal of Tournon. Given these contacts, we may entertain the possibility that, familiars of the two cardinals, Amyot and Caro, knew each other. The two scholars might have met, too, through common acquaintances at the Bibliotheca Vaticana. Perhaps Caro even introduced the abbot to *Daphnis and Chloe* as a thrilling example of an Ancient narrative, both elegant and piquant. The novel's renown in Italy, as well as the fact that no complete translation of it existed,⁵⁸ probably presented a translation challenge to Amyot. In a similar manner, Henri Estienne, the son of Francis I's famous editor, discovered the existence of the novel when he went to Italy at nearly the same time (his first trip dates from 1547). In 1555, he published a volume of Latin verse translated from the Greek poets Moschus, Bion and Theocritus, to which he added several poems of his own.⁵⁹ The first two of his poems are eclogues, "Chloris" (207 hexameters) and "Rivales" (77 hexameters), and both are inspired by passages of Longus's novel not found in most manuscripts, proving that Estienne encountered a complete version in Italy before Paul-Louis Courier did. Apparently Estienne found it so pleasing that

⁵⁶ Giovanni-Battista Manzini used Caro's translation to compose *Gli amori innocenti di Dafni e Cloe. Favola greca descritta in italiano*, which was published in Bologna in 1643.

⁵⁷ See M. François 1951, *Le Cardinal François de Tournon. Homme d'État, Diplomate, Mécène et Humaniste (1489–1562)* (Paris: Boccard): 247, n. 5. These letters are dated 30 August and 7 October 1550.

⁵⁸ Only in 1569 did Lorenzo Gambara publish a very free translation of the novel in Latin hexameters in his *Expositi*.

⁵⁹ *Moschi, Bionis, Theocriti, elegantissimorum pætarum Idyllia aliquot, ab Henrico Stephano latine facta. Ejusdem carmina non diversi ab illis argumenti*. Venezia: Aldus Manutius, 1555. See A. Hulubei 1931: 328–329.

he published imitations, albeit presented as his own original creations.⁶⁰ In 1557, in his commentary on Appien, the erudite publisher mentioned the novel once more, almost promising to translate it for readers who liked it (“[. . .] et aliquando fortasse fruendos illos lectori φιλοποίμενι dabo”). The publication of Amyot’s *Les Amours pastorales* two years later might have dissuaded him from undertaking the project. In any event, Estienne’s case shows that, even if Amyot acted more quickly and efficiently than others, the favour he lavished on *Daphnis and Chloe* was not exceptional among his intellectual peers.

Regarding the methods and principles that he employed in his translations of the Greek novel, they suggest that he did not differentiate at all among the *Aethiopica*, *Daphnis and Chloe*, and his renderings of Diodorus and Plutarch. Amyot writes in the “Prœsme” that books like *L’Histoire éthiopique* are intended to please “la propre et naturelle delectation d’un bon entendement” (the expression is repeated twice), the “hommes de bon jugement” and “gents d’honneur,” who are willing “tousjours voir, ouyr, et apprendre quelque chose de nouveau,” but conscious that they need to refresh their minds sometimes by turning from the serious matters that usually occupy them. Amyot’s translations were designed for such readers—that is, non-specialists, moderately learned, but serious, curious, and of good will. Amyot conceived them to instruct, without wearying the reader with unnecessary displays of erudition or discussions of technical problems.⁶¹ Thus his many glosses have a philological function; they satisfy his desire for accuracy, while dispensing with erudite notes or comments. We should understand in this light, for example, his translations of the substantive κάλλος (*Daphnis and Chloe*, I, 7, 1) by the doublet: “gentillesse et beauté” or μουσεῖον (*Aethiopica*, II, 27, 2) by “une escole et college consacré aux Muses”. Many paraphrases also have the function of making clear to any reader the implicit meaning of a word or a sentence that would be difficult, even impossible to communicate to a public unfamiliar with Greek culture. This concern justifies, for instance, the translation of the participial phrase

⁶⁰ Could Amyot have learnt anything from it? As he knew *Daphnis and Chloe* from the *Parisinus* 2895, which does not contain the passages imitated by Henri Estienne, he could not have identified and used the latter’s variations on the *Daphnis and Chloe*.

⁶¹ See R. Sturel 1908: 597–599.

τόποι τῆς θαλάσσης βοὸς πόροι λεγόμενοι (*Daphnis and Chloe*, I, 30, 6) into the lengthy explanatory sentence, “destroictz en la mer, qui jusques au jourd’huy sont appelez Bosphores, c’est adire, tragect ou passage de beuf”. Amyot expands the simple observation: οὕτω καὶ παρὰ τῶν ἐν Καταδούποις ἱερέων τοῦ Νείλου πυθόμενος (*Aethiopica*, II, 29, 1) to “j’ay souvenance d’en avoir autant ouy dire aux Prestres et Prophetes qui habitent en la ville de Catadoupy, qui est joignant les cataractes et precipices du Nil, c’est adire où le fleuve tombe de hautz rochers en des fondrieres fort basses”. He makes a surprising mistake, though, in translating that there are priests living in Catadoupy, whose situation relative to the Nile he goes on to describe, rather than simply rendering the original as “priests of the Nile in Catadoupy”. Does this error proceed from an anxiety to give some explanation of the peculiar appearance of the Nile in that area? Similarly, a relative clause such as: ὄν γὰρ εἶχον εἰς χορηγίας καὶ τριηραρχίας ἐξεδαπάνησα (*Daphnis and Chloe*, IV, 35, 3) becomes: “j’avois despendu les miens <biens> à faire jouër des jeux publiques, et à faire equipper des navires de guerre”. Amyot occasionally adds clarifications of his own that are not strictly necessary for a basic understanding of the text, but which enhance its didactic dimension. This intention is clear in his translation of: ἐκάλεσαν τὸν μὲν Φιλοποίμενα, τὴν δὲ Ἀγέλην (*Daphnis and Chloe*, IV 39, 2) to “le nommerent Philopoemen, c’est adire aymant les bergers, et la fille Agelée, qui signifie prenant plaisir aux troupeaux” or ἡ Πυθία (*Aethiopica*, II, 26, 5) by “la Prophetisse d’Apollo, que l’on appelle Pythia”. His desire to leave nothing unexplained motivates a lengthy elucidation of εἰς τὴν προτέραν εὐνομίαν καταστήσαι (*Daphnis and Chloe*, I 5, 1): “afin qu’elle demourast par apres au troupeau paissant avec les autres, sans plus s’escarter ny esgarer comme elle faisoit ordinairement”. Similarly, for τέχνην ποιμένην πρέπουσαν (*Daphnis and Chloe*, I 20, 1), he writes “une finesse qui estoit merueilleusement sortable et convenable à un gros bouvier comme luy”. The same dedication to transparency induces him to render antique usages in sixteenth-century equivalents. Thus he translates the Homeric phrase: ἦν μὲν ὥρα καὶ περὶ βουλευτὸν ἦδη (*Aethiopica*, II, 19, 6) by “il estoit desjà environ les vespres”; λήσταρχος (*Aethiopica*, I, 4, 1) by “le Capitaine de ces brigands”; βουλῆς δὲ τῆς ἄνω (*Aethiopica*, I, 9, 1) by “Senateur en la court souveraine”; παιδισκάριον (*Aethiopica*, I, 11, 3) by “une jeune garse chambriere”; τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὴν πάνδημον (*Aethiopica*, I, 22, 3) by “tournoys, jeux, festins solennels et publiques”. Whenever possible, he chooses to provide

the contemporary French or Latin equivalent of the ancient form of the names used by Heliodorus and Longus, as they are more familiar to his public. Lesbos is “Metelin” and Σκυθική χιών (*Daphnis and Chloe*, III 5, 4): “la nege de la Tartarie”. The names of famous divinities or characters are also given in their Latin forms. Thus Ξεβίου Διός (*Aethiopica*, II, 22, 2) and Διόνυσος (*Aethiopica*, II, 23, 5) become “Jupiter hospital” and “Bacchus”. If some references to the contemporary world seem unwarranted (as when he translates: ἐν ἄλσει Νυμφῶν by “dedans le Parc qui est consacré aux Nymphes,” speaking of a “Parc” instead of a forest without any obvious necessity), for the most part, this bias is legitimate. The fluency of his French, however, is the result of conscious effort. He carefully chose simple words and avoided archaisms and syntax reminiscent of Latin as much as possible. Indeed, he strictly purified, simplified, and modernised his style when he revised *L’Histoire éthiopique* in 1559. Amyot worked hard at being easily and effortlessly understood in order to help his readers feel immediately at ease in the world he introduced. Thus, his conspicuous “naïveté” is not at all grounded on any philological flimsiness.

Amyot writes in the “Præsme” of 1559 that he prepared this new version of *L’Histoire éthiopique* under the pressure of his editors:

[. . .] pour ce que les Libraires voulans reimprimer ma traduction me pressoyent de leur bailler les susdictes corrections, il m’a semblé puisqu’elle estoit jà ès mains des hommes, qu’il valoit mieux qu’elle y fust toute entiere et correcte, que defectueuse d’aucune chose.

Such a declaration is a very conventional and quite meaningless *topos* at a time when printing was still a recent form of publication—and not an altogether prestigious one. The extremely precise list of variants of the *Aethiopica* that Amyot took the trouble to collate in Italy attests to his fidelity to Heliodorus.⁶² The fact that the revised edition of *L’Histoire éthiopique* was issued eleven years after its first publication also confirms the translator’s lasting interest in the novel—all the more so as he managed to prepare it at the same time he was completing the first edition of *Les vies des hommes illustres*. And although

⁶² Moreover, G.N. Sandy 1984–1985: 3 writes that the marginal notations in the copy of the novel belonging to Amyot “[. . .] provide by far the most extensive evidence of his continuing efforts to achieve the best possible basis for the translation of any Greek author including Plutarch.”

Amyot published no revised version of *Les Amours pastorales*, Morel writes at the end of his “Advertissement” to his edition of *Les vies des hommes illustres* (1619) that he intends:

[. . .] de divulguer oportunément les dernières corrections et suppléments dudit Prelat sur ses autres traductions de Diodore Sicilien, Heliodore, Longus, Olympiodore, Athanase, et quelques Tragiques Grecs, que nous preparons de mettre sous la presse.

These corrections must have been very late, as Morel met Amyot only in 1577, and his contacts with him were most frequent after the bishop of Auxerre had helped the young man succeed to his father as “imprimeur royal” in 1581.⁶³ Amyot’s biographer Sébastien Rouillard confirms Morel’s testimony, writing that during Henry III’s reign (1574–1589):

[Amyot] releut, et corrigea tous les aultres livres, et Opuscules, qu’il avoit traduits, et fait imprimer, sans y mettre son nom: et neantmoins par luy du depuis advoüez. Entre aultres, icelle histoire Æthiopique de Theagene, et Chariclée: celle de Daphnis, et Chloé: les livres de Diodore Sicilien, et plusieurs semblables. Davantage, beaucoup de Tragœdies de Sophocle, d’Euripide, et aultres tels livres, qu’il avoit traduits en sa jeunesse: lesquels reveid, et corrigea, et fit mettre au net, pour en faire un troisieme volume.⁶⁴

Amyot still worked on Heliodorus and Longus after being nominated bishop of Auxerre, though his public duties decreased the time he could devote to profane studies. The religious dignities he received certainly imposed a focus on religious topics and some restraint on his literary projects. But neither could compel him to disavow his former translations, nor did they prevent him from thinking about improvements he might make. In fact, Rouillard recalls that the ageing bishop confessed that these were hard times for his studies, that he remembered with nostalgia his years in Bourges:

Souventesfois on luy ha ouy dire entre ses amis, qu’il avoit un honneste appoinctement: que jamais en sa vie n’eut meilleur temps, que celuy là: et avoit pris un fort grand plaisir à faire cet exercice: à cause qu’il

⁶³ Morel was only 23 years old. The laws did not permit him to become “imprimeur royal” before the age of 25. See R. Sturel 1908: 120–121. He quotes J. Dumoulin 1901, *Vie et œuvre de Frédéric Morel, imprimeur à Paris depuis 1557 jusqu’à 1583* (Paris: Dumoulin): 62 and 74–76.

⁶⁴ S. Rouillard 1628, *Histoire de Melun, contenant plusieurs raretez notables, et non decouvertes en l’Histoire generale de France* (Paris: Jean Guignard): 612.

jouïssoit d'un extrême repos. Ce fut durant ce temps-là, qu'il se mit à traduire de Grec en François, l'histoire Æthiopique de Theagene, et Chariclée.⁶⁵

Amyot undoubtedly regretted the loss of the literary *otium* and the freedom he had enjoyed when he composed his first translations. Finally, if he did not provide any later corrected version of the *Aethiopica* or *Daphnis and Chloe*, neither did he produce any new edition of *Les vies des hommes illustres* after 1567.⁶⁶ The fact that there were no ultimate revised editions of his translations of the Greek novel can in no way be interpreted as a repudiation, much less a condemnation of these youthful enterprises.

Critics have drawn attention to the spareness which characterises the presentation of *L'Histoire æthiopique* and *Les Amours pastorales*. Indeed, most of Amyot's contemporaries took care to have their work praised in poems written by friends, or they included diverse liminary testimonies attesting to their importance.⁶⁷ But Amyot never resorted to such indiscreet means to underline the value of any of his translations. His translation of Diodorus is dedicated to Henry II, and it includes an epistle to the reader, but nothing else, and even the epistle is much shorter than the "Præsme" in *L'Histoire æthiopique*. Nor does the translator say anything about the pain that his work caused him. He states that the codex he used was quite faulty and explains that he had to resort to conjecture several times, but only to beg the reader's forgiveness for any mistakes that he may have made as he could do no better. Amyot is more prolix about his work in the address to the readers of *Les vies des hommes illustres*. Moreover, his tone is much more defensive. Here the philologist knows that he presents his *opus magnum*. He is anxious that it succeed, and, for the first time, he must convince his reader of the superiority of his work to previous translations. He had not had this problem when he presented such pioneering works as Heliodorus, Longus or Diodorus' books XI to XVII. The long dedicatory epistle of *Les œuvres morales et mêlées de Plutarque* deals more than usual with the difficulties that Amyot encountered, but still does not devote more time to his defence

⁶⁵ See S. Rouillard 1628: 607–608.

⁶⁶ Yet, his annotated copy of their Greek text bears corrections dating from 1583. See R. Sturel 1908: 123.

⁶⁷ For instance, Johannes Oporinus, editor of the first complete Latin translation of the *Aethiopica* by S. Warschwiczi (1552), publishes it with a letter from Philippe Melanchton which praised it and its translator.

than in his translation of Diodorus or *Les vies des hommes illustres*. The text also shows a perceptible, new emphasis, which is in keeping with an emerging consciousness of the responsibilities he had assumed, for barely two years had passed since his nomination to bishop. Compared to the presentation of these later translations, then, the appearance of *L'Histoire éthiopique* is not so peculiar. As to the spareness which characterises *Les Amours pastorales*, that is often explained by the fact that Amyot could hardly put his name on an obscene book when he was a churchman and preceptor of the dukes of Orléans and Angoulême and when the first *Index librorum prohibitorum* had just been published.⁶⁸ Three objections can be made to this theory. In 1559, Amyot was a simple abbot, just like Ronsard, who had been not deterred from writing love poetry. And, in fact, Amyot never displayed any real religious zeal before he became a bishop. In 1548 in *L'Histoire éthiopique*, he had systematically, if not always, expanded upon the sensual implications of the original. Secondly, *Daphnis and Chloe* as he translated it is not an obscene book, especially in the context of sixteenth century literature.⁶⁹ The very sensuous scene of Chloe's bath was lacking in the manuscript, and he himself expurgated other dubious episodes, such as Daphnis's famous sexual initiation by Lycæon.⁷⁰ In doing so, Amyot proved even more severe than Caro, who, though also a churchman, did not care to suppress this scene. Yet, the tone of *Daphnis and Chloe* cannot explain the way Amyot sent his book to meet the public without a single word of recommendation.

In fact, the appearance of Amyot's translations is wholly consistent with the standard presentation of novels. As books intended to divert their readers, they did not generally contain any of the erudite apparatus—testimonies of famous learned men, notes, references, tables of contents or indexes—that appeared in didactic or classic books. In keeping with their lack of practical application and their

⁶⁸ See Longus 1987: lxxiv, P. De Capitani 1996, "Un enigma romanzesco del Rinascimento. La traduzione di Amyot delle *Amours pastorales de Daphnis et Chloé* (1559)," in *Il Romanzo nella Francia del Rinascimento, dall' eredità medievale all' Astrea* (Fasano: Schena): 35, A. de Blignières 1851: 139–140 and P. Villey 1912, *Les sources d'idées* (Paris: Plon): 99.

⁶⁹ See A. Cioranescu 1941: 49–51 and 71.

⁷⁰ Amyot interrupts his translation from I, 12, 4 ("Finalement ils le mirent hors du piège") to I, 17, 4 ("Daphnis allait ainsi devisant et parlant puérilement en lui mesme").

rather high price, novels were a luxury product created for and dedicated to an elite public of nobles and courtiers. These people would not endure any pedantry. Thus, Amyot purposely treated *L'Histoire éthiopique* and *Les Amours pastorales* in an offhand manner, and he intentionally gave them to the same printer who had published the *Amadis*, so that they would unambiguously appear as entertaining works belonging to French "belles-lettres".

Amyot belongs to the generation of translators immediately following Claude de Seyssel, Antoine Macault, Louis Le Roy, Loïs Meigret and Pierre Saliat.⁷¹ He was teaching at the university of Bourges when Étienne Dolet published *La Maniere de bien traduire d'une langue en autre* (1540). There Dolet endeavoured to formulate rules for an art of translating, and he defended the translation as a genre belonging to *bonae literae* and destined to play a part in the development of French contemporary prose. The young professor Amyot certainly shared his predecessors' notion that translation had more than a philological necessity, that it could inspire contemporary creation by providing themes as well as rhetorical models.⁷² Indeed, his own literary ambitions are especially clear at the beginning of his career, before the focus on a difficult author like Plutarch led him to emphasise philological quality over rhetorical aspirations. Rouillard reveals that, early on, Amyot had translated "beaucoup de tragédies de Sophocle et d'Euripide, et aultres tels livres," translations he continued to revise during his old age even though they would never be published.⁷³ Morel confirms this, writing in the "Advertissement" of 1619 that he plans to edit Amyot's late corrections of "quelques Tragiques Grecs" translated during his youth. Indeed, the future author of *Les vies des hommes illustres* collaborated with Bochetel to translate Euripides' *Hecuba* (1544), and manuscripts of his translations of *Les Troades* (1542) and *Iphigénie en Aulis* (1545–1547) have recently been discovered and published.⁷⁴ These translations must be consid-

⁷¹ See R. Zuber 1995 [first edition 1967], *Les "belles infidèles" et la formation du goût classique*, (Paris: A. Michel): 21–23.

⁷² See R. Zuber 1995: 19.

⁷³ See S. Rouillard 1628: 612.

⁷⁴ See R. Sturel 1913, "Essai sur les traductions du théâtre grec en français avant 1550," *Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France*, 20: 269–296 et 637–666, A. Cioranescu 1941: 42–53 and Euripide 1996, *Les Troades, Iphigénie en Aulis*, traductions inédites de Jacques Amyot, textes établis avec un essai préliminaire par L. de Nardis, préface de J. de Romilly (Napoli: Bibliopolis).

ered in the context of the flourishing of Latin humanist tragedy in the colleges between 1540 and 1550; increased knowledge of Italian authors such as Gian Giorgio Trissino, Ludovico Dolce, Giovanni Battista Giraldi Cinzio or Sperone Speroni; and the first attempts at creating French tragedy following these ancient models and their Italian readings (for example, the pioneering *Cléopâtre captive* of Étienne Jodelle dates from 1552). Amyot wanted to take an active part in this movement. His interest in such projects must have been well known; in 1556, he was asked by the poet Mellin de Saint-Gelais to contribute to the French adaptation of Trissino's *Sophonisba* commissioned by Catherine de Médicis.⁷⁵ Consequently, he was responsible for translating the prologue (which was long ignored, as it was not reproduced in the version of the play published in 1559) and the second part of the tragedy (from line 587 to the end). Amyot was also aware of the most recent trends in literary criticism. His prologue to the *Sophonisbe* proves that he had already absorbed the ideas of Giraldi Cinzio's *Discorso ovvero Lettera intorno al comporre delle comedie e delle tragedie* (Venice, 1554).⁷⁶ The "Præsmè" of the *Aethiopica*, for its part, echoes Ancient authors such as Plato, Strabo, Horace or Lucian, but also the second book of Marco Girolamo Vida's *Ars poetica* (1527).⁷⁷ In the end, Amyot frequented not only scholars, but the influential men of letters of his time, too: Jacques Colin, Saint-Gelais, who was an old friend of Herberay des Essarts, Jean-Antoine de Baïf, Joachim du Bellay, and Montaigne. In fact, given his ambitions, it is strange that he did not care to publish his translations of Greek tragedies (the genre alone would have secured him an audience), that he instead chose to publish rather late and uncelebrated narratives such as the *Aethiopica* and *Daphnis and Chloe*. On the other hand, perhaps this choice helps us capture his true literary intentions. *Les Troades* and *Iphigénie en Aulis*, as he rendered them, reveal an increasing tendency to expand upon the original and to take liberties

⁷⁵ See L. Zilli 1990, "Mellin de Saint-Gelais, Jacques Amyot e un manoscritto della tragedia *Sophonisba*," *Studi di letteratura italiana*, 17: 10–11.

⁷⁶ See L. Zilli 1990: 15, who refers to "Jacques Amyot e il primo documento sulla fortuna francese di Giraldi Cinzio," *Atti del Convegno di Tortona su Giraldi Cinzio* (forthcoming).

⁷⁷ See T. Cave 1990, "*Suspendere animos*: pour une histoire de la notion de suspens," in *Les Commentaires et la naissance de la critique littéraire*, ed. G. Mathieu-Castellani and M. Plaisance (Paris: Aux Amateurs de livre): 212–215 and 1996, "Suspense and the pre-history of the novel," *Revue de littérature comparée* 79: 509.

in order to restore the text's poetic power.⁷⁸ Clearly, when translating poetry, Amyot did not as spontaneously and harmoniously succeed in combining the exigencies of the artist and those of the translator. Indeed, in 1556, called to help Saint-Gelais, Amyot translated into prose the women's parts of that portion of the *Sophonisba* assigned to him, while his co-author provided a version entirely in verse. Such a surprising choice (the play thus produced was structurally a monster) reveals that he believed himself a better prose writer than a poet, even if he did not lack poetic gifts. The example of *Sophonisbe* and the fact that we know nothing of new translations of the Greek tragedies after publication of *L'Histoire éthiopique* in 1548 suggest that Amyot consciously decided to contribute specifically to the development of the art of French prose. Far from being the remains of early transitory interests, his translations of the Greek novel are in fact his first application to the mission we know he undertook in *Les vies des hommes illustres* and *Les œuvres morales et mêlées de Plutarque*. The alleged negligence of the translator vanishes when scrutinised closely. It was, rather, a pretence, a pose, and we will learn much about Amyot's true goals by giving his translations of the Greek novel the consideration they deserve.

iii *Jacques Amyot, Inventor of the French Novel (1548–1678)*

Amyot's translation of the *Aethiopica* was the leading model for novelistic creation until the publication of *La Princesse de Clèves* in 1678. Although the production of the heroic novel which it inspired decreased from the 1660s, its decline was slowed by the fact that it continued to be much read and edited. Mme de Sévigné's *Letters* amply document the lasting favour that the heroic novel enjoyed until the end of the century. On the one hand, the *Aethiopica* epitomised everything Antoine Furetière and Charles Sorel found objectionable in the genre in the attacks they led against it in *Le roman bourgeois* (1666) and *De la connaissance des bons livres* (1671); on the other, the abbot of Charnes continued to present Heliodorus as the "Homère des romanciers" in his *Conversations sur la critique de la princesse de Clèves* (1679), his opinion echoing those of Scudéry and Huet. The quar-

⁷⁸ See Euripide 1996: 13–31.

rel prompted by *La Princesse de Clèves* truly challenged the exemplary role of the *Aethiopica* and the modern conceptions of the genre it had fostered;⁷⁹ only then did its theoretical dominance come to an end.

The enduring role of the *Aethiopica* owes much to how Amyot introduced it in the "Prœsme". Though brief (no more than 2000 words), it articulates a personal and original reading of Heliodorus' work, giving it immediate relevance in contemporary debates on the genre of the novel. Thus, understanding its creative dimension is of primary importance to capturing the image of the Greek novel as understood by sixteenth- and seventeenth-century writers, determining the goal of Amyot's translations, and assessing their possible influence on Renaissance and early modern literature. At the very least, it will make perfectly clear that, though the *Aethiopica* decisively shaped the evolution of the genre, this was not so much because authors imitated the novel itself, but, rather, because they followed the principles devised by Amyot. Yet, the significance of the "Prœsme" has long been ignored, because it was apparently designed to give the impression of nothing more than a banal, merely informative, introduction to Heliodorus.⁸⁰

Indeed, Amyot consciously works at presenting himself in the "Prœsme" as a learned, dispassionate, and neutral author. He ostentatiously gathers the little information available on the identity of Heliodorus. In 1548, he discusses a passage of Philostratus that attributes the novel to Heliodorus the Arab. In 1559, he explains that he was mistaken then; he transcribes two testimonies he found in his Roman manuscript of the *Aethiopica* which cite Georgius Cedrenus and Socrates' *Ecclesiastic History* in support of the authorship of Heliodorus of Tricca and he adds to them a relevant quotation of Nicephorus Callistus that he himself has discovered. Various literary allusions enhance his scholarly persona. At the very beginning, Amyot refers the reader to the opinion of a "certain grand Philosophe," left unnamed; the quotation that follows enables his cultivated public to recognise him as Plato. Later, he hints at Horace, Strabo, and a

⁷⁹ See E. Bury 2000, "À la recherche d'un genre perdu: le roman et les poéticiens du XVII^e siècle" in *Perspectives de la recherche sur le genre narratif français du dix-septième siècle* (Fasano: Schena): 27–32.

⁸⁰ Thus A. Boilève-Guerlet 1993, *Le genre romanesque: des théories de la Renaissance italienne aux réflexions du XVII^e siècle français* (Santiago de Compostela: Universidad de Santiago de Compostela) often cites Heliodorus without mentioning once Amyot or his "Prœsme".

“Sage” who happens to be Aristotle.⁸¹ He appears serenely objective when he acknowledges that the *Aethiopica* lacks “l’une des deux perfections requises pour faire chose belle, c’est la grandeur,” as Theagenes accomplished no heroic military deed. He borders on indifference when he mentions Plato’s objections to fiction,⁸² then abruptly begins his conclusion: “Toutefois je ne me veux pas beaucoup amuser à la [*L’Histoire éthiopique*] recommander: pource que (quand tout est dict) ce n’est qu’une fable”. In fact, Amyot’s “Prœsme” is a masterful pretence. Its author casually acknowledges the long tradition of the criticism of fiction, ranging from Macrobius to the contemporary clerical polemic against the chivalric novel, to neutralise any prejudice the reader may have against the *Aethiopica* on the basis of the genre alone. Indeed, by appearing as a serious scholar not wholly supportive of the novelistic enterprise, Amyot wants to ensure that his audience does not immediately reject it on a theoretical basis, thus improving the chances that his favourable presentation of the *Aethiopica* will be accepted. So he does his best to pretend not to support the genre as a whole, but only a rather exotic example of it.

Amyot begins the “Prœsme” by conceding:

[. . .] on pourroit avecques bonne cause conseiller aux personnes ja parvenues en aage de cognoissance, de ne s’amuser à lire sans jugement toutes sortes de livres fabuleux: de peur que leurs entendemens ne s’acoustument petit à petit à aymer mensonge, et à se paistre de vanité, outre ce que le temps y est mal employé. Et pourroit à l’aventure ceste raison estre assez valable pour condamner tous escritz mensongers, et dont le sujet n’est point veritable [. . .].

Here he echoes both the general Christian condemnation of fiction as well as the lively contemporary polemic prompted by the chivalric novel and fought out in such treatises as Juan-Luis Vivès’ *De Institutione feminæ christianæ* (1523) and *De Disciplinis* (1531). Such authors condemned fiction because, designed to divert its readers, it wasted

⁸¹ See S. Cappello 1992: “La prefazione di Amyot all’ *Histoire Ethiopique* di Eliodoro” in *Studi in memoria di Giorgio Valussi*, ed. V. Orioles (Alessandria: Edizioni dell’ Orso): 128.

⁸² Amyot writes: “Ainsi comme un certain grand Philosophe amonneste sagement les nourrices, de ne conter indifferemment toutes sortes de fables à leurs petitiz enfantz, de peur que leurs ames dès le commencement ne s’abreuvent de folie, et ne prennent quelque vicieuse impression [. . .]”. See Plato, *Republic*, I, 377c, 378e, 381e.

their time instead of instructing them or fostering their salvation.⁸³ It appealed largely to the imagination, which, in the Christian orthodox view, was the master of illusion and falsehood; thus, novels not only distracted people from better occupations, but actively encouraged dangerous and erroneous misconceptions about life. During the era of the Council of Trent, the case for fiction was further undermined by the salient (and immoral) features of the chivalric novel: the immediate pleasures of carnal love, secret marriages and their consequent disorders. But Amyot's remark is hardly as innocuous as he makes it sound. Its very banality enables him to diminish its importance and more readily dismiss it, for he himself does not subscribe to the criticism it conveys. Indeed, he uses the conditional mode, implying his rejection of the opinion he voices, then immediately retorts, "si ce n'estoit que l'imbellicité de nostre nature [. . .]".

Amyot does not care to refute the arguments of his adversaries. Rather, he invalidates them on the basis of a very pragmatic and even inescapable principle. The ordinary man, he writes, is physically incapable of applying his mind continuously to grave matters. If he is to carry through his most serious activities, he must, at some point, get some diversion:

[. . .] il fault aucunesfois, que nostre esprit est troublé de mesaventures, ou travaillé et recreu de grave estude, user de quelque divertissement, pour le destourner de ses tristes pensées, ou bien de quelque refreshissement, pour puis apres le remettre plus alaigre, et plus vif à la consideration, ou action des choses d'importance.

In this light, amusing oneself appears to be a simple matter of efficiency. Amyot spins out a theme notably developed by Lucian in the opening of the *True Story* (I, 1–2), thus bolstering his point with a strong Ancient authority.⁸⁴ Indeed, it is sufficiently common in ancient authors—Hesiod, Horace, Cicero, Seneca and Quintilian—that the need for diversion is finally considered a matter of prudence. The question is, how best to achieve it. Lucian proposes reading *τινα θεωρίαν οὐκ ἄμουσον*; Amyot goes much further, endeavouring to prove that there exists an intrinsically good and legitimate

⁸³ See M. Fumaroli 1985: 22–25.

⁸⁴ Lucian's opuscles were used as Greek or Latin textbooks and thus were widely known during the sixteenth century. See Ch. Lauvergnet-Gagnière 1988: *Lucien de Samosate et le lucianisme en France au XVI^e siècle. Athéisme et polémique* (Genève, Droz).

kind of diversion, what later writers will call an “honnête divertissement”. He starts with a simple assumption:

[. . .] la propre et naturelle delectation d'un bon entendement est toujours voir, ouyr, et apprendre quelque chose de nouveau.

A little further, he reiterates that “la delectation [. . .] procede de la nouvelleté des choses estranges, et pleines de merveilles”.⁸⁵ They make the reader marvel, and they instruct by relaying information or prompting him to contemplate their moral significance. Typical of his era and his intellectual milieu, the abbot of Bellocanne does not believe that pleasure could be derived from a text lacking all intellectual qualities. Thus he, too, condemns the chivalric novel, but not on moral grounds. It cannot satisfy “le loysir d'un bon entendement,” because it consists merely of “contes fabuleux”; lacks “erudition” or “cognoissance de l'antiquité, ne chose aucune (à brief parler) dont on peust tirer quelque utilité”; is aesthetically poor (“mal cousuz”) and improbable (“esloignez de toute vraysemblable apparence”). Amyot turns to the theme of the folly of Don Quixote when he compares the outcomes of the chivalric novel to the “songes de quelque malade resvant en fievre chaude”. Products of a real sickness,⁸⁶ any appeal they have must proceed from mental weakness.⁸⁷ In contrast, in the dedicatory epistle of *Les vies des hommes illustres*, Amyot maintains that the “delectation singuliere, qui principalement procede de la diversité et de la nouvelleté dont nostre nature s'esjouit”

⁸⁵ It is a permanent principle of his, which he repeats in all the texts appended to his later translations. In the dedicatory epistle of *l'Histoire de Diodore Sicilien* (1555) he alludes to “la commune delectation que l'on a d'ouyr lire ou compter les adventures merueilleuses et estranges varietez des cas humains”. In *Les vies des hommes illustres* (1559), he compares it to the curiosity compelling people to listen to “ceux qui retournent de quelque lointain voyage, racontans les choses qu'ils ont veuës en estrange país, les mœurs des hommes, la nature des lieux, les façons de vivre diferentes des nostres” or the story of his life by “un sage, disert et eloquent vieillard”. Presenting *Les œuvres morales et meslées de Plutarque* (1572), Amyot asserts that: “[. . .] la variété est delectable, la beauté aimable, la bonté louable, l'utilité desirable, la rareté esmerueillable, et la gravité venerable”. The enumeration observes a moral crescendo from “variété” to “gravité,” but it starts by naming the more efficient incentive to read or listen, that is, “la variété”.

⁸⁶ See M. Fumaroli 1985: 30.

⁸⁷ The argument will be long-lasting. It is a *topos* of the opponents of the genre that it pleases mainly women, young or uneducated readers.

is so worthy that it is even the motive force urging man forward in his spiritual quest of God:

[. . .] à cause qu'ayant une affectueuse inclination à son bien souverain, [nostre nature] le va cherchant en tout ce qu'elle cuide beau ou bon en ce monde: mais ne trouvant de quoy se contenter sous la vouste du ciel, elle s'ennuye et se fasche bientost de ce que nagueres elle avoit ardamment apeté, et va ainsi errant en la temerité de ses apétis: dont elle ne cessera jamais de changer continuellement, jusques à ce qu'estant unie à ceste fin dernière de son bien souverain, où est la perfection de toute beauté et toute bonté, ses souhaits seront à un coup assouvis.

This "apetit de variété" is the essential characteristic of any truly, fundamentally good recreation, and it may be grounded in serious matter. In the "Prœsme," Amyot anticipates the later praise of history which will appear in the epistle to the readers of *Les vies des hommes illustres*.⁸⁸

[. . .] il n'y a point de doute, que l'histoire, à cause de la diversité des choses qui y sont comprises, ne soit l'une des lectures que plus on doit chercher, et eslire, pour le resjouyr [un bon entendement]: attendu mesmement que le proffit y est conjoint avecques le plaisir.

However, he immediately adds that history might seem "un petit trop austere" in its "verité" to achieve a recreative end. As history must in no way alter the truth or adorn its object, it cannot always present its matter "en la sorte qu'elles seroient plus plaisantes à lire, ny ainsi comme noz courages [. . .] le souhaitent, et le desirent". It will probably lack an aesthetic and rhetorical dimension that "un conte fait à plaisir expressement pour delecter" is more able to achieve, because it has been liberated from the requirement of telling the truth. Moreover, its pronounced emotional appeal is more likely to inspire emulation. Amyot is convinced that people are guided more by their passions than their reason and "entendement," a view typical of the generation of the Counter-Reformation which found its fullest expression in the Baroque style. Consequently, he believes that it is necessary to use the means of the passions to serve the ends of reason and understanding.⁸⁹ To start with, Amyot observes

⁸⁸ He says in *Les vies des hommes illustres* that the natural "apetit de variété" of man cannot be better satisfied than by history, which he calls "le repertoire et le tesmoignage du temps pere de toute nouvelleté, et messagère de l'antiquité".

⁸⁹ J. Amyot 1992, *Projet d'Eloquence royale*, ed. Ph.-Joseph Salazar (Paris: Belles Lettres): 79 observes: "Or n'est-ce pas assez de trouver des arguments pour per-

that courageous men “naturellement se passionnent en lisant, ou voyant les faitz et fortunes d’autrui,” implying a causal link between examples and behaviour. The translator notes in the epistle to Henry II of *Les vies des hommes illustres* that history teaches:

[. . .] avec plus de grace, d’efficace et de dexterité, que ne font les livres de Philosophie morale, d’autant que les exemples sont plus aptes à esmouvoir et enseigner, que ne sont les arguments et les preuves de raisons, ny leurs imperieux preceptes, à cause qu’ils sont particuliers, accompagnez de toutes leurs circonstances, là où les raisons et demonstrations sont generales, et tendent plus à fin de prouver, ou de donner à entendre, et les exemples à mettre en œuvre et à executer: pource qu’ils ne monstrent pas seulement comme il faut faire, mais aussi imprimant affection de le vouloir faire, tant pour une inclination naturelle, que tous les hommes ont à imiter, que pour la beauté de la vertu qui a telle force, que partout où elle se voit, elle se fait desirer et aymer.

And he asks:

[. . .] combien [. . .] devons-nous sentir de ravissement, d’aise et d’ebahissement de voir en une belle, riche et veritable peinture d’eloquence, les cas humains representez au vif [. . .]?

The “ébahissement” to be produced by the spectacle of a “riche et veritable peinture d’eloquence” is one of the two aims that he ascribes to fiction (the other one being “delectation”) in the “Prœsme”. There he also stresses that, in *L’Histoire ethiopique*, “partout les passions humaines [sont] peintes au vif, avecques une si grande honesteté, que l’on n’en sçauroit tirer occasion, ou exemple de mal faire”. Thus, Amyot’s translations, whether of novels or history, together contribute to a perfectly coherent project.

The second point he emphasises in all of his translations is that a text must achieve a pleasurable presentation. In the dedication to the king of *Les vies des hommes illustres*, Amyot insists that history can be effective only inasmuch as it “plaist et profite, [. . .] delecte et instruit ensemble,” as “le plaisir à l’utilité joint”.⁹⁰ This conviction

suader, et de s’en servir, parce que cela est commun au philosophe comme à l’orateur, mais convient davantage imprimer certaines passions dans les esprits des auditeurs, qui ont beaucoup plus de pouvoir que les arguments, et par lesquelles ils se laissent mener et transporter çà et là où bon semble à un homme éloquent”.

⁹⁰ Amyot quotes Horace’s *Ars poetica*, lines 343–344: “Omne tulit punctum, qui miscuit utile dulci/lectorem delectando pariterque monendo”. In the dedicatory epistle to the king of *Les vies des hommes illustres*, he affirms that “La lecture des livres

induces him to risk a criticism surprising for a bishop. In his presentation of *Les œuvres morales et meslées de Plutarque*, he writes that the formal simplicity of Scripture, the fact that it is “sans aucun ornement de langage,” may cause them to be less effective incentives to acting well than history or fable. The necessity to please will be all the more imperative in recreational literature, when a reader desires to ease his mind. Amyot legitimises fiction on a very utilitarian basis. Insofar as it succeeds in contriving a rhetorically pleasurable appearance, it will be effective. The deeper implication is that Amyot does not consider the novel and history as altogether different genres, each of which has distinctive features; rather, they are constituted of the same components, which receive different emphasis depending on the ultimate purpose the work is meant to serve. The legitimacy Amyot gave the novel had a decisive influence on the making of the genre in France. First, it contributed to its flourishing during the first part of the seventeenth century, because authors were at peace with their endeavours as their counterparts in England or in Spain were not. It also accounts for the striking contributions of a churchman such as Jean-Pierre Camus, the bishop of Belley and friend of François of Sales, and of serious-minded writers like d’Urfé or Jean Baudoin, who could use the novel to express serious concerns without treating the fable as a mere allegory.

The poetics of the genre formulated by Amyot is exceptionally complete and comprehensive. He begins by listing the requirements he believes the novel must fulfil in order to please, using many prescriptive formulas such as: “il fault,” “si n’est pas besoing,” “beau-coup moins se doit-on permettre”. First, fictions have to be as plausible as possible:

Mais tout ainsi comme en la pourtraicture les tableaux sont estimez les meilleurs, et plaisent plus aux yeux à ce cognoissans, qui representent mieux la verité du naturel, aussi entre telles fictions celles qui sont

qui apportent seulement une vaine et oiseuse delectation aux lisans, est à bon droit reprochée des hommes sages et de grave jugement, et celle qui profite aussi simplement, sans faire aymer le profit qu’elle apporte, et adoucir la peine qu’on prend à le recueillir, par quelque allechement de plaisir, semble un peu trop austere au goust de plusieurs delicats entendemens, qui pour ce defaut ne s’y peuvent arrester longuement”. There is a relationship of interdependence between the pleasing and the didactic dimensions. History, Amyot says, “[. . .] fait mieux ces deux effets, l’un pour l’amour de l’autre reciproquement, en profitant plus d’autant qu’elle delecte, et delectant d’avantage d’autant qu’elle profite”.

should be constructed from historical matter, as he goes on to explain that, according to Strabo, “l’artifice d’invention Poëtique consiste en trois choses:”

Premierement en histoire, de laquelle la fin est verité. A raison dequoy il n’est point loysible aux Poëtes, quand ilz parlent des choses qui sont en nature d’en escrire à leur plaisir autrement que la verité n’est: pource que cela leur seroit imputé, non à licence ou artifice: mais à ignorance. Secondement en ordre, et disposition, dont la fin est l’expression et la force d’attirer et retenir le Lecteur. Tiercement en la fiction, dont la fin est l’esbahissement, et la delectation, qui procede de la nouvelleté des choses estranges, et pleines de merveilles.

If Strabo really distinguished three elements in Homer’s poems: *ἱστορία*, *διαθήσις* and *μῦθος*, whose respective aims were *ἀληθεία*, *ἐνέργεια* and the couple *ἡδονή* and *ἐκπληξις*,⁹³ nowhere did he say that combining them is a signal feature of “l’invention Poëtique”. In fact, the geographer was citing Polybius who wrote that Homer’s obvious lapses in truthfulness were to be explained either by changes that had occurred since the poet’s time, the poet’s own occasional ignorance, or to the *ποιητικὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἣ συνέστηκεν ἐξ ἱστορίας καὶ διαθέσεως καὶ μύθου*.⁹⁴ Strabo acknowledged that history was a component of poetic creation, but chiefly to stress the point that poetry took liberties with it. Amyot deforms the quotation to assert that fiction has to be grounded in history—in other words, to shelter his own rather more radical proposition under the mantle of authority. Indeed, he begins by speaking in the “Præsmes” of “fables,” then of “livres fabuleux” and a “conte faict à plaisir”; but, when he evokes the better fiction he envisions, he uses quite different expressions, such as: “contes fabuleux en forme d’histoire,” which are supposed to be written “pour supplier au deffault de la vraye histoire,” and “fictions que l’on veult desguiser du nom d’istoriale verité”. The novel Amyot desires is nothing but a “false history”—that it to say, it should have the appearance and all the qualities of history, but, “subtilement inventé, et ingenieusement deduit,” it should tell fabulous or imaginary events in order to be most pleasant to read. When Amyot speaks of the “fictions que l’on veult desguiser du nom d’istoriale verité,” who is the “on”? Certainly not Strabo, who never suggested that history should disguise fiction. On the contrary,

⁹³ See Strabo, *Geography*, I, 2, 17, C 24–25.

⁹⁴ See Polybius, *History*, XXXIV, 2, 4–4,8.

he considered it appropriate to occasionally present the analytical discourse of history in a fictional mode to make its content more accessible, for example, to young people or less learned readers.⁹⁵ Amyot then leaves Strabo to quote Horace once more, this time in support of his assertion that not everything is permitted in such fictions:

[. . .] ains y fault entrelasser si dextrement du vray parmy du faux, en retenant tousjours semblance de verité, et si bien rapporter le tout ensemble, qu'il n'y ayt point de discordance du commencement au milieu, ny du milieu à la fin.

The translator quite literally plagiarises the verses 151–152 of the *Ars poetica*:

Atque ita mentitur, sic veris falsa remiscet,
Primo ne medium, medio ne discreperet imum.

Yet Horace did not say that it was necessary to combine “du vray parmy du faux,” but that Homer was so skilful at contriving a fable, he could mix falsehood and truth seamlessly. Amyot attributes to Horace his idea that fiction should be written in the blank spaces of history, so that it could exploit history without wronging it or being constrained by it.

Indeed, for Amyot, the contents of the ideal novel and that of history are surprisingly similar. In *L'Histoire ethiopique*, he observes that:

[. . .] oultre l'ingenieuse fiction, il y a en quelques lieux de beaux discours tirez de la Philosophie Naturelle, et Morale: force dictz notables, et propos sentencieux: plusieurs belles harengues, où l'artifice d'eloquence est très bien employé, et partout les passions humaines peintes au vif, avecques si grande honesteté, que l'on n'en scauroit tirer occasion, ou exemple de mal faire. Pource que de toutes affections illicites, et mauvaises, il a fait l'yssee malheureuse [. . .].

In 1559, he concludes the dedicatory epistle of *Les vies des hommes illustres* by praising the book for revealing:

[. . .] tant de beaux et graves discours par tout, tirez des plus profonds et plus cachez secrets de la Philosophie morale et naturelle, tant de sages advertissemens et fructueuses instructions, si affectueuse recommandation de la vertu et detestation du vice, tant de belles allegations d'autres auteurs, tant de propres comparaisons, et tant de hautes inventions.

⁹⁵ See Strabo, *Geography*, I, 2, 8, C 19–20.

In other words, he uses precisely the same vocabulary to describe Heliodorus's and Plutarch's works. In the latter, he only adds the adjective "graves" to "beaux discours," and he inverts the order of "philosophie naturelle et morale" to "Philosophie morale et naturelle" in order to emphasise the moralistic content of *Les vies des hommes illustres*. When he proposes that the reader will find in Heliodorus a treasury of centos and maxims, he anticipates the reading of Plutarch that he will advocate in 1559.⁹⁶ We find further evidence of Amyot's vision of the novel in his fabricated title, *Les Amours pastorales de Daphnis et Chloé*. Amyot inserted the substantive "Amours," which does not figure in the Greek title (λόγγου ποιμενικῶν τῶν κατὰ Δάφνιν καὶ Χλόην). He thus assimilated Longus's work to *L'Histoire éthiopique de Heliodorus*, whose full title specifies that it tells the *loyales et pudiques amours de Theagenes Thessalien et de Chariclea Æthiopienne*, and he further implied that *Les Amours pastorales de Daphnis et Chloé* serves the same purpose as *L'Histoire éthiopique*. *Les Amours pastorales* are actually called a "petit traicté" in their privilege. Such an appellation sets aside the narrative dimension to highlight the didactic capacity. The title Amyot contrived for the novel is reminiscent, too, of contemporary sentimental fiction.⁹⁷ Through this reference, Amyot emphasises the chastity of the story told in *Les Amours pastorales* (as he translated it, it truly does recount the thwarted loves of a young unmarried, yet chaste pair), as well as its rhetorical, psychological, and civilising ambition.⁹⁸

We can grasp more clearly the ultimate, moral dimension of the novel as postulated by Amyot by exploring the close connections between his ambitions for his Greek novels and those of the *Projet d'une éloquence royale*. The *Projet* was Amyot's contribution to the 1579 meetings of the Palace Academy. The question Amyot treats is, given that the evolution of political and civil life has made ancient patterns of rhetoric obsolescent, in precisely what should the king's eloquence consist? Neither the deliberative eloquence of the orator in the forum, nor the judicial eloquence of the advocate, nor the epideictic art of

⁹⁶ Indeed, in 1651 Paul Scarron attributes in *Le Roman comique* (I, 13) the same didactic power to novels and to the writings of Plutarch.

⁹⁷ See L. Plazenet 1997: 18–19.

⁹⁸ On the value of the sentimental novel, see G. Reynier 1908, *Le roman sentimental avant L'Astrée* (Paris, Colin), M. Magendie 1925, *La politesse mondaine et les théories de l'honnêteté en France au XVII^e siècle, de 1600 à 1660* (Paris, Alcan) and R. Zuber 1981, "Grandeur et misère du style Nervèze" in *L'Automne de la Renaissance, XXI^e colloque international d'études humaniste* (Paris, Vrin): 53–64.

the sophist are proper to a sixteenth-century king of France. In fact, Amyot gives short shrift to public eloquence or “eloquence des affaires,” preferring to concentrate on the new opportunities for a more private variety of royal discourse that court life and its peculiar *otium* had created. In this context, the king’s eloquence served precisely the same purpose as the “honnête divertissement” of the novel. The Prince gives himself over to the “plaisir de parler et deviser”:

[. . .] quand parmi les affaires il veut relâcher un peu son esprit trop tendu, ainsi que fait un joueur de lyre quelques cordes pour les entendre soudain après, et remettre sa lyre en meilleur accord.⁹⁹

Thus royal eloquence is the eloquence of the interlude. Just as the recreation offered by a novel is necessarily temporary and subject to a return to more serious affairs, so, too, was the recreation of the king. Yet even though intended to divert, the king’s leisure interests also had to display a special gravity, and there are close parallels between the examples of appropriate royal diversions listed in the *Projet* and the praiseworthy contents of *L’Histoire éthiopique*. A sizeable portion of the *Aethiopica* is concerned with the war between the Persians and the Ethiopians, depicting such military deeds as the siege of Syene; the *Projet* states that military matters should be the main object of the king’s contemplation. The novel tells the story of a descendant of Achilles and a princess of Ethiopia, and it involves the Persian satrap of Egypt and his wife, the sister of the great king of Persia; the *Projet* suggests that the king occupy his mind with the history of the noble houses of his kingdom and their illustrious men. Heliodorus sets his characters in the past; the king is advised to acquire a “sommaire connoissance de l’histoire des siècles précédents”. Among “autres matières de commun entretien” that Amyot proposes to his sovereign are hunting, architecture and precious stones. The *Aethiopica* contains many learned digressions, notably about the monuments of Delphi and Athens, and several ekphraseis of beautiful stones and jewels. In the end, *L’Histoire éthiopique* does not seem to differ that much from the “thresors” or “promptuaires” with which Amyot wishes to equip the king in the *Projet*. Indeed, we have seen how close were the contents of *L’Histoire éthiopique* and *Les vies des hommes illustres*, which Amyot characterises precisely as “un

⁹⁹ See J. Amyot 1992: 57.

thesor de toute rare et exquise literature". Finally, it strongly supports the notion of a novel which would be an audacious and very skilful combination of fable and history.

The examples of the *Alector* (1560) of Barthélémy Aneau,¹⁰⁰ of *L'Œuvre de la chasteté* (1595?) of de Montreux,¹⁰¹ of *Du vray et parfait amour* (1599) of Martin Fumée¹⁰² prove how quickly this new conception of the genre engaged the attention of Amyot's contemporaries and how soon a circle of authors close to him made a concerted and coherent effort to provide fully French versions of his theories. The numerous didactic digressions of the French novel from those early texts to *Clélie* (1654), via the different versions of the *Polexandre* of Marin de Gomberville (1619–1642), directly descend from Amyot's *L'Histoire aethiopique*. Certainly the "Præsme" also accounts for the fact that, from 1620, imitating the Greek novel meant choosing an Ancient setting, both to emulate the *Aethiopica* closely and to introduce into fiction the paraphrased discourse of Ancient historians. Later criticisms of the slack use of history in the heroic novel owe little to the views expressed in the "Præsme". They reflect the introduction of an Aristotelian concern for a universal, thus an infallible ability to instruct,¹⁰³ while Amyot was concerned with providing historical information on a specific period or episode. In any event, his emphasis on the didactic and factual capacities of the novel at least partially explain why the genre never experienced in France the same drastic rupture between the romance and the novel as occurred in England. Indeed, the genre as Amyot defines it could, in France, appear a privileged vehicle of the ideal of civility elaborated in Baldassare Castiglione's *Cortegiano* (translated into French in 1537 by Amyot's former employer Colin), Giovanni Della Casa's *Galateo* and Pietro Bembo's *Prose della volgar lingua*. In that respect, though the

¹⁰⁰ See M. Fontaine 1991, "Alector de Barthélemy Aneau: La rencontre des ambitions philosophiques et pédagogiques avec la fiction romanesque en 1560" in *Philosophical fictions and the French Renaissance*, ed. N. Kenny (London: Warburg Institute): 33 and 39.

¹⁰¹ See G.N. Sandy 1982, *Heliodoros* (Boston: Twayne): 111–113, L. Plazenet 1997: 253–256 and M. Miotti 1996, "Nicolas de Montreux e il romanzo di Eliodoro" in *Il romanzo nella Francia del Rinascimento: dall' eredità medievale all' Astrea* (Fasano: Schena): 51–59.

¹⁰² See W. Küchler 1911, "Martin Fumée's Roman 'Du Vray et parfait Amour'. Ein Renaissanceroman," *Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur*, XXXVII: 139–225 and L. Plazenet 1997: 256–261.

¹⁰³ See E. Bury 2000: 18–20.

novel is not mentioned in the *Projet*, it is supposed to achieve the same end as the eloquence Amyot describes there.

Indeed, the formal features of *L'Histoire aethiopique* and *Les Amours pastorales* clearly announce the rhetorical characteristics of the better eloquence Amyot portrays in the *Projet*. The peculiar *dispositio* of the *Aethiopica* is a special emphasis of the "Prœsme":

[. . .] la disposition en est singuliere: car il commence au mylieu de son histoire, comme font les Poëtes Heroïques. Ce qui cause de prime face un grand esbahissement aux lecteurs, et leur engendre un passionné desir d'entendre le commencement: et toutesfois il les tire si bien par l'ingenieuse liaison de son conte, que l'on n'est point resolu de ce que l'on trouve tout au commencement du premier livre jusques à ce que l'on ait leu la fin du cinquiesme. Et quant on en est là venu, encore a l'on plus grande envie de voir la fin, que l'on n'avoit auparavant d'en voir le commencement: De sorte que tousjours l'entendement demeure suspendu, jusques à ce que l'on vienne à la conclusion [. . .].

While Amyot compares Heliodorus's beginning *in medias res* to the strategy of the epic poets, he does not push the comparison, nor does he conclude that the novel could be an epic in prose. While he is not responsible for identifying the novel with an epic in prose by virtue of the fact that they both begin *in medias res*, his observation and the example of the *Aethiopica* certainly inspired subsequent development of the idea. Julius Caesar Scaliger soon took it up in his *Poetics* (1561), opening the way for the *Discorsi del poema eroico* (1594) of Torquato Tasso and the *Philosophia antiqua poetica* (1596) of Leo Pinciano, both of which nourished Georges and Madeleine de Scudéry's prefaces and Huet's *Lettre-Traité*.¹⁰⁴ Yet Amyot definitively contributed to the impressive success of the *ordo artificialis* in practice, when theoretical treatises advocating it were scarce.¹⁰⁵ He was no less influential in the replacement of the structure and theme of the chivalric novel. The typical chivalric novel was a loose concatenation of diverse episodes that together recounted the exploits of a questing young man; the *Aethiopica* offered a unified narrative that depicted

¹⁰⁴ See T. Cave 1990: 211–218 and 1996: 507–516 and G. Giorgi 1996, "La poetica di Marco Girolamo Vida e il romanzo francese in età barocca" in *La "Guirlande" di Cecilia, Studi in onore di Cecilia Rizza*, ed. R. Galli Pellegrini, I. Merello, Fr. Robello, S. Poli (Fasano: Schena): 335–342.

¹⁰⁵ See G. Giorgi 1987, "Unità d'azione e *ordo artificialis* nella trattatistica francese secentesca sul romanzo" in *Antichità classica e Seicento francese* (Roma: Bulzoni): 13–42.

the struggles a pair of lovers had to undergo before being able to marry. Amyot's insistence that the entire narrative of the *Aethiopica* developed one story alone prepared seventeenth-century readers for an Aristotelian and epic interpretation of the novel from which Amyot himself abstained.¹⁰⁶ In fact, he appreciates the structure of the *Aethiopica* chiefly from the point of view of its narrative and rhetorical efficiency. He stresses that the mysterious nature of the *Aethiopica*'s beginning magnificently captures the reader's attention so long as it is not totally clarified, which Heliodorus contrived not to do before the end of the first half—but by then the reader is so impatient to know the book's conclusion, he would never consider laying the book aside. In other words, Heliodorus achieves a “synoptic mode of suspense” (to quote Terence Cave) that is present from the first to the last sentence of the novel. Amyot describes this suspense in erotic terms; it creates, for example, a “passionné desir d'entendre,” and the reader wants to “jouyr d'un bien ardemment desiré”. The suspense enslaves the reader as the “Hercules gaulois tant renommé” evoked in the *Projet* bound his people by his words.¹⁰⁷ In fact, Amyot elaborates the first comprehensive theory of narrative suspense after Vida. Long before the French theoreticians of the “nouvelle,” he imagines an author working comparable effects on the reader, albeit by different means, thus creating a completely new relationship between the author and the reader.¹⁰⁸ Amyot endows the novel with the same power that he wishes the king's eloquence to have¹⁰⁹—that is to say, the ability to substitute eloquence for force, and to achieve through charm and persuasion the same political effects. Amyot's conceptions of eloquence in the novel and in the mouth of the king perform parallel functions. Both instruct the reader or the listener despite himself. Both are intended to unite their audiences by securing their commitment to an ideal of accomplished French eloquence. In the political arena, this will eventually subsume the traditional antagonisms of the different communities of the nation (Parlementarians

¹⁰⁶ On the influence of Aristotle on the novel, see A.K. Forcione 1971, *Cervantes, Aristotle and the Persiles* (Princeton: Princeton University Press) and E. Bury 2000: 8–15.

¹⁰⁷ See J. Amyot 1992: 49 and M.-R. Jung 1966, *Hercule dans la littérature française du XVI^e siècle* (Genève: Droz): 73–93.

¹⁰⁸ See T. Cave 1996: 511–513, whose conclusions temper those of E. Bury 2000.

¹⁰⁹ See J. Amyot 1992: 79.

vs. courtiers, the learned and partisans of Latin vs. practitioners and partisans of French, women just gaining access to culture vs. men to whom it was traditionally open) to the benefit of the throne which enunciated it.

Finally, Amyot's translations of the Greek novel already put into practice the canon of the better *elocutio* he advocated in the *Projet*. The style of *Les Amours pastorales* has attracted considerable attention, as much because of the linguistic achievement of its translator as because of its fundamental betrayal of Longus's original. While the Greek sophist made an abundant use of irony, chiasm and figures, *Les Amours pastorales* cultivates a simple, sober, and easy style, giving an impression of naturalness that sometimes verges on the naïve. If Amyot thus betrayed Longus' intentions, he did give an example of the French atticism for which he longed and contributed to fixing a "langage de Cour",¹¹⁰ whose features approached the quintessential art of conversation as it was celebrated from Cicero to Castiglione and his followers. The musical composition of the sentence in *Les Amours pastorales* is to be linked to the elegant euphony recommended in the *Projet d'éloquence royale*.¹¹¹ Amyot's translations of Heliodorus and Longus are definitely part of his rhetorical legacy. They account for the strong literary consciousness displayed by sixteenth and seventeenth centuries writers imitating the Greek novels. Already in 1599, Fumée claims that he edits *Du vray et parfait amour* for the sake of its language; Amyot's later followers formed a coherent group around Richelieu and the Académie Française,¹¹² whose creation crowned the efforts initiated with the meetings of the Palace Academy and consummately realised the views promoted by Amyot in his *Projet*.¹¹³ In fact, doesn't this lineage account for the difficulty in speaking of a French baroque novel, because, even as the genre displays some typically Baroque features, it was nonetheless meant to create a French atticist eloquence? In the end, the literary vocation given by Amyot to the *Aethiopica* and, consequently, to the novels of the French writers who imitated Heliodorus, increases our appreciation of them. We come to understand that they were not primarily meant

¹¹⁰ See M. Fumaroli 1980: 444 and 495.

¹¹¹ See J. Amyot 1992: 89–91.

¹¹² See L. Plazenet 1997: 223–229 and 679–683.

¹¹³ See M. Fumaroli 1980, *L'Âge de l'éloquence: rhétorique et res literaria de la Renaissance au seuil de l'âge classique* (Genève, Droz): 647.

to have a romantic appeal, but to further a truly intellectual and civilising mission.¹¹⁴

The translations of the Greek novel that Amyot made at the beginning of his career are not at all the unimportant *œuvres de circonstance* they were long reputed to be. Neither were they purely a stylistic exercise. They rely on the same principles that structure his later translations of Plutarch, and they already promote ends that Amyot only explicitly formulated at the very end of his career. In fact, they demonstrate the continuity of his interests throughout his entire career and the impressive organisation of his thought from an early date. Finally, they underline the fundamentally literary and creative nature of his work.

Indeed, so many typical features of the French sixteenth- and seventeenth-century novel are explained by the *Aethiopica* as reenvisioned by Amyot that we must admit that he created it. We must add this invention to his record of achievement, which usually includes only philological progress and rhetoric. Yet Amyot actually influenced the poetics and the making of the genre. The *Aethiopica* and, to a lesser extent, *Daphnis and Chloe* served as a pretext, suggesting to him the idea of a refined and intellectually stimulating novel and authorising him to present his own revolutionary views under the respectable and safe scholarly shelter of preparing a mere commentary of Ancient works. But, in fact, Amyot strongly modelled them to make them serve his agenda, just as he freely used and distorted the sources he cited in the "Prœsme". During the seventeenth century, was not even the chronology of the Greek novel modified to reinforce in every possible way the literary primacy of the *Aethiopica*?¹¹⁵ Amyot is very much the author of the *Aethiopica*, which had such a powerful influence in his lifetime and afterward.

Such a conclusion forces us to confront the profound ambiguity of the notion of a "Classical heritage". When the *Aethiopica* and the *Daphnis and Chloe* become *L'Histoire éthiopique* and *Les Amours pastorales*, are they still to be treated as the Ancient novels of Heliodorus and Longus or Amyot's own creation? Do they belong to a history of

¹¹⁴ See L. Plazenet (forthcoming), "Romanesque et roman baroque" in *Le Romanesque*, Actes du colloque international tenu en Sorbonne les 21 et 22 septembre 2000, ed. G. Declercq and M. Murat (Paris: Bibliopolis).

¹¹⁵ See L. Plazenet 1997: 143–144.

Ancient texts through the ages, or do they write a chapter in the genesis of the modern novel? This duality of purpose perhaps accounts for how Amyot hid in the “Præsme” behind quotations and alleged authorities, dissimulating behind a cautious façade both his authorship and the true value of his work. Indeed, the balance he established between his mission as a translator, transmitter of an Ancient legacy, and his contribution as an author in his own right was very difficult to achieve. It is in itself an impressive work of art.

UNDER THE SHADOW OF SOCRATES

George Huppert

It was Erasmus, more effectively than anyone else, who devised the early modern image of Socrates. Alcibiades' praise of Socrates in Plato's *Symposium* served as Erasmus' starting point in the influential essay entitled *Sileni Alcibiadis*, which made its appearance in the 1515 edition of the *Adages*. In this remarkable composition, Erasmus elaborates on the contrast between the outward appearance of the philosopher and his inner genius.

Socrates, claimed Alcibiades, was like a Silenus, an ordinary toy object, grotesque on the outside, inside of which a precious image of a god was hidden. Erasmus explains that Socrates' appearance, like that of a Silenus, was unprepossessing. His nose 'always running with snot,' he seemed 'dull and stupid.' His speech was plain and 'working-class.' He seemed to admire the bodies of young men and he appeared susceptible to emotions such as jealousy. One might easily mistake him for 'something of a clown,' although those who knew him, those who could get past his disguises, knew him to be closer to 'a god than a man, a great and lofty spirit, the epitome of a true philosopher.'¹

Having repeated this traditional praise of Socrates, Erasmus went on to make a larger point: Socrates was a rare and a great man, but he was not unique. Was not Christ another 'marvelous Silenus'? His parents were 'insignificant and penniless. His house was a shack.' He endured hunger and exhaustion, insults and mockery. He ended up on the cross. But inside of this Silenus, 'what an indescribable treasure!'

For that matter, were not the Hebrew prophets Sileni, too, exiles, wanderers, who like Socrates, bore witness to the moral greatness

¹ Erasmus 1999: 171. References are to David Wootton's new translation of the famous adage: 'The Sileni of Alcibiades,' in Thomas More, *Utopia* (Wootton editor and translator) Indianapolis, Hackett, 1999. The *Sileni Alcibiadis* was first published in 1515. The Latin text is printed in Erasmus, *Opera omnia* (II.5), Silvana Seidel Menchi, ed. (Amsterdam, North Holland Publishing Co., 1981) 159–190.

exceptional human beings are capable of? 'The world was not worthy of them,' concludes Erasmus, speaking of the prophets in the desert.² The apostles were Sileni too, as were the early bishops. Even now, in the modern world, one can still find a Silenus, even though most people are like Sileni turned inside out, impressive-looking on the outside, but deeply flawed on closer examination. This is especially true, contends Erasmus, of a particular category of men, professional theologians, those 'windbags blown up with Aristotle,' those 'sausages stuffed with a mass of theoretical definitions, conclusions and propositions.'³

In this way, Erasmus transforms a rhetorical commonplace into a radical sermon. Although the professors of theology occupy pride of place in his indictment of the modern world, they are soon followed by the nobility, the clergy, the rich and the powerful. Princes are branded enemies of the people, magistrates are likened to wolves and Popes are described as bandits, this being especially true of 'godless Julius.'⁴

Having begun by praising Socrates, Erasmus was soon engaged in a general discussion of moral failings. What he saw in Socrates was virtue personified. 'Socrates despised all those things for which ordinary mortals strive,' he writes, admiringly. 'Neither good fortune nor bad had any impact on him. He feared nothing, not even death.'⁵ Yet, for all that, the virtue of Socrates remained a natural, human quality which was not beyond the reach of those who wished to imitate him. Socrates demonstrated that it was possible to live justly and happily, here on earth.

It is this aspect of Socrates that will be admired in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, especially in France. Not Socrates the intellectual, but Socrates the man with 'the most perfect soul' will be held up for veneration. '*L'âme de Socrates, qui est la plus parfaite qui soit venue à ma cognoissance,*' writes Montaigne.⁶ Neither great learning nor divine grace appear to be necessary preconditions for joining the ranks of Socrates' disciples. His behavior in ordinary situations

² Erasmus 1999: 172.

³ Erasmus 1999: 173.

⁴ Erasmus 1999: 182.

⁵ Erasmus 1999: 170.

⁶ Montaigne 1962: 402.

could, in principle, be imitated by anyone. This accessible aspect of the man with 'the most perfect soul' will be quickly put to use, even in popular literature.

The very first page of Rabelais' *Gargantua* (1534) is an energetic and droll vernacular paraphrase of Erasmus' portrait of Socrates as a Silenus. For Rabelais, Socrates is, unquestionably, '*le prince des philosophes*' who hides his 'superhuman intelligence, his marvelous virtue, his invincible courage, his unequalled sobriety, his solid equilibrium and perfect self-confidence, as well as his incredible contempt for all those things ordinary men covet,' behind the mask of a rustic clown. '*Rustiq en vestimens, pauvre de fortune, infortuné en femmes . . . toujours riant . . . toujours dissimulant son divin sçavoir,*' Socrates was a Silenus, ridiculous on the outside, perfect inside—just like Rabelais' new book, which, according to the author, was crude in appearance but filled with wisdom. It was up to the philosophical reader to get past the author's mask and seek the elixir within.⁷

The combative tone of Erasmus' adage finds an echo in Rabelais' fantasy. Socrates becomes a red flag waved under the noses of the 'sophists'—the theologians, that is, who are depicted as crass and ignorant. Enrolled under the banner of Socrates, his disciples call themselves *philosophes* and mock the sophists, of whom Master Thubal Holofernes is a worthy example: he taught Gargantua his alphabet in a mere five years and three months.⁸

The conflicts described by Rabelais, which oppose the *philosophe* Gargantua to idiots spouting pig latin, reflect the cultural wars raging in the Parisian Latin Quarter, where Professor La Ramée (Ramus) was soon to become the most outspoken champion of the *philosophes*. Having experienced the futility of the official university curriculum as a student, La Ramée reached the conclusion that he had been wasting his time.⁹ Like Gargantua, La Ramée turned to the lessons of the pagan writers, in particular to the account of the life of Socrates presented by Xenophon and Plato.¹⁰ His discovery of Socrates

⁷ Rabelais 1968: 43.

⁸ Rabelais 1968: 97–104. On the use of '*philosophe*,' see, for instance, Pasquier, 1723: 41.

⁹ La Ramée 1964: 22. 'Je ne pouvois me satisfaire en mon esprit et jugeois moi-mesme que les disputes ne m'avoient apporté autre chose que perte de temps.'

¹⁰ La Ramée 1964: 22. 'Ainsi estant en cest esmoy je tombe, comme conduit par quelque bon ange, en Xenophon, puis en Platon, où je cogneus la philosophie de Socrate.' The purging of Gargantua by means of a drug so that he may forget,

prompted him to abandon his scholastic learning: '*Je coupe et oste une grande partie de ce que j'avoie amassé paravant.*'¹¹ His next step was to publish a polemical work against Aristotle. This led to a savage conflict with the university establishment. Nevertheless, La Ramée took over the direction of a previously undistinguished college near the Place Maubert, the *Collège de Presles*. Soon he had turned the moribund institution into a laboratory school for the new learning, focusing on the classical authors and mathematics.

La Ramée's college, it should be said, proved an uneasy setting for the avant-garde of the 1540s and 50s. The young men around La Ramée were consciously and noisily trying to break with the past. This was difficult to do within the precincts of the venerable University of Paris, of which the *Collège de Presles* was a component, albeit a peripheral one. The rector tried to shut down the college. He called for La Ramée to be forbidden to teach. La Ramée was attacked, his library was vandalized, eventually he was murdered. Meanwhile the centre of gravity of the avant-garde was shifting away from the university.

Regarding themselves as enlightened, the philosophical avant-garde set itself apart both from the 'pedants' of the university and the mass of ignorant and superstitious men, the '*sotte multitude.*' Declaring themselves *bons esprits*, they broke with academic custom by writing in French and by adopting an easy, direct and informal style, stripped of pretension. La Ramée set the tone by giving public lectures in French, a scandalous departure from academic tradition. His books, originally composed in Latin, were translated into French by his advanced students. The *bons esprits* in La Ramée's wake were soon making good on his promise to pursue utilitarian objectives. Philosophy in French, history and science in French, those could be viewed as strategies for wresting the monopoly of high culture away from the university, away from the Church.¹²

overnight, all the false knowledge his 'Gothic' tutor had poured into him: this may be a dramatization of a remark of Plutarch's. See Charpentier 1745: 299.

¹¹ La Ramée 1964: 53.

¹² La Ramée 1964: 9, on 'bons esprits capables de comprendre les sciences' staying ignorant only because they cannot read Latin. Another member of this circle, the botanist Pierre Belon, also speaks of 'utilité publique' and insists on writing in French and in a straightforward style, avoiding 'artifice ou elegance.' Belon 1555: 4. The same is true of Pasquier's historical *Recherches*.

The underlying assumption shared by most of the writers in question was that everyone was capable of reasoning, that all could learn, dispelling ignorance and superstition, if only the path to learning was kept open to all. '*C'est chose fort indigne,*' exclaims La Ramée, '*que le chemin pour venir à la cognoissance de la Philosophie soit clos et deffendu à la povreté, encores qu'elle feust docte.*'¹³ In short, able minds are everywhere among us. Let us open the doors to true and useful learning.

What was true and useful learning? Clearly not the sort of learning dispensed in clerically controlled university classes staffed by 'dung-infested masters of arts' and 'Aristotelian loudmouths'.¹⁴ There was no point in teaching intelligent people to argue about theological subtleties. True and useful knowledge had to be learned by following the advice of Socrates. Such knowledge concerned this world, not the next. The purpose was the pursuit of happiness.

The figure of Socrates, that '*esprit éclairé,*' was to serve for a long time as a reminder of what a virtuous person, '*un homme de bien,*' ought to aspire to. For Socrates, it was understood, had been '*le plus homme de bien de toute la Grèce.*'¹⁵ Sober and lucid, he stood in stark contrast to the arrogant and pompous sophists of the Sorbonne.

Already visible in Erasmus' popular *Adages* and *Colloquies*, a new cultural ideal was taking shape. Its fullest expression would soon be encountered in Montaigne's *Essays*, which spoke to *esprits éclairés* who found the perfect goal for their aspirations in the figure of Socrates.¹⁶ Among the characteristics of the enlightened *homme de bien*, as described by Montaigne, will be his anti-clerical and generally worldly attitude. He would have little use for the outward appearance of professed piety. He would celebrate everything natural, including sexuality, family life and pleasure. The grandiose claims made for the special virtues of the hereditary nobilities of Europe will strike him as absurd. His own aspirations to virtue owed nothing to heredity, everything to Reason. He subscribed, in principle, to the view according to which all human beings are born free, equal and able to reason. He did not set much store in the kind of patriotism which extolled the virtues of one nation or religious sect at the expense of another.

¹³ La Ramée: 1964: 19. The most common source for this notion is Seneca, *Ad Lucilium*.

¹⁴ See Huppert 1999: 31.

¹⁵ Charpentier 1745: 296 and 272.

¹⁶ Böhm 1966: 34.

Following the remark attributed to Socrates, he preferred to think of himself as a citizen of the world.¹⁷

Honnesteté, that quality which was the mark of an *homme de bien*, was not a gift of the gods, nor was it the product of book learning. It was philosophy that produced *honnesteté*, the philosophy of Socrates, accessible to all, the gateway to self-knowledge and happiness. The love of wisdom and the practice of virtue had nothing to do with the metaphysical doctrines of the 'pedants' and 'sophists.' Socrates brought philosophy down from the heavens, '*De caelo vocavit philosophiam*'.¹⁸ In its classical context this meant that he turned from the investigation of natural phenomena to the study of moral philosophy. In its Renaissance context, the well-worn phrase could also be made to evoke the notion of liberation from pointless metaphysical speculation.¹⁹ Not that those whom Montaigne describes as *humanistes*, and whom he opposes to *theologiens*, are irreligious, on the contrary. They do, however, reject dogma, tradition and authority.²⁰

Rabelais, admired by *humanistes* such as Montaigne, was famous for his mockery of authority, including the authority of Holy Scripture. In his account of Gargantua's strange nativity he presents the reader with a miraculous birth as difficult to reconcile with experience as the Immaculate Conception. (*Comment Gargantua nasquit en façon estrange.*) The baby giant, he will have us believe, came out of his mother's left ear, instead of the usual place. The author, at this point, adopts the tone of a charismatic preacher inviting his congregation to believe in a miraculous event: 'I doubt that you will believe in this strange nativity,' he thunders. 'I don't care whether you believe it, but a good man (*un homme de bien*) always believes what you tell him and

¹⁷ Pasquier 1723: II, 191. On replacing Greek and Latin oratory with French so as to get away from 'la poulsière des écoles' and appear, instead, 'en ceste grande lumière du soleil.' On the worthlessness of the nobility, another member of Pasquier's and Ronsard's circle, Jean Descaurres, who ended up a *chanoine* and a school principal in Amiens, is the least restrained of commentators (Descaurres 1584: 114). Descaurres was praised by one of his students as the 'Socrates of Picardy.' The cosmopolitanism of Socrates is a commonplace in all the authors cited. '*Mon pays est par tout le monde*' is how the respected jurist, Matthieu de Chalvet, translates Seneca. Sénèque, *Oeuvres* (Paris, 1604). I cite the Rouen, 1634 edition, 96v.

¹⁸ Böhm 1966: 15.

¹⁹ Montaigne 1962: 308.

²⁰ An example among many: Pasquier 1723: I, 1047, 'Je ne pense point que jamais j'asservisse mon esprit dessous les preceptes d'autrui.' Both '*humanistes*' and '*theologiens*' are conceived as broad categories, close to the meaning of *honnêtes hommes* and *pedants*. Montaigne 1962: 308.

what he reads.' After all, is this strange nativity 'against our law, is it against our faith'? As for me, concludes Rabelais, 'I find nothing in the Holy Bible that contradicts it.'²¹

Rabelais' caricature of the *homme de bien* who believes everything he is told is the precise opposite of the new model *homme de bien* who doubts everything and subjects everything to the scrutiny of reason. This is the essence of philosophy, as La Ramée or Montaigne understand it. It is a difficult art, but its practice is open to all, ever since Prometheus reached for fire so as to enlighten the human spirit: '*éclaircir et enluminer l'esprit de l'homme*'—says La Ramée.²²

On the other hand, as La Ramée sees it, there have been no true philosophers since Galen. Ever since, those who called themselves *philosophes* 'have ignored the true love of wisdom and replaced it with a servile dedication to Aristotle, not by examining and testing his precepts in the way he himself had tested the precepts of his predecessors, but by defending [Aristotle's] precepts religiously.'

In sum, the view from Paris is that what was lost in the general dissolution of Graeco-Roman culture was not just a technical discipline but an entire way of life, an entire civilization whose inner spirit must now be recaptured.²³ It was Socrates who best exemplified that spirit. He was the master teacher, '*le maître des maîtres*,'²⁴ although, true enough, there had been other admirable teachers too. Their writings, to the extent that they were preserved, were certainly not to be dismissed. The wisdom exemplified by Socrates, however, could not easily be transmitted to future generations. It was not the sort of thing one can learn from books. Or, as Plato has Socrates say, 'It is not the sort of thing that could flow out of the one of us who is fuller into him who is emptier.'²⁵

This is the conclusion Montaigne also accepts. Knowledge cannot be poured into a pupil's ear, as if one were filling a cask: '*comme qui verseroit dans un antonnoir*.'²⁶ This dismissal of indoctrination as an educational strategy met with obstinate resistance in the community of

²¹ Rabelais 1968: 65.

²² La Ramée 1555: ii.

²³ La Ramée 1556: 8. Belon 1555: 2v on 'the deep sleep of ancient ignorance' separating antiquity from the current 'renaissance.'

²⁴ Montaigne 1962: 1053.

²⁵ Plato 1925: 93.

²⁶ Montaigne 1962: 149.

the 'pedants' and 'sophists' associated with the Sorbonne. La Ramée's epic struggle ended in defeat. His aim had been to reform the university and to make it a more likely setting for criticism and new ideas. His close friend and indispensable collaborator, Talon, tried to come to his rescue by taking a firm stand for open discussion. 'I have taken it upon myself to help Ramus' cause,' he wrote, 'so that persevering men, having been subjected to established opinions in philosophy, and having been bound to the indignity of servitude, might be set free.'²⁷ Free, that is, specifically from the sacrosanct authority of Aristotle, as understood by the Sorbonne. And free, more broadly, to question any proposition handed down as unassailable.

Talon was fully aware of the novelty of his approach, especially as it applied to the classroom. 'Would you impose your opinions on your student? Would you forbid that he seek a cause or a reason for them?', he asks, knowing full well what the answer is likely to be. He insists that it is wrong 'to turn your student into a slave, lacking his own power of discrimination.'²⁸

These remarks were made in Talon's introduction to Cicero's *Academica*, an edition which proved to be a turning point in the understanding of sceptical philosophy, although La Ramée and Talon were not interested in scepticism as a philosophical system. What they found in Cicero's dialogues and, above all, in Plato's portrait of Socrates, was a convincing presentation of how life ought to be lived: freely, bowing to no received opinion, examining all propositions with an open mind, as Socrates was said to have done.

Talon and his *frater*, La Ramée, were erudite professional academics whose arguments in favor of intellectual freedom were addressed to their colleagues. The same arguments, echoing Cicero and Seneca, found favor among the fashionable young poets who congregated around Ronsard and La Ramée in the 1550s. Their conversations, something like cocktail party chatter, are recorded in published dialogues, like those of Jacques Tahureau. Reading these, we recognize the themes adumbrated in La Ramée's writings. They will soon become the common property of educated Frenchmen sympathetic to the positions of the *bons esprits*.

Mocking the theologians (*criars et jappeurs aristoteliques*), deploring the ignorance of the masses, that '*grande beste populaire*,' Tahureau adopts

²⁷ Schmitt 1972: 83.

²⁸ Schmitt 1972: 86.

a colloquial style, which some may find a little '*rude et mal poli*,' he concedes, but he insists that his characters must speak like ordinary people, for it is, after all, ordinary people he is trying to reach. Rather than arcane arguments and erudite allusions, what Tahureau aims for is a '*sincérité d'esprit*' by means of which he hopes to ward off '*une infinité de foles opinions et faits irraisonnables*.' That is the way to reach the path of reason, '*le sentier de la raison*.'²⁹

Whether poets like Tahureau actually reached readers other than like-minded students is not certain, although the fundamental outlook embraced by *bons esprits* of Tahureau's kind was certainly understood by theologians who feared their emancipated attitudes. The danger, as the censors saw it, lay not so much in provocative books, such as *Gargantua*, or in the clever posturing of teenage poets. The danger was far more widespread and insidious. It was the entire classical school system, recently established in France, that was to blame for the spread of new, secular attitudes, in the opinion of conservative theologians.

With the exception of Paris, no French city of any size was without a public, tuition-free municipal Latin school by 1550. In every one of these new schools, the same classical authors were read: Plato, Cicero, Seneca, Virgil, Horace, Lucretius and the other *optimi auctores* singled out by Erasmus for inclusion in the curriculum.³⁰ In the works of these revered authors, whom they read in Latin for the most part, the schoolmasters were intent on discovering the elements of a moral philosophy for modern use. Each of their attempts to do so tended to guide their students, almost inevitably, back to the unforgettable character who dominates Plato's dialogues.

Among the thousands of boys attuned to the appeal of Socrates, one in particular, a slow, meditative young man, the son of the mayor of Bordeaux, chose to identify so thoroughly with Socrates that he would devote his own life to a remarkable experiment. Michel Eyquem studied for some seven years at the municipal school of Bordeaux which had been founded by the city council only a few years earlier. There were first rate classicists on the faculty, including Buchanan and Muret.³¹ Young Michel, the future Sieur de

²⁹ Tahureau 1981: 125.

³⁰ See Huppert 1984 and 1999. On the perceived subversive teaching of the schools, see Mersenne 1624.

³¹ Trinquet 1972.

Montaigne, emerged from his studies, his head filled with Roman history and Greek philosophy, as did his entire cohort, the *enfants de la ville*, the sons of the *bourgeois*, that is, in any French city of the 1540s.³²

The experiment that Montaigne was to conduct for the rest of his life made perfect sense to all those alumni of the classical *cursus*. To them, the Latin quotations which enliven Montaigne's *Essais* were familiar and required no translation. The author's meandering inquiries seemed familiar, too, since they reminded one of the inquiries conducted by the prince of philosophers himself, but with a modern twist: instead of demonstrating his method to one listener at a time, standing in the market place, the modern Socrates reached an enormous audience, in print, in many editions.

Speaking to thousands, the new Socrates was naturally very much aware of the need to adopt a style suitable to his project. He accepted the position of the Parisian avant-garde, going out of his way to avoid pedantry, and writing as simply as possible, in a natural, conversational French. He was, however, speaking to the *cognoscenti*, not to the *sotte multitude*. Given the reader he has in mind, the reader with whom he engages in a virtual dialogue, he hardly needs to explain why he is studying himself at such great length. After all, he reminds us, did not Socrates speak about himself more than anything else: '*dequoy traite Socrates plus largement que de soy?*' And when Socrates turns to his disciples, he has them report, not on their reading, but on the essence and movements of their inner being: '*l'estre et le branle de leur âme.*'³³

Montaigne tackles the 'thorny enterprise' of self-knowledge in a way that he believes may never have been attempted before. His systematic, lifelong attempt to 'penetrate the opaque depths' of his mind turns out to be an exhilarating pursuit, '*un amusement nouveau et extraordinaire*' which liberates him from the ordinary business of life. He is himself the sole object of his studies and he finds this particular branch of science incomparably more useful than any other.³⁴

He describes himself as a full-time philosopher in the manner of Socrates. His profession and his art is living: '*mon mestier et mon art,*

³² Huppert 1984.

³³ Montaigne 1962: 359. On Montaigne as a 'Christian Socrates' or as 'Socrates Galliae,' Böhm 1966: 12, note 3.

³⁴ Montaigne 1962: 358.

c'est vivre.' He makes a profession of learning to know himself, but let there be no misunderstanding: he is not describing the events of his life, as one might in an autobiography. What he is aiming for is far more elusive. He wants to spread out his inner being on an operating table to establish an inventory of his inner life, as if he were an anatomist who exposes everything under the skin: the veins, the muscles, the ligaments, all in their proper place, fitting into a whole which could not be otherwise arranged. It is his self, his essence, the investigator seeks to understand: '*c'est moy, c'est mon essence.*'³⁵

Montaigne's experiment was bound to lead him into a forbidden zone because he accepted no limits in his progression towards self-knowledge. He removed himself from the protocols commonly attached to scientific inquiry or philosophical speculation among his contemporaries. He vowed to proceed on the basis of 'purely human and philosophical' principles, '*sans melange de theologie,*' while insisting that his method, although '*laïque, non clericale,*' was nevertheless '*très religieuse.*'³⁶ '*Très religieuse*' it may be, just as Socrates might have described his own feelings as religious in some sense, but Montaigne's piety is hard to pin down as a specifically Christian kind of piety. Already Erasmus, earlier in the century, had ventured into an ambiguous no man's land in which virtuous pagans crowded out immoral Christian priests in the competition for holiness which was the objective of Sileni such as Socrates and Christ: '*sancte Socrate, ora pro nobis.*'³⁷

Montaigne bursts clear out of the Christian frame. He is not being naughty, like Tahureau, for instance, who keeps the reader off balance, hinting at his own '*déniaissement,*' ready to shock us with his dismissal of religions as vast conspiracies controlled by charlatans. Montaigne, not meaning to provoke scandal, slips imperceptibly into the rationalism of the ancients, while performing methodical dissections of his own opinions. He surprises himself when the components of his *estre* turn out, on close inspection, to be arranged in an inevitable order, Nature's order, which he observes, which he can hardly dismiss, and which may not always correspond to the truths of theology.

³⁵ Montaigne 1962: 359.

³⁶ Montaigne 1962: 308.

³⁷ Erasmus 1986: 158.

Not the Sermon on the Mount, but Plato's account of the trial and death of Socrates is the foundation on which Montaigne's world view rests. He paraphrases Socrates' speech in his own defence. He testifies to the 'superb virtue' of the old man on trial for his life—that 'incorruptible life,' testimony of a 'rich and powerful nature.' Mankind, he believes, will forever be in debt to Socrates for endowing human nature with so holy a form, '*une sainte image de l'humaine forme.*' As for Socrates' refusal to bend, to compromise, that was absolutely the right thing to do. Socrates' life did not belong to him alone.' It had to serve as an example to the world.³⁸

Reaching across 2000 years, Montaigne holds the life of the virtuous Athenian as a yardstick with which to measure his own life. He may not have been the first to do so among his Christian contemporaries, but his book quickly became the foremost instrument for the propagation of a controversial model of human behavior at odds, in many respects, with traditional Christian wisdom literature. He was, in effect, promoting the adoption of a new personality, that of the *homme de bien* who resembles Socrates more than he resembles Christ.

This modern *homme de bien* refuses to condemn this world. To show contempt for this world, for our lives—that is absurd, in Montaigne's estimation: '*l'opinion qui dedaigne nostre vie, elle est ridicule.*' Life, after all, is all we have: '*c'est nostre vie, nostre tout.*'³⁹ Such a point of view was not likely to meet with the approval of the theologians, nor is it the case that Montaigne has much confidence in the moral qualities of metaphysically-minded *Schwärmer*, those prototypes of Tartuffe whom Tahureau dismissed as '*quanaille*' and whom Montaigne scorns, observing a fateful connection between 'heavenly speculation' (*opinions supercelestes*) and 'lowdown behavior' (*meurs sousterraines*).⁴⁰

Montaigne's distaste for '*opinions supercelestes*' leads him to find fault on this count even with the admired Ancients, '*les grandes âmes des meilleurs siècles.*'⁴¹ Socrates himself, 'the very image of perfection,' is not beyond criticism: he can be called to task for the perplexing

³⁸ Montaigne 1962: 334.

³⁹ Montaigne 1962: 1031.

⁴⁰ Montaigne 1952: 1095.

⁴¹ Montaigne 1962: 155.

ecstasies attributed to him and for his references to his inner demon, '*ses ecstases et ses demoneries*,' which Montaigne finds hard to swallow.⁴²

At work on the long-term collaborative task of devising a modern, emancipated personality for which Socrates could serve as the model, Montaigne and his contemporaries were tempted, on occasion, to airbrush away some aspects of the holy man's biography.⁴³ Montaigne objected to Socrates' ecstasies and demon. Later, in the puritanical atmosphere of the seventeenth century, Montaigne was to become a forbidden author, but the life of Socrates had acquired an independent existence.⁴⁴ It was embraced as a parable for right living, well beyond the original fellowship of the *bons esprits*. One need not know Latin, one could get by without Xenophon and Plato, without Montaigne, even: the Socrates story was seeping into middle-brow culture.

A tell-tale mark of this trend was the publication of a *Vie de Socrate* by François Charpentier. Dedicated to Cardinal Mazarin, this biography was short and required little effort on the part of the reader. A solemn condensation of familiar anecdotes, Charpentier's biography was popular. It went through several editions. It was also translated into German and became instrumental in launching the German Enlightenment.⁴⁵

Charpentier brought Socrates up to date, adapting the stories about the prince of philosophers to the moral framework of the Counter-Reformation. Was Socrates the most perfect of beings, whom we are urged to imitate in our lives, or was he a vicious sodomist, a corruptor of youth? Appearances can deceive, explains Charpentier. He concedes that the worst vices flourished in pagan Greece. 'We all know about that criminal flame burning all across Greece . . . perverting Nature's order.' One might easily misunderstand the delicate position Socrates found himself in, under the circumstances. 'It is true that he exhibited a special tenderness for young men.' Was this because he harbored criminal desires? How could that be, given his uniquely virtuous soul? The answer, according to Charpentier, is

⁴² Montaigne 1962: 1090 and 1096.

⁴³ Montaigne 1962: 1090.

⁴⁴ Montaigne 1962: 4.

⁴⁵ Böhm 1966: 47, on the German version of Charpentier's life of Socrates.

obvious. Socrates went out of his way to surround himself with handsome young men for one reason only: to save them from dangerous company. In his struggle against vice he made use of an effective strategy. He pretended to go along with the others. He claimed to love boys. He frequented the gymnasia where they trained, he pursued them ardently—all in the hope of converting them, of leading them toward a virtuous life.⁴⁶ No doubt, Socrates did not lead a conventional life. He bore no resemblance to a modern professor of philosophy, to a *sage d'école*. Instead, writes Charpentier, following Plutarch, Socrates practised philosophy—he did not teach it, he practiced it! And he did this ‘while he ate and drank, at parties, on manoeuvres, in public meetings, even in prison.’⁴⁷

In Plato’s view, philosophy was not what we would define as an academic discipline. It was, instead, a complete way of life, a rigorous spiritual regime which Socrates’ disciples were encouraged to adopt, thereby transforming their lives. Failure to embrace this new life would lead to moral bankruptcy. Such an understanding of philosophy became, after Plato, the dominant view in the Graeco-Roman world. It was only when Christian teaching proposed a rival and equally self-contained world view, that philosophy, over time, found itself relegated to the periphery, no longer a guide to living well, only a desiccated compendium of dialectical skills.⁴⁸

Beginning with Erasmus, however, the wall which separated philosophy from life began to crumble. Freed of the need to place every impulse under the protection of theology, even deeply pious writers found it hard to resist the Ancients’ persuasive message: philosophy is a way of life, not a doctrine. Paraphrasing Plutarch, Pascal will assert that Plato and Aristotle were not professors, that one must not imagine them standing in front of a class, wearing ‘*grandes robes de pédants . . .*’ No, they were *honnêtes hommes*, not pedants. Writing books was the least philosophical of their activities, the least serious aspect of their lives. Their most philosophical activity was living, ‘*simplement et tranquillement.*’⁴⁹

⁴⁶ Charpentier 1745: 278–279.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*: 262–263.

⁴⁸ Hadot 1995: 379–380.

⁴⁹ Pascal 1904: 250.

Montaigne could claim that his *mestier*, his art, was living. Pascal insists, in the same vein, that living, not teaching, was the most '*philosophe*' aspect of the 'great souls of the best centuries.' The new *honneste homme* would not defer to pedants. Reason alone, and Nature, were his teachers. And in Socrates he perceived the guarantor of a new and healthier attitude towards the pursuit of happiness.

LEGAL SCIENCE IN FRANCE IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

Michèle Ducos

The place that Roman law occupies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries cannot be understood without examining the humanist movement as well as the transformations that it brings in the study of legal texts. This new orientation is so important that it became a specific method, the *mos gallicus*, based on the reading and the analysis of original texts, in opposition to the *mos italicus*, based on the methods of the Glossators and the Bartolists. During this period the study of law still consisted of knowing Roman law and often of diverting it from its context in order to apply it (more or less easily) to practical problems. Such is the medieval tradition put into question by humanists throughout the sixteenth century.

It is with the *Annotationes in XXIV Libros Pandectarum*, published in Paris in 1508 by Guillaume Budé (1468–1540), that humanist research on law begins in France. This provides commentary on the *Digest* but of a truly innovative nature. Budé is undertaking the work of a philologist in the strictest sense of the term, since he is attempting to establish the Latin legal texts properly. Italian humanists in the preceding century had already tried to focus attention on the mistakes of the Glossators and the faults of the Bartolists. Angelo Poliziano and Lorenzo Valla in his *Elegantiae Linguae Latinae* emphasized the insufficiency of the text that was used and the reasoning that was applied. In recognizing his debt to them, Budé appeals systematically to this critical method. A journey to Italy gave him an opportunity to collate the manuscripts and to consult the oldest manuscript of the *Digest*: the *Littera Florentina*. The French scholar thus corrects the obvious mistaken readings that led to misinterpretations or proposes personal conjectures; he does not reason on the law; he establishes texts. But Budé tries to discover the true significance of the law, while disregarding glosses as well as comments; that is what the *Annotationes* reveal in the two editions of 1508 and 1535 as well as the *De Asse* (a treatise on Roman currency dated to 1515). By these choices, the French scholar is moving considerably farther from

medieval jurisprudence and from the commentators of the fourteenth century, from Bartolus and his successors. They had the habit of making many citations, of mentioning or discussing opinions in an abstract manner without being concerned about their basis in fact, while neglecting the Latin text, which was the origin of the debates. Budé directs many virulent criticisms towards them; he reproaches them for not knowing Latin and creating contradictions by their mistakes (the famous *antinomiae*) and for creating ingenious solutions in order to solve them; he also reproaches them for resorting excessively to quibbling in order to derive a meaning that does not exist and, consequently, for having written “these immense volumes of commentaries on the law that provide fuel (*materiem et fomitem*) for igniting lawsuits.” The medieval commentators thus make of the law a science that is extremely complex and that allows lawyers to quibble in an endless fashion. “The ancient and genuine majesty of jurisprudence,” adds the humanist scholar, “has been crushed under this pile of books that are for the most part useless” (*Opera Omnia*, III, 4). This ignorance is followed by even greater ignorance: that of the true meaning of the words and notions themselves that the terms convey. Budé thus undertakes a commentary on the texts in order to clarify the terms and expressions that were misunderstood by the Glossators. These explanations also concern the *realia* that had been the objects of commentaries for a long period of time in order to find beyond the texts the concrete existence of the Romans; this method allows for the errors of the medieval jurists to be stressed again: they ignore Roman history and Roman civilization. In this historic quest, Budé is not isolated. Nicolas Bérault publishes in 1533 a discourse entitled *De Vetere ac Nouitia Iurisprudentia* that he dedicates to Budé.

The criticisms of the French humanists finally reach the Roman legal texts that we know from the *Digest*. On the order of the emperor Justinian II, Tribonian and his collaborators had to a certain extent abbreviated the works of the previous jurists by retaining only what actually remained in force and had placed these fragments under different rubrics (*Constitutio Tanta* 10, 11). To put Servius, the friend and contemporary of Cicero, on the same plane as Ulpian or Papinian, jurists of the time of the Severi, was to ignore history. The work thus gathered together different solutions proposed by different jurists at different times in history. “Like a surgeon brutally cutting into the flesh, Tribonian gave a *Digest* that was not assembled but dis-

sected," in the words of Budé (*Opera Omnia*, III, 33). In distinguishing among the different historical periods, Budé introduces in legal studies an historical concern that was missing until his time and draws attention to the evolution of the institutions. It will thus be appropriate to re-establish them in their historical development in order to recover ancient judicial wisdom.

This restoration is accomplished in two different ways. In the first place, there is to be a reorganization. In the *Digest*, the excerpts of the jurists are classified under general rubrics. A new method of presenting them must be discovered in order to create legal science. That is why Budé recalls the project that Cicero attributes to Crassus in the *De Oratore* (I, 190-1): "Reduce civil law to a very small number of types, divide these types into different members or species and, finally, reveal by a definition the value of each term." This clear organization, which calls for logic and dialectics, makes it possible to transform law into an *ars*; it leads to a possibility of true interpretation, which is the second direction of this restoration of legal wisdom. Creating a chain of sophistic arguments, the Glossators and the Bartolists adhere to the letter of the law but have become lost in complex debates. Budé recalls, on the contrary, that law is the science of equity (*ars boni et aequi*) and considers the latter as a corrective of law, allowing the attainment of a greater justice. Such assertions recall precisely Celsus' definition (*Digest* 1,1,1, pr.: *ius est ars boni et aequi*). They develop the paragraphs in the *Digest* where Ulpian affirms that law and justice are inseparable and adds that jurists "practise true philosophy" (*Digest* 1,1,1,1: *ueram nisi fallor philosophiam, non simulatam, adfectantes*). However, the scope that Budé gives to equity allows for more substantial analysis of the history of legal philosophy. He recovers a tradition of reflection that had been present in the Roman world since the time of Cicero, developed more fully by later writers and taken over again in the Renaissance by Erasmus.¹ In this way legal studies no longer constitute only a technical domain but become a branch of the *studia humanitatis*. Literature and law complement and clarify each other.

The contribution of Guillaume Budé to legal studies is thus essential and will exercise a decisive influence throughout the sixteenth

¹ See G. Kisch, *Erasmus und die Jurisprudenz seiner Zeit. Studien zum humanistischen Recht* (Basel: Helbing and Lichtenhahn, 1960).

century. His work is above all that of a philologist attentive to texts and words but also that of a scholar who raises questions about the Roman world and that of a man who reflects on the exercise of justice.

In addition to Guillaume Budé, another scholar plays a major role in legal studies: Andrea Alciato (1492–1550), an Italian by birth, whose teaching at Avignon (1518–1520) and then at Bourges (1529–1522) permitted the revival of legal studies. Unlike Budé, Alciato is a professor of law who searches to solve concrete legal problems; this explains why his attacks against Bartolus and his disciples are less lively. He knows how to recognize the importance of their contribution, even if he scrutinizes their methods, and is somewhat critical of those who are concerned with law without having a true understanding of it, sometimes criticizing Lorenzo Valla in particular. But he is especially concerned to distinguish law as expressed in the *Digest* from that based on the interpretations of the glossators and the commentators. Thus Alciato also wants to return to the original legal texts and raises questions on the ways to find the exact significance of the terms and the expressions employed by the Roman jurists. Legal science implies solid philological knowledge, as many writings of the jurist show: *Annotationes* (1517), *Paradoxa* and *Parerga Iuris* or even the commentary on title 50,16 of the *Digest: De Verborum Significatione* (1530). Indeed, the writings of Cicero, Livy and Plautus enable, for example, the precise definition of the term “*noxa*.” The different forms of interpretation mentioned in the treatise cited above do not simply provide scope for literal interpretation, or for usage or for fiction; a fourth form, named *extensio*, clearly includes equity but also the literary extension based on figures of speech and tropes. This attention given to the text does not exclude a marked interest in history that is affirmed from the time of his earliest writings, as is shown in the letter to Galeazzo Visconti, known under the name of *Encomium Historiae*. These interests are finally combined with a frequently affirmed passion for philosophy. But it is in the *Oratio in laudem iuris civilis*, delivered in 1519 at Avignon, that this interest is most strongly expressed. Legal science above all, for the jurist, is based on equity (the *aequum et bonum*), believed to be the true justice. Alciato is not satisfied simply by echoing Ciceronian wisdom; the affirmations of *De Legibus* and of *De Officiis* are repeated word for word, cited and paraphrased, in particular the famous formula, *summum ius summa iniuria* (*De Officiis* 1.16.33). Alciato affirms in addi-

tion that legal science cannot be separated from the other disciplines of eloquence, poetry and philosophy as well "because true philosophy is inseparable from justice." And the orator cites the ancient legislators and also the philosophers who have written on law: Plato, Aristotle and Cicero. Law, the foundation of life in society, is a reflection of divine wisdom and is filtered into culture, as Cicero had wished to do himself.

Although this *oratio* deserves attention, the teaching of Alciato at the University of Bourges strongly contributes to the transformation of legal studies in France. This department is markedly dynamic throughout the sixteenth century. All the great names of the *schola culta* teach there for some time and in their turn shape their disciples: Baudouin, Le Douaren and Baron, of whom I shall take note below, are students of Alciato. Jacques Cujas plays a major part and Connan studies there as well as Jean Bodin and Doneau. In different degrees they all stress above all the accurate comprehension of works and the importance of history and philosophy. This, then, is the contribution of the precursors, Guillaume Budé and Andrea Alciato, a seminal contribution that allows this humanist movement to be considered as "the first historical school of law."² Their criticisms characterize the spirit of the time, at a moment when law is not the knowledge of only a few technicians. In Rabelais, Gargantua invites Pantagruel to learn Roman law³, "Du droit civil, je veux que tu saches par coeur les beaux textes et me les confères avec philosophie" (*Pantagruel* VIII). The dispute of Baisecul and Humevesne is a harsh attack on the ignorant glossators; Pantagruel declares that the lawyers have obscured them, "Par sottes et déraisonnables raisons et ineptes opinions de Accurse, Balde, Bartole, . . . et ces autres vieux mâtins qui jamais n'entendirent la moindre loi des Pandectes." And he adds with vigour:

Comment donc eussent pu entendre ces vieux rêveurs le texte des loix, qui jamais ne virent bon livre de langue Latine ? comme manifestement appert à leur style, qui est style de ramoneur de cheminée, ou cuisinier et marmiteux, non de jurisconsulte (Pantagruel X).

Montaigne's *Essais* also confirm this: "J'ay ouy parler d'un juge, lequel ou le rencontroit un aspre conflit entre Bartolus et Baldus, et

² According to the formula of D.R. Kelley 1967.

³ On Rabelais' criticisms see Screech 1979.

quelque matiere agitee de plusieurs contrarietez, mettoit au marge de son livre: Question pour l'amy, c'est a dire que la verite estoit si embrouillee et debattue qu'en pareille cause, il pourroit favoriser celle des parties que bon luy sembleroit" (*Essais* II, 12, p. 582 ed. P. Villey). Of course, it is no longer a question of science, but of justice, but it is the same rebuttal of medieval jurisprudence that is expressed at the end of the sixteenth century.

All legal specialists, however, have not shared these views, nor have they accepted the humanist methods of textual and historical criticism. Some, more numerous than are often supposed, retained the ancient methods. The revival in the study of Roman law was not imposed on everyone. Of course, it is only Roman law that is taught in the faculties of law. But France, unlike Italy, is not a country that has inherited a long tradition based exclusively on Roman law. There has thus not been a reception of Roman law that could be considered directly applicable to legislation; it is mostly in the places of "written law," in the Midi of France, that it is in force, while coexisting with customary regulations; in the case of lawsuits, it is Roman law that is used as a suppletive law. In other "countries" it is unwritten law sanctioned by usage that is applied, a law based on practice and a law that is not taught in the faculties of law; thus Roman law is only considered as *ratio scripta*. The edict of Montil-les-Tours in 1454 had ordered the most important customs to be codified in writing; they are thus subject to many commentaries. We can cite those of André Tiraqueau (1488–1558) for Poitou or that of Charles Du Moulin for the "Custom" of Paris. They enjoyed great success and were re-edited many times. These scholars do not ignore the method of the humanists; they sometimes refer to it, practise it, or even do research, like the humanists, on equity. In this sense, a radical cleavage cannot be established in the scholarly legal world. However, in their way of treating legal texts, of using them as a suppletive law, they remain close to the Bartolists and use their works because the humanist method, composed of scrupulous philology and historical knowledge, does not suit the demands of practice. Their activity is far from being negligible. The work of Charles Du Moulin is extremely important. It is with him that the tendency of no longer considering Roman law begins to manifest itself, like a "common law," a source of solutions in the absence of customary regulation. Moreover, this attention given to customs is not without consequence on the choices of the jurists,

who in the second half of the sixteenth century direct their attention to French law.

After the precursors, Budé and Alciato, a second generation takes back and develops their methods: establishing texts with rigour, replacing Roman law in its historical context and, finally, searching for a method to teach it. Such is the work of many renowned jurists connected with the school of Bourges, which plays a central role in the diffusion of this *mos gallicus*; but other faculties of law are not less renowned: Orléans, Angers, Valence, Toulouse, at the last of which Jacques Cujas as well as Jean Bodin had studied and taught.

Although all the scholars of the sixteenth century direct their attention to the attentive reading of Roman legal texts, criticism of previous editions and research on meaning, it is mostly with Jacques Cujas (1522–1590) that this willingness to restore the proper value to legal texts is expressed most clearly. Even though he occasionally accepts the contribution of Accursius, he rejects that of the Bartolists, whom he defines as “*verbosi in re facili, in difficili muti, in angusta diffusi*” (“Wordy in simple matters, silent in difficult matters [and] effusive in narrowly circumscribed matters”) (Lib. 5 *respons. Papin*). But the scholar tries above all to search out the best contemporary editions such as Ulpian’s *Regulae* of 1549 and the most recent editions of the *Digest*, without glosses, and to accomplish an impressive philological work based on corrections and restitutions that allow for the explanation and establishment of the fundamental texts of Roman law.⁴ Cujas was often treated as “grammarian” by his contemporaries. It is his work as corrector and editor that constitutes his major contribution to judicial studies; his studies are numerous: *Regulae Ulpiani, Pauli Sententiae* (1586), *Codex Theodosianus*; and his editorial work is still taken into account. This activity allows the scholar to comment on many titles of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis*, his most famous work being the *Paratitla in Libros Digestorum* of 1569. It thus became possible to understand law within its historical context, to understand the work of different juriconsults better and even to try to reconstitute their treatises according to scattered fragments in the *Digest*. This “Palin-genesia” “avant la lettre” forms the last part of Cujas’ writings. The *Tractatus ad Africanum* appears in 1570 and studies on Papinian are published after his death. Unlike some of his contemporaries, Cujas

⁴ Mesnard 1950.

does not propose establishing a synthesis but brings a contribution of first order to the study of Roman law.

The second orientation in humanistic legal thought is based on historical reflection. As the work of Cujas has already shown, the desire to establish texts with rigour and research into the meanings of words leads to considering the evidence for the juxtaposition in the *Digest* of citations from different periods. This observation has a consequence, name the study of law in the context of its historical development; the *Enchiridion* of Pomponius, which figures in the *Digest* (*Dig.* 1,2,2: *De origine iuris*), is the point of departure for many commentaries. From 1515 onwards, Aymar du Rivail wrote a *Civialis Historia Iuris* that deals with the history of Roman law, and he proposes as well a commentary on the Twelve Tables and a list of Roman laws. This type of study becomes pronounced in the following years, and there is not enough space to enumerate all the treatises carrying this title, works of well known scholars or of writers who are less known than Cujas. Before him, Baudouin, Hotman and even later Louis Le Caron try to reconstruct the law of the XII Tables, because all these scholars tend to distinguish between authentic laws, the original laws and those of the classical period, and late laws, which are marked by "barbarity". It is mainly the work of François Baudouin (1520–1573), who taught at Bourges, Strasbourg and Heidelberg, that proves this historical concern. He wishes not only to find authentic legal texts and to explain them, like all the scholars of his time, but also to confront them with the indications of Latin authors and the historical record. This intention is expressed in the *Catechesis Iuris Civialis* of 1557, where the references, properly legal and borrowed from Ulpian, are complemented each time by literary references, as the preface addressed to the "studious youth" affirms and as the body of the work demonstrates. The interest in the history of law that we find in the *Essay on Scaevola* (1558) or the commentaries on imperial edicts is expressed more clearly in the *Iustinianus siue de Iure Nouo* (1560). The scholar identifies the modifications introduced by Tribonian and his collaborators in classical jurisprudence. This work allows him "to discern what is intact and what has been suppressed, what is ancient and what is new and added and often to perceive that what we think to be the work of Ulpian is not of Ulpian but rather of Justinian or of Tribonian." He is already preparing the way for his attack against "the crimes of Tribonian" and for his work on Roman law, which is to see the

light in a few years. In these works a method is affirmed that is defined and expressed precisely in the form of a general reflection on history in the *De Institutione Uniuersae Historiae et Eius cum Iurisprudentia Coniunctione* of 1561. Book I deals with the method of writing history. Book II, much more important for our study, shows how law and history are inseparable. "I have shown," writes Baudouin, "the importance of the clarification that comes from the law books and in turn clarifies works of history, and I will, secondly, show that the historical tradition on its own brings as much to Roman jurisprudence." This narrow association thus allows for the formation of the project on "universal history," which would establish not only sacred and civil history but also "ancient and modern, divine and human jurisprudence". The analysis of the technical texts of law leads thus to a reflection on history.

François Le Douaren (1509–1559) and Eguinaire Baron (1495–1550) are no less convinced of the necessity of history. But a good part of their writings concerns the method of teaching and of learning law. This often involves setting aside the disorder of the *Digest* to resume the tripartite plan of the *Institutes* of Justinian: persons, things, actions. Eguinaire Baron for his part writes a *Pandectarum Iuris Ciuilis Oeconomia* (1535), where in a very schematic format he systematically organizes the elements of Roman law. His subsequent works show the same orientation; he also seems to have taken an interest in a sort of comparative law, citing parallel Roman and French institutions.⁵ In this domain, Le Douaren is even more active. In his letter to André Guillart (1544), to which the title of *De Ratione Docendi Discendique Iuris* is given, he declares that the judicial apprentice must begin by reading the *Institutes* of Justinian, "which he will be able to understand for the most part on his own and without the aid of a professor." Then the professor would help him to cover the titles of the *Digest* seriatim with brief explanations. Finally, "resuming from the beginning the reading of the *Pandectes*, I will examine everything in such a way that there will not be even the slightest detail that I will not track or explain". Thus the young student will have exact and personal knowledge of legal texts. The professor will have fulfilled his role.

"That is why, I think," wrote Le Douaren, "that the function of the professor consists mostly of applying himself to defining by type the diffuse and scattered

⁵ Kelley 1976.

material, to classifying it with the aid of definitions and divisions drawn from this discipline and to illustrating them. In this way, it will happen that the elements that appear infinite and countless will be reduced to definite genres greatly reduced number."

In this original method, which goes from general notions to particular questions, we easily recognize echoes of the programme established by Crassus in Cicero's *De Oratore*. The "*de iure civili in artem redigendo*" ("the turning of civil law into an art") becomes a teaching program but also a logical and systematic statement. The concern for clarity and logic that is expressed in this work results in a systematic reconstitution of law. The works of this scholar show the application of this method, and mention should also be made of his *Summaria ad Pandectas*, a veritable dictionary of the *Digest*.

Published three years later in 1538, the *Commentarii Iuris Civilis* of François Connan (1508–1551) is not only an orderly statement of Roman law but also a systematic reconstruction of legal facts, where we measure the influence of the Roman model and ancient legal thought. Above all, the treatise is concerned with the formation and development of law in general. The classical division derived from Gaius and the *Institutes* of Justinian is well preserved: persons, things, actions. Connan, however, gives to this last notion an extension that it does not have in Roman law; it does not only designate action in justice but all institutions, including marriage and wills. The author maintains in part the Roman legal tradition but adds to it his own thoughts in order to elaborate a logical system. For example, in the first book appears the definition of *ius* where he cites and paraphrases Ulpian's well known definition in the *Digest* and the distinction that he operates between the different categories of law, "Private law is made up of three parts; it is made up of the union of natural law, of law of the nations and of civil law." Connan then raises questions about natural law and law of the nations in order to construct in the following chapters a history of humanity and of the birth of law, where he borrows ideas from Cicero's *De Legibus* and the *De Officiis*. In particular, the bond of nature with reason is affirmed on several occasions. As in Cicero, law reflects the rationality of human nature. Connan does not restrict himself to problems of Roman law but offers reflections, which are often personal, on general problems. Thus is expressed the vigorous originality of a work that is still not well known and not well studied but the influence of which was considerable on contemporaries. We must at least cite the names of

François Hotman who republished it and that of Jean Bodin who was inspired by it.

This survey of the legal studies of the first half of the sixteenth century demonstrates how the detailed study of legal texts at that time resulted in many different schools of thought. The detailed study of that time exposed more clearly the errors and the gaps; as a consequence arose the necessity of undertaking historical research. The lack of order of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* became clear; as a consequence arose the necessity of elaborating a systematic explanation of law. But to underline the errors of Tribonian, to situate law in its historical evolution and to reconstruct it in order better to explain it is at the same time to suggest that it cannot serve as an absolute reference and to strip it of its universal value. From that moment many tendencies appear towards the second half of the century: criticism of Roman law, affirmation of the importance of national law, which continues into the following century, and consideration of comparative law and philosophy.

As for the criticism of Roman law, one of the most virulent examples of evidence is that of François Hotman (1524–1590). Hotman was not only a Calvinist, close to the chancellor Michel de L'Hospital and a man known for his pamphlets and his diatribes, he was also a humanist who taught law at Bourges and Strasbourg and published commentaries on legal texts; we can also cite the *Partitiones Iuris Civilis Elementariae* of 1560. In 1567, in the middle of the religious wars, he wrote an *Antitribonian*, published in French, where he uses all the resources of his scholarship to reveal difficulties and incoherence of Roman law.⁶ Hotman remarks, “la rogneure, descoupure et ramas de ces pieces bigarrees” (p. 92, ed. Duranton), or again declares that “c’est une pure moquerie de dire qu’il faille lire les livres de Justinian pour cognoistre l’histoire. Car tout à rebours il est force de sçavoir l’histoire pour les entendre” (p. 21, ed. Duranton). Thus knowledge of Roman law cannot be useful for “the government of France.”

At the same time, the search for a methodical and systematic account of law continues. After many studies of Roman legal texts, Jean de Coras (1513–1572), who taught at Toulouse and had been

⁶ For the political and religious implications of this criticism see P. Mesnard 1955.

one of Bodin's teachers, wrote in 1560 the *De Iuris Arte Liber*, to which is usually given the ambitious title of *De Iure Ciuili in Artem Redigendo*. The beginning of the treatise is undoubtedly inspired by Cicero's *De Oratore*, but the success of this work, which has been re-edited many times, can apparently be explained by the synthesis that it proposes. If Coras studies the possibilities that allow law to be made a true science or the great divisions of law such as natural law and law of the nations, he enumerates also the different ways to reason on and to interpret it. In this rigorously logical system the influence of Ramus is often seen with reason, but the ancient philosophical sources have also played an important role. Coras is the first to apply the theory of four Aristotelian causes to legal science. The final cause is evidently justice; the efficient cause is the legislator, more precisely the sovereign, or the people; the formal cause is the law, the material cause is the legislation (and the judges). Such a choice is important because it is a matter of general consideration that is based on Roman law but at the same time moves away from it and because it is a matter of the creation of a rigorously logical system that already announces Jean Bodin's *Iuris Uniuersi Distributio*.

From the time of his first works Jean Bodin wanted to unite law and philosophy in the quest for justice; above all he traced the portrait of an ideal juriconsult knowing "how to deduce the origins of law from a first principle, . . . to distinguish the types [of law] and to arrange it in categories," as the *Methodus ad Facilem Historiarum Cognitionem* in 1566 and already the *Discours adressé au sénat et au peuple de Toulouse* (1559) reveal. With its three editions (1578, 1580 and 1581) the *Iuris Uniuersi Distributio* is contemporaneous with the major works of the author. It is presented as a synthesis. Bodin, using a considerable mass of facts, classifies them in order to reduce them to a unity and to reorganize the collection of law in a methodical and orderly presentation. The philosopher begins with a definition, the principal elements of which are analysed, divided and subdivided. The point of departure is the distinction between natural law and human law. Natural law is defined and then human law, the latter of which is divided into law of the nations and civil law, two categories that in turn are the objects of divisions as well as subdivisions. His work is thus a general explanation that conforms to the definition of the project given in the introductory epistle: "giving at the beginning the definitions and the divisions of each issue." For Bodin, it is a matter of returning to the ancient models, in partic-

ular to the διαίρεσις dear to Plato. At the same time, the theory of the four causes already used by Coras is taken over by Bodin. The form is the law itself; the matter (which responds to the question: what does a thing consist of?) consists of the traditional division into persons, things and actions; the efficient cause, the thing that “leads the lawsuits to their conclusion” is thus the action of the law—that is, the procedure—and the action of the judge; the final cause remains justice in diverse forms: arithmetical, geometrical, harmonic. Using a considerable mass of institutions and judicial problems, Bodin classifies them and organizes them in order to reduce them to unity and to achieve a synthesis. This presentation seems to move away from Roman law, which he, like his contemporaries, criticizes because Bodin refuses to restrict himself to the law of a single city. He approaches it, however, in his use of definitions and institutions drawn from the Roman world. In order to be universal, Bodin rejects Roman law while using it at the same time. Moreover, the reference to the *aequum et bonum* constitutes a return to the ancient world, certainly frequent in the humanists but the importance of which must not be overshadowed for all that. The definition of natural law is no less important:

Natural law, because it has been implanted in each of us since the origin of the species, is for this reason always equitable and good; it is composed of, for example, religious observance towards God, affection towards one’s own, gratitude towards those who deserve it, vengeance against criminals and justice towards all.

Such a definition goes well beyond echoing the jurists. It bears the mark of the philosophy that insists on the innate character of a natural law implanted in each of us and that includes *pietas*, *religio*, *gratia* and *uindicatio* among its components. This enumeration suffices to show the Ciceronian character of this definition, which echoes that of the *De Legibus* and of other Ciceronian treatises.⁷ Moreover, the notion of *semina iustitiae* frequently mentioned by Bodin echoes the *semina uirtutis* and *semina rationis* of the *De Legibus*. In this way, this treatise reflects the knowledge of a jurist instructed by reading the legal codes and the commentaries on legal texts; but the treatise

⁷ For Cicero’s natural law see M. Ducos, *Les Romains et la loi. Recherches sur les rapports de la philosophie grecque et de la tradition romaine à la fin de la République* (Paris, 1984).

bears much more clearly the mark of Roman reflection on the law derived from his own reading of Cicero. Finally, Jean Bodin's writings convey a general reflection on law inspired by Roman models, but they go beyond the models and become a general theory of law. In this sense, this philosopher announces the judicial thought of the eighteenth century in Montesquieu and the *Esprit des lois*. The *Iuris Uniuersi Distributio* is written in Latin, but the six books of the *Republic* are written in French and henceforth the tendency to choose this language becomes generalized. In the following century, it is in French that Jean Domat (1625–1695), Pascal's friend, writes his large treatise *Les lois civiles dans leur ordre naturel* (1689), a treatise that starts with man and nature and ends in laws.

Chronologically, the last person to enlist himself in this movement of logical reconstruction was Hugues Doneau (1527–1591). He certainly does not propose a philosophical reflection on universal law. But in his *Commentarii Iuris Ciuilis*, published between 1589–1590 and probably the outcome of an earlier work, Doneau insists on the importance of Roman law, but a reconstructed law, methodical and as a consequence distant from the disorder left by Justinian. He divides law into three large parts: divine and human law, the laws of the person and laws on things, and finally, actions, that is, forms of procedure that allow for recognition of one's rights. Thus Doneau is probably the last who wants to reconstruct Roman law. But in his case the emergence of subjective law is also affirmed. From definitions from the *Digest* he draws new interpretations and new consequences, since Doneau "énumère des droits acquis une fois pour toutes et qui apparaissent comme des prolongements de la personne dont l'homme peut se prévaloir de par sa nature."⁸ In this sense, this work constitutes a transition between a world permeated by Roman law, where the notion of subjective law is ignored even if philosophical works could allow this interpretation, and modern times, where this notion will play an essential role, as much in philosophical thought as in law.

Towards the second half of the century the nationalist tendency is combined with affirmation of the French language. The edict of Villers-Cotterets in 1539 had imposed the use of the French language in the courts. Decisions, judgements, contracts and wills must

⁸ J.-L. Thireau 1997.

henceforth be written in this language rather than in Latin in order to avoid any ambiguity and any uncertainty in the meanings of the terms. The activity of the Pléiade as exemplified in the *Défense et illustration de la langue française* (1549) contributes to this search for French capable of expressing all the technical terms. Traditionally, education was conducted in Latin, whatever the subject. But in 1555 at the University of Poitiers François de Némond proposes to “tourner tout le droit romain en françois,” that is, to translate it and to teach it in French.⁹ Such a work simplified study and interpretation. And despite the criticisms that this enterprise generated, it undoubtedly bears witness to the attention placed on French law and on law in French. This practice tends to spread and to develop, especially in the seventeenth century. Colombet and Claude Ferrière publish their treatises on jurisprudence in French.

Such choices reflect the constantly growing affirmation of French law vis-à-vis Roman law. At the hinge of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, it is above all Guy Coquille and Louis Le Caron who make this tendency systematic. In 1556 Louis Le Caron (1536–1614) wants laws to be written in French so that everyone can understand them. He is the author of *Pandectes ou Digestes du droict françois* (1587), which is not only a translation of the *Digest* but a commentary on, and a study of comparative law.¹⁰ But Louis Le Caron, who gave himself the pseudonym Charondas, is also a philosopher of law. He frequently comments on, and adapts Ulpian’s definition of the role of jurists who practise true philosophy. He is convinced of the importance of equity, which he considers as a corrective to law, according to the philosophical tradition originating with Aristotle and taken over by Cicero. The influence of the author of *De Legibus* is vivid in the jurist. Many definitions where law and equity are closely associated are taken verbatim from Cicero’s treatises. Mainly, however, Louis Le Caron wants to be a Platonist. This Platonism is certainly extended to the scale of the city. Wisdom is no longer contemplation but action in benefit of the city as in Cicero,

*J’ai dict le philosophe estre celui qui d’une amore de sagesse recherche la verité, estudiant à l’utilité publique.*¹¹

⁹ T. Peach, “Le droit romain en français au XVI^e siècle: deux Oraisons de François de Némond (1555),” *Revue d’histoire du droit français et étranger*, 1982: 5–44.

¹⁰ D.R. Kelley 1976.

¹¹ Quoted from Kelley 1976.

By this recourse to philosophy Louis Le Caron rejoins sixteenth-century thought; he ushers in the following century by his publication on French law.

Guy Coquille is much more interested in French law than in Roman law, the latter of which is distanced from national customs. He writes, "Nos coutumes sont notre vrai droit civil." And in a general way the jurists of the seventeenth century are more attentive to practical problems than to the general principles studied by the humanists. Law is again a branch of technical knowledge. In his *Dialogue des avocats* Antoine Loisel also observes, "L'avocat doit surtout estre sçavant en droict et en pratique, mediocrement éloquent." And this movement leads to a development in the teaching of French law in the faculties of law. Louis XIV creates chairs of French law and in some of the faculties authorizes the teaching of French law side-by-side with canon law and Roman law. It must be added that this interest in customs is tied to the issue of royal power and its limits. In the law that derives from Roman law, which allows the sovereign to have absolute power to legislate in every domain, the common-law jurists insist on the importance of customs. Respect for them must be imposed on the king himself, whose royal legislative activity must therefore limit itself to public law.

In this way French legal science experiences a profound renewal in its goals and its methods in the sixteenth century. In France as in other countries, the decisive impulse comes from the humanist movement. G. Budé and A. Alciato are trying accurately to understand the text of the *Corpus Iuris Civilis* and to allow for its reading instead re-examining in minute detail opinions already expressed and lacking in foundation. To summarize in one word their action, it is one of liberty that is most suitable. They repeat Horace's formula: *nullius addictus iurare in verba magistri*. ([I am] obliged to swear by the words of no one master.)

This approach exercises a decisive influence. It explains the ulterior tendencies: the precise desire to understand the texts and to establish them on the part of Jacques Cujas, who is concerned to recover the history of institutions and is looking for a method to teach law. From there an evolution is established that may seem contradictory or paradoxical. Once the limits of Roman law are recognized, it is no longer possible to consider it as *ratio scripta* and to make it the model for the attention given to French law. At the same time, jurists

who are also philosophers are looking to build legal systems that are marked by Roman law but are frequently detached from it.

The factors that order this evolution are numerous. We cannot forget the political situation of France and the development of Protestantism. The scholarly jurists are also men who actively take part in the political and religious battles of their time. We would sometimes like to question more precisely the influence of philosophy. But it is important for our study to note that the study of law takes place in close relations with ancient literature. The indispensable references to the deep explanation of the *Digest* are drawn from Cicero's writings. In this sense, the scholars of the sixteenth century affirm that law and literature complement each other, explain each other and are joined in the elaboration of a universal law. Such is the contribution of ancient Rome, such is the lesson of humanism.

“ON THE SUBLIME”

Alain Billault

Longinus' *On the Sublime* entered the history of French literature in 1674, when Boileau's translation of the Greek text was published in Paris. The title of the book read *Traité du Sublime ou Du merveilleux dans le discours, traduit du grec de Longin*. Its publication enabled the well-read audience to rediscover an ancient treatise which had been neglected for a very long time. It was also a turning-point in Boileau's literary career and a path-breaking event of some consequence in the history of aesthetics. This is why the context, the making, the contents, the purpose and the influence of this translation are worth studying.

The Context of the Publication of Boileau's Translation

The rediscovery of Longinus' *On the Sublime* in Europe at the time of the Renaissance was difficult and slow.¹ In 1554, Francesco Robortello published in Basel the *editio princeps* of the Greek text. Paul Manuce, the famous Venetian publisher, followed in his footsteps the year after. But in 1605, the great scholar Isaac Casaubon commenting on Persius' *Satires* remarked that Longinus was seldom read: “Longe plura Longinus in aureolo nec satis unquam lecto libello.”² Then came Franciscus Portus whose edition was published in Geneva in 1669 and became the source of all the subsequent editions through the eighteenth century. But the treatise was not paid much attention, even after 1663, when Tanneguy Le Fèvre's edition was published in Saumur.³ In 1694, Jacobus Tollius released his own edition in Utrecht. He had actually finished his work in 1677, but he had been unable to find a publisher for seventeen years. This is a sign of the poor success Longinus was meeting with.⁴

¹ Weinberg 1950. Brody 1958: 9–35.

² Casaubon 1605: 57.

³ Le Fèvre 1663.

⁴ Brody 1958: 11.

The translations were not faring better. In the sixteenth century, the French scholar Marc-Antoine Muret, who was living in Rome, worked on a Latin version of the text which was supposed to be published with Paul Manuce's edition, but his work never appeared in print. There were two other Latin versions by Domenico Pizzimenti (Naples, 1566) and Pietro Pagani (Venice, 1572), but they came to be known much later, after the publication of Gabriele Dalla Pietra's own Latin translation (Geneva, 1612). This translation was reprinted in England and included in the same volume as G. Langbaine's edition which was published in Oxford in 1636 and did not excite much interest. Neither did the English translation by John Hall (London, 1652). The first Italian version had been established, but not published by Giovanni di Niccolo da Falgano towards 1575. In 1639, Niccolo Pinelli published his own in Padova. But only a few scholars were still acquainted with the work of Longinus.

France was no exception to the rule. Longinus is never plainly quoted from in the sixteenth-century French literature. Nevertheless one may suspect that implicit references are sometimes made to his work by some authors. For example, the poet Jacques Peletier du Mans remarked in his *Art poétique* which was published in 1555, that such great poets as Pindar and Vergil cannot be reproached with the small mistakes they happened to make sometimes because of their very greatness.⁵ Longinus expresses the same idea in his treatise (33, 4–5). He also discusses and rules out another idea: he denies that the decline of eloquence originates from the loss of political freedom (44). Guillaume du Vair mentions this explanation in 1594, in his treatise *De l'éloquence française*.⁶ One is tempted to conclude that du Vair had read *On the Sublime*,⁷ even if the same theme can also be found in Horace's *Ad Pisonem* (351–353). This is why it has been assumed that *On the Sublime* was read in the sixteenth century by a few initiate who formed kind of an unofficial literary club. They were scholars, like Marc-Antoine Muret, and writers, like Montaigne,⁸ who mostly lived in Italy or traveled there and spread in Europe the main themes of Longinus' thinking, even if they did not men-

⁵ Boulanger 1930: 102.

⁶ Radouant 1908: 133, 147–148.

⁷ Clements 1942: 192, 243.

⁸ Logan 1983.

tion his name most of the time.⁹ But this assumption has also been denied.¹⁰ Anyhow it is plain that the general reader of the Renaissance usually did not know of Longinus whose work had a narrow circulation even among the cultured.¹¹

Its first explicit mention in a French text can be found in G. Mazarini's *Pratique pour bien prêcher*, which was translated into French by Jean Baudoin in 1618.¹² But its importance was not immediately acknowledged. It even sometimes stirred distrust from some writers. Thus Jean-Louis Guez de Balzac expresses his admiration of Demosthenes which he probably owes to Longinus.¹³ But he also favours the plain style in prose writing. In his *Socrate chrétien* (1652), he focuses his censure on the very notion of the sublime which he does not acknowledge as his own aesthetical and ethical ideal:

*Je cherche . . . de quoi me rendre plus homme de bien, et non pas plus éloquent . . . quoique la critique païenne ait remarqué son genre sublime dans le style de Moïse. Mais cette sublimité de style n'est pas aujourd'hui l'objet de ma passion. Je vise à une plus haute sublimité. . . . Je suis en quête de la vérité. . . . Il faut apprendre la langue du ciel.*¹⁴

Guez de Balzac rules out the sublime as a goal to reach in his personal life as a writer. His aim is spiritual, even if it includes possible stylistic developments if one can learn "la langue du ciel". The sublime is not the highest end he can achieve. But he does not specify what kind of end it is.

He cannot be reproached with this theoretical looseness. It is typical of the common view on the sublime in France prior to Boileau's translation. The sublime is a vague and somewhat disturbing notion. It is supposed to express an ideal of beauty which reason and its rules of literary composition cannot achieve in art.¹⁵ This vagueness probably also contributed to the neglect of Longinus' treatise. In such a context, Boileau's translation may be considered a genuine pioneer work.

⁹ Fumaroli 1986.

¹⁰ Goyet 1995: 162 n. 14.

¹¹ Goyet 1995: 163 n. 17.

¹² G. Mazarini, J. Baudoin 1618: 72-73, quoted by Brody 1958: 14-15.

¹³ Brody 1958: 16.

¹⁴ Guez de Balzac 1822: II, 123-124.

¹⁵ Litman 1971: 9-10.

The Making of Boileau's Translation

Nicolas Boileau Despréaux was born in Paris in 1636. He was the son of a clerk of the Parliament. He was educated at the Collège d'Harcourt and the Collège de Beauvais in Paris. He studied theology and law and became a lawyer. But he wanted to be a poet and soon became acquainted with literary circles. He published satirical verse and then turned to literary theory. He took Horace as his model to compose his own *Art poétique* and *Epîtres* which were published in 1674, at the same time as his translation of Longinus and the first part of his mock-heroic poem *Le Lutrin*. In 1677 he was appointed as historiographer of the king. In 1683, he published the end of *Le Lutrin* and a second volume of *Epîtres*. Three years later, he entered the controversy between the Moderns, who emphasized the superiority of the works of their time over ancient literature, and the Ancients, who defended the perennial supremacy of antiquity which was supposed to provide matchless models to imitate. Boileau was definitely on the side of the Ancient. He had the opportunity to write other satirical verse and *Epîtres* before he died in 1711. Thanks to him, Longinus was then a well-known writer.

He published his translation of *On the Sublime* at a moment when his literary career was reaching its acme. The first reason why he decided to translate Longinus was his admiration of his work. We have seen that this was not a common view. This is why, as F. Goyet puts it, we must admire Boileau because he admired Longinus.¹⁶ His admiration led him to work on the treatise for many years.

He presumably discovered the text between 1657 and 1663. In 1664, he wrote the *Dissertation sur La Joconde*¹⁷ where he compares two short novels derived from Ariosto by de Bouillon and La Fontaine and proclaims the latter a better writer. The authorship of this text which was not published until 1716 has been discussed and the debate bears a relation to the authorship of the translation of *On the sublime*. Reference is made twice to Longinus in the *Dissertation*, even if his name is not mentioned. First, the author refers to Longinus' censure of Homer in chapter IX, 14 of his treatise where he criticizes the metamorphosis of the companions of Ulysses who are turned

¹⁶ Goyet 1995: 7.

¹⁷ Boudhors 1942a.

into swine by Circe.¹⁸ Then he quotes another passage in chapter XXXVIII, 5 where Longinus emphasizes the absurdity of a hyperbole which has been used by a comic poet.¹⁹ The French version of those quotations is pretty much the same as the text of the translation of *On the sublime* which was to be published ten years later. Therefore we may conclude that Boileau was already working on his translation in 1664 and that he actually wrote the *Dissertation*.²⁰ But some scholars have doubted this conclusion and assumed that Nicolas Boileau's brother Gilles Boileau actually might have written the *Dissertation* and quoted his own translation of Longinus on which he was working at that time.²¹ Gilles Boileau was unquestionably an accomplished hellenist. He translated Cebes, Epictetus, Diogenes Laertius and Aristotle.²² In a letter to Conrart which he presumably wrote in 1657, he quotes and praises Longinus whom he calls a friend of his.²³ He may have started a translation of his treatise. However, in the preface of his own translation, Nicolas Boileau does not mention him as a translator of Longinus whereas he lists Marc-Antoine Muret and Gabriele della Petra as his predecessors. Could he have used the work of his brother and remained silent about it? Some scholars have assumed he could.²⁴ But there is no evidence to support this idea. This is why we may consider Nicolas Boileau the genuine author of his translation of Longinus.²⁵

The chronology of Boileau's work on Longinus may also be tentatively established.²⁶ In one of the *Remarques* which were published with his translation, he praises Le Fèvre for a restitution he makes of the Greek text in Longinus' chapter XVI and he states, "J'en avois fait la remarque avant lui."²⁷ Therefore, he had started to translate the text of Longinus before the publication of Le Fèvre's edition in 1663. In 1667, Michel de Marolles published *L'histoire Auguste des six auteurs anciens*, where Flavius Vopiscus, one of the so-called six

¹⁸ Boudhors 1942a: 11.

¹⁹ Boudhors 1942a: 13.

²⁰ Bray 1931. Boudhors 1942a: 127-128.

²¹ Adam 1952.

²² Boudhors 1942a: 156-157.

²³ Boudhors 1942a: 157.

²⁴ Adam 1952: 149.

²⁵ Boudhors 1942a: 158. Brody 1958: 24-29.

²⁶ Brody 1958: *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Rem.* XLIV, Boudhors 1942a: 210.

authors of the *Historia Augusta*,²⁸ mentions (XXX, 3) the rhetor Cassius Longinus. De Marolles took this opportunity to announce that he was planning to publish a translation of Longinus. Then Boileau decided to publish his own. But the publication was delayed because Colbert, the mighty minister of Louis XIV, had deprived Boileau of the seven years privilege he had been granted in 1666 to publish his *Satires*. The poet Chapelain, who was an enemy of Boileau and an influential courtier, had plotted against him. But in 1674, the King endowed Boileau with a pension and a new privilege and Boileau was able to publish his work.²⁹

The Purpose and Contents of Boileau's Translation

Boileau's translation was published in 1674 in the *Oeuvres Diverses du sieur D****. The text came after *l'Art Poétique* and the first four books of the *Lutrin*. The translation was preceded by a preface and followed by the *Remarques*. The reprints of 1683 and 1685 included the remarks by André Dacier, a famous classicist and translator of Greek and Latin texts, on Boileau's translation. In 1694, Boileau added his *Réflexions critiques* and one page at the end of the preface. The edition of 1701 also comprised other remarks by the hellenist Boivin.³⁰ Thus Boileau kept working on the treatise for at least twenty-five years after the first publication of his translation. He was constantly enriching his book which was a work in progress for a long time. In 1694, his translation was separately published in Paris with Longinus' text by Thiboust et Esclassan,³¹ but Boileau never considered it an aside item on the list of his works. In his eyes, it was a part of his prose-writing and a genuine literary text of his own, as he makes clear in the preface.

²⁸ On the question of the authorship of the *Historia Augusta*, see Chastagnol 1994: IX-XXXIV.

²⁹ Brody 1958: 31-32.

³⁰ Boudhors 1942a: 158-159.

³¹ Boudhors 1942a: 159.

The Preface

This preface is not only an introduction to Longinus' treatise and to Boileau's translation, but also a literary manifesto where the translator explains his own idea of the sublime.

He begins with a praise of Cassius Longinus. He does not doubt that this third-century rhetor who supported Zenobia, Queen of Palmyra, in her fight against Rome and was executed by the Romans in 273, after the emperor Aurelian had reconquered the insurgent kingdom, is indeed the author of *On the Sublime*. The authorship of the treatise was only questioned in the nineteenth century and the debate is still going on.³² But it is of no consequence for the posterity of the text in French literature. Boileau commends Cassius Longinus for his work and his life. He laments the loss of his other books where Longinus must have displayed the good sense, the knowledge and the eloquence which can be found in *On the Sublime*. He emphasizes Longinus' magnificent oratory which provides a good example of the style he is dealing with, "Souvent il fait la figure qu'il enseigne; et en parlant du Sublime, il est lui-mesme tres-sublime."³³ Nevertheless Longinus never ceases to write didactically and this is why, according to Boileau, his treatise has always been appreciated by scholars. In antiquity, for instance, Porphyry and Eunapius wrote in praise of him and Isaac Casaubon did the same in the sixteenth century. But Longinus was not only a shrewd critic. He also turned out to be a good minister. Boileau insists upon the part he played when he served Zenobia. He refers to Flavius Vopiscus' relation in the *Historia Augusta* (XXVI–XXXV) and quotes from him Zenobia's letter to Aurelian where she proudly refused to surrender (XXVII). He also repeats his explanation of Longinus' death. The rhetor was executed because Aurelian assumed he had actually written this arrogant letter (XXX, 3). Boileau also cites Zosimus who makes it plain (I, 56, 2–3) that Zenobia was responsible for Longinus execution: she denounced him as one of the main cause of the war. He showed an admirable firmness when he faced death. Then comes Boileau's conclusion on the man:

³² Russell 1970 and Mazzucchi 1992 rule out Cassius Longinus as author of the treatise, but Heath 1999 maintains his authorship.

³³ Boudhors 1942a: 40. I quote from Boudhors' edition.

*Par là on peut voir que Longin n'estoit pas seulement un habile Rheteur, comme Quintilien et comme Hermogene: mais un Philosophe digne d'estre mis en paralele avec les Socrates et les Catons. Son livre n'a rien qui démente ce que je dis. Le caractere d'honneste homme paroist par tout; et ses sentiments ont je ne sçais quoy qui marque non-seulement un esprit sublime, mais une ame fort élevée au-dessus du commun.*³⁴

Thus Boileau sees Longinus as a sublime man who displayed a sublime style as he wrote on the sublime. This is why he decided to translate his treatise and he is proud of his work:

*Je n'ai donc point de regret d'avoir employé quelques-unes de mes veilles à débrouïller un si excellent ouvrage que je puis dire n'avoir esté entendu jusqu'ici que d'un tres-petit nombre de sçavans.*³⁵

Boileau thinks he has done pioneer work on Longinus' treatise and he insists upon it. As he censures Dalla Pietra's mistakes in his Latin translation, he denies trying to establish his own reputation on the ruins of his predecessor's work and remarks, "Je sçais ce que c'est que de débrouïller le premier un Auteur."³⁶ He adds that he profited by Dalla Pietra's book as well as by the notes by Langbaine and Le Fèvre, but he cannot help joking about the facilities which a Latin translation can provide when one does not understand the Greek text he is trying to translate:

*Il est aisé à un Traducteur Latin de se tirer d'affaire aux endroits même qu'il n'entend pas. Il n'a qu'à traduire le Grec mot pour mot, et à debiter des paroles qu'on peut au moins soupçonner d'estre intelligibles. En effet, le Lecteur, qui bien souvent n'y conçoit rien, s'en prend plutost à soi-mesme qu'à l'ignorance du Traducteur.*³⁷

Boileau is not lacking wit. Neither does he try to conceal his pride, for translations in vernacular languages do not offer the same shelter as Latin translations. Here the translator is held responsible for every mistake, even when in fact the readers should blame the author. But Boileau does not apologize in advance for the shortcomings of his text. On the contrary, he proudly presents his work and expresses his intentions:

³⁴ Boudhors 1942a: 42–43.

³⁵ Boudhors 1942a: 43.

³⁶ *Ibid.*

³⁷ Boudhors 1942a: 43–44.

Quelque petit donc que soit le volume de Longin, je ne croirois pas avoir fait un médiocre present au Public, si je lui en avois donné une bonne traduction en nostre langue. Je n'y ai point épargné mes soins ni mes peines. Qu'on ne s'attende pas pourtant à trouver ici une version timide et scrupuleuse des paroles de Longin. Bien que je me sois efforcé de ne me point écarter en pas un endroit des regles de la veritable traduction; je me suis pourtant donné une honneste liberté, sur tout dans les passages qu'il rapporte. J'ai songé qu'i ne s'agissoit pas simplement ici de traduire Longin; mais de donner au Public un Traité du Sublime, qui pût estre utile.³⁸

Whatever verbal precautions he takes, Boileau seems pretty sure to have written a good translation. In his opinion, a good translation is a good text to read. This is why he specifies he did not timidly and scrupulously translate Longinus. Had he done so, he might have been praised by the classicists. But he also wanted the praise of the people who could not read Greek, but used to read good books. This is the audience he was willing to get in touch with. He aimed at giving the treatise to this type of readers. Therefore he decided to translate freely Longinus without ever spoiling the meaning of his text. This freedom makes his translation a genuine literary work. Nevertheless, he is conscious that some readers will not approve of Longinus' views:

Avec tout cela neanmoins il se trouvera peut-estre des gens, qui non seulement n'approuveront pas ma traduction, mais qui n'épargneront pas même l'Original. Je m'attends bien qu'il y en aura plusieurs qui déclineront la jurisdiction de Longin, qui condamneront ce qu'il approuve, et qui loueront ce qu'il blâme. C'est le traitement qu'il doit attendre de la plûpart des Juges de nostre siècle.³⁹

Boileau is prepared to face the criticism that will be passed on his translation and on Longinus' treatise as well. On the first type of criticism, he has not much to say in his preface. He must wait until his translation is released to answer the censure he may incur. But he can already reply to the second type the target of which will be Longinus' literary doctrine. Longinus cannot plead his case, but Boileau eloquently advocates his cause in the last pages of his preface.

There he writes a literary manifesto to support Longinus' idea of the sublime. As a writer, he shares Longinus' taste for the heights

³⁸ Boudhors 1942a: 44.

³⁹ *Ibid.*

of literary excellence and appropriates his conception of prose-writing.⁴⁰ Thus he behaves as a genuine Ancient. He is inspired by Longinus to such an extent that he personally endorses his views as if they were his own. Longinus exercises on him a creative influence which leads him to write a book and a preface on his own behalf. This book is filled up with the fertile air which comes from Antiquity, not with the confined atmosphere of the intrigues at the court.⁴¹ This inspiration must be explained and praised and promoted as a model. This is why the translator becomes a theoretician and a critic. Some, he says, will not approve of Longinus' ideas because they are unable to see the sublime where he can see it in the works of Homer, Plato and Demosthenes. Their inability originates in their misunderstanding of the sublime:

*Ils chercheront souvent le Sublime dans le Sublime, et peut-estre se mocqueront-ils des exclamations que Longin fait quelquefois sur des passages, qui bien que tres-sublimes, ne laissent pas d'estre simples et naturels, et qui saisissent plutôt l'ame qu'ils n'éclatent aux yeux.*⁴²

They will miss the sublime quality of the passages which arouse the enthusiasm of Longinus because they will fail to understand what he has in mind when he talks about the sublime:

*Il faut donc sçavoir que par Sublime, Longin n'entend pas ce que les Orateurs appellent le stile sublime: mais cet extraordinaire et ce merveilleux qui frappe dans le discours, et qui fait qu'un ouvrage enleve, ravit, transporte. Le stile sublime veut toujours de grands mots; mais le sublime se peut trouver dans une seule pensée, dans une seule figure, dans un seul tour de paroles. Une chose peut estre dans le stile Sublime, et n'estre pourtant pas Sublime, c'est-à-dire n'avoir rien d'extraordinaire ni de surprenant.*⁴³

Boileau expresses here the core of Longinus' theory and of his own thinking: the sublime is not a style, but an effect of the style. There exists a sublime style which is often made of bombastic collections of grand phrases and words but is not always sublime. On the other hand, a few simple words may express a single idea or make up a single image and thus become sublime. Therefore, the sublime is not a product of rhetorical rules. It is not the *genus grande dicendi* which the rhetorical tradition following the *Rhetorica ad Herennium* and Cicero

⁴⁰ Brody 1958: 32–35.

⁴¹ Fumaroli 1999: 84–85.

⁴² Boudhors 1942a: 44–45.

⁴³ Boudhors 1942a: 45.

has established as one of the three style of oratory.⁴⁴ Boileau illustrates this idea by commenting on two examples. The first one can be found in *On the Sublime* (9, 9) where Longinus loosely quotes the famous words from the Book of Genesis (1, 3–9): "'God said' what? 'Let there be light,' and there was light, 'let there be earth' and there was earth."⁴⁵ The second comes from *Horace*, the tragedy by Pierre Corneille which was staged in 1640: the Old Horace has lost two sons who were fighting the three Curiaces brothers. Nevertheless he blames his last son who has fled to escape his three adversaries and will manage later to kill them. As he is asked: "Que voulez-vous qu'il fist contre trois?," he replies: "Qu'il mourût." (III, 5, 1021). In commenting on the first example, Boileau polemizes against a well-learned priest who has stated that Longinus was wrong when he considered sublime the words of the Bible. This priest is Pierre-Daniel Huet, an influential bishop and a famous hellenist. In 1678, he had criticised Longinus in his *Demonstratio Evangelica*.⁴⁶ Boileau points out his error: Huet has mistaken the sublime for the sublime style. The words of the Genesis are sublime because they are plain. Boileau sticks to this idea. At the end of his life, in his Tenth *Réflexion critique* which was posthumously published in 1713, he will resume his controversy with Huet who had replied and maintained his opinion in a letter of 1683 to the Duke of Montausier.⁴⁷ As for Corneille, Boileau declares that Longinus would have admire the mighty brevity of the Old Horace's words, but not the grandiloquence of Ptolemy in *La mort de Pompée* (I, 1), another tragedy by Corneille which was staged in 1643. Thus he uses Longinus' criteria to praise and blame Corneille at the same time. Those criteria have actually become his own. This is why he assumes such a controversial attitude. Longinus' cause is now his cause. The concept of the sublime and its application in the art of prose-writing and literary criticism is at stake. One may wonder whether this concept coheres with the important part which, according to Boileau's *Art poétique*, the rules of Reason play in literary composition or whether Boileau must be blamed for his theoretical inconsistency.⁴⁸ But Boileau does not worry about this

⁴⁴ Brody 1958: 88–90.

⁴⁵ I quote W.H. Fyfe's translation revised by D.A. Russell, see Russell 1995.

⁴⁶ See Proposit. 4, Chapter 2, n. 51, p. 54 quoted by Boudhors 1942a: 161.

⁴⁷ See Boudhors 1942b: 157–179.

⁴⁸ See the opposite opinions of Brody 1958 *passim* and Litman 1971: 70, 254 n. 128.

question. He is determined to establish the sublime as a major aesthetic concept and resolutely enters the controversy to which his translation gives rise.

The Translation

Boileau's translation is designed to be accessible to the cultured who like to read literature, but cannot understand Greek. Boileau is careful to avoid any blunder which may hurt the literary taste of his time. He is convinced that the inner balance of French is not always compatible with the Greek words and images. This is why his translation is not literal and certainly falls into the category of the "belles infidèles,"⁴⁹ the beautiful and unfaithful translations which exemplify the literary taste of the seventeenth century. Boileau explains the changes he has made in his *Remarques* which come after the translation. He sometimes expurgates the text of Longinus.⁵⁰ For example, the addressee of the treatise is Postumius Terentianus, but Boileau decides to call him Terentianus, "le nom de *Terentianus* n'estant déjà que trop long."⁵¹ He writes "frisson" (shiver) instead of "sueur froide" (cold sweat) because "le mot de *sueur* en François ne peut jamais estre agreable, et laisse une vilaine idée à l'esprit,"⁵² keeps "pâle" but rejects the proper translation which would read "pâle comme l'herbe" because "cela ne se dit point en François".⁵³ The same linguistic seemliness induces him to expell some passages of the Greek text from his translation and to transfer them into the *Remarques*. Thus he brushes out four verses quoted by Longinus (3, 1) from an unknown tragedy, "comme ces vers estoient déjà fort galimathias d'eux-mesmes, au rapport de Longin,"⁵⁴ and another quotation from Demosthenes with its commentary by Longinus "pour ne point effrayer ceux qui ne savent point le Grec."⁵⁵ When the Greek text seems to be spurious or obscure, he skips over it not to bother the reader and comments on his decision in the *Remarques*.⁵⁶ Therefore the

⁴⁹ Zuber 1968.

⁵⁰ Zuber 1997: 255-260.

⁵¹ I, Boudhors 1942a: 187.

⁵² XXXI, Boudhors 1942a: 202.

⁵³ XXX, *Ibid.*

⁵⁴ XI, Boudhors 1942a: 190.

⁵⁵ LVII, Boudhors 1942a: 223.

⁵⁶ Boudhors 1942a: XXXV, 204; XLI, 210.

Remarques may be considered a scientific appendix to the translation. The erudite reader will find there what may have deterred the cultured reader from keeping on reading the translation. Boileau has designed his book "afin que le Lecteur, qui ne se soucie pas fort des antiquailles, puisse passer, sans estre obligé, pour m'entendre d'avoir recours aux remarques."⁵⁷ He urbanely takes care of the well-being of his readers. Urbanity requires the rejection of pedantry, but is not incompatible with the exposition of knowledge. This is what the *Remarques* are made for. They also enable Boileau to justify the enrichment of the Greek text he sometimes provides.

He makes it plain that he has developped the quotations from Homer: "J'ay tâché dans les passages qui sont rapportez d'Homere, à encherir sur lui, plutôt que de le suivre trop scupuleusement à la piste."⁵⁸ This is why he replaces an expression because "cela auroit esté faible en notre langue"⁵⁹ with another one which seems to be more appropriate. Boileau's admiration of Homer does not prevent him from emulating him and from trying to transcend him as he freely transposes his verse.⁶⁰ He is not a translator, but a writer who translates a text which is filled up with quotations from other works and sometimes compares to a personal anthology of Greek prose and verse.⁶¹ Thus Boileau sometimes translates as a poet what he has judged as a critic. In fact even the ideas of Longinus do not always seem to him beyond reproach: Longinus proclaims (XIV, 3) that an author who is afraid of thinking that his texts will be known to posterity will never be able to write anything worth reading in the future. Boileau expresses his complete disagreement with him in the *Remarques*:

*Il n'est point vrai qu'un homme qui se défie que ses ouvrages aillent à la postérité, ne produira jamais rien qui en soit digne; et qu'au contraire c'est cette défiance même qui lui fera faire des efforts pour mettre ces ouvrages en état d'y passer avec éloge.*⁶²

Thus Boileau's admiration of Longinus does not prevent him from discussing his ideas. He uses his *Remarques* as a critical appendix to his work. Later, he will add as another appendix his *Réflexions critiques*.

⁵⁷ XIII, Boudhors 1942a: 193.

⁵⁸ XXVI, Boudhors 1942a: 200.

⁵⁹ XXVII, *Ibid.*

⁶⁰ Zuber 1997: 257–258.

⁶¹ Zuber 1997: 256.

⁶² Boudhors 1942a: 207.

The "Réflexions critiques"

The *Réflexions critiques sur quelques passages du rhéteur Longin où, par occasion, on répond à quelques objections de Monsieur P*** contre Homère et contre Pindare* may be divided in two series. The first series (I–IX) was published in the new edition of Boileau's translation in 1694. In the volume, they came after the treatise and before the *Remarques*. The second series (X–XII) was posthumously published in the new edition of Boileau's *Oeuvres complètes* in 1713. It bears a more perceptible relation to *On the sublime* than the first which is closely related to the controversy between the Ancient and the Modern. The *Réflexions critiques* of 1694 are Boileau's reply to Charles Perrault (*Monsieur P****) who had proclaimed in his poem *Le siècle de Louis-le-Grand* (1687) and his *Parallèle des anciens et des modernes*, the first three volumes of which were published from 1688 to 1692, that the modern writers were superior in knowledge and talent to the ancient. The last three texts have nothing to do with this debate. Therefore one may be tempted to conclude that there is no reason to publish the first series with the translation of Longinus or to mingle the two series in the same whole.⁶³ But Boileau did publish the first series with his translation and all the *Réflexions* have the same design: Boileau quotes a passage from his translation of Longinus and comments on it. This is why it is not possible to deny any kind of unity to the *Réflexions critiques* which are never totally unrelated to Longinus. It is true that, in the first series, Boileau uses Longinus' text as a weapon against Perrault. He starts from it to criticize Perrault's overrating of modern books, to censure his translations and commentaries of ancient texts and to point out his poor knowledge of Greek. For example, in the Seventh *Réflexion*, he quotes the passage where Longinus (14, 2) states that a writer must wonder how posterity will judge his work in order to extol the ancient authors who have been admired for centuries and to whom the modern authors cannot compare. This unceasing praise proves beyond any doubt that we must admire them too. Boileau blames Perrault for ignoring this evidence. In the Eighth *Réflexion*, he comments on a remark by Longinus (33, 5) who acknowledges the shortcomings of Pindar and Sophocles. Thus Longinus seems to agree with Perrault who considers Pindar's verse faulty. But Boileau

⁶³ Boudhors 1942b: 252–253.

emphasizes that, according to Longinus, Pindar's faults are negligible and originate in his striving to reach the sublime. This striving is an unmistakable sign of his genius. Moreover, it is generally successful. Therefore, Pindar is a great poet. Perrault translated and censured his verse, but Boileau harshly criticizes his translation and thus brings down his literary judgement: Perrault could not properly appreciate what he was unable to understand. The same polemic tone can be found in the last three *Réflexions*, particularly in the Tenth where Boileau replies to Le Clerc who had published Huet's letter to the Duke of Montauzier and stresses that sublimity can be reached by using simple words and originates in the personal genius of the writer, not in the rules of rhetoric. In the *Réflexions critiques*, Boileau's translation of Longinus becomes an element of the intellectual controversies of his time. Boileau never considered *On the Sublime* from an antiquarian point of view. He wanted the treatise to be read as a work of art which comprised ideas he considered not unrelated to the French theory and practice of literature. His wish was fulfilled. His translation established the treatise as a major reference in literary aesthetics and was the starting-point of Longinus' influence on French literary circles.

Epilogue: The Influence of Boileau's Translation

The idea of the sublime soon became fashionable after the publication of Boileau's translation. It was henceforth Longinus' and Boileau's idea. Boileau was embodying the revival of Longinus whose posterity became Boileau's career. Boileau's idea of the sublime was supported at the court by a small and influential group. Madame de Montespan, the mistress of King Louis XIV, was the leader of this group which included Madame de Thiange, Racine and La Fontaine.⁶⁴ But the sublime did not meet only with social success. It became an inescapable question every writer was confronted with. The answers were many and diverse. Most of them were related to the controversy between the Ancient and the Modern. They do not exactly belong to the posterity of Longinus, but to the history of the sublime in French literature. T.A. Litman has written this history in his

⁶⁴ Adam 1952: 153.

magisterial book *Le sublime en France (1660–1714)*.⁶⁵ There would be no point to repeat his analysis. He has shown how a neglected ancient concept which had been rediscovered and disseminated by a modern writer became a part of the intellectual atmosphere of France in the seventeenth century. Longinus' personality and singularity partly disappeared in the process. But French writers inherited his main idea thanks to the translation of his treatise by Boileau. This translation was immediately considered a work of the latter. The original author receded from the fore as his translator was coming to it and establishing the importance of his thinking. This strange association did not cease to exist. The fresh reprint of Boileau's translation by F. Goyet⁶⁶ has Longinus on the front page, but Goyet most of the time comments on Boileau's text and ideas. For the French non-classicists readers, Longinus definitely survives under the shadow of Boileau.

⁶⁵ Litman 1971.

⁶⁶ Goyet 1995.

CLASSICAL MYTH AND ITS INTERPRETATION IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

Philip Ford

The sixteenth century in France was truly the period when the pagan gods and heroes of the ancient world came into their own. Their presence in the decoration of Renaissance palaces such as Fontainebleau conferred prestige on their owners, poets associated the leading members of the Valois court with well known mythological figures, and royal entries and court festivities frequently took a particular myth or set of myths as their theme. Long before the appearance of Louis XIV as Apollo, the sun king, François I^{er} and his successors were already keen to present an image of themselves based on Greco-Roman mythology. Such propaganda worked in both the private and the public spheres.¹ The king might show his royal or ambassadorial visitors at Fontainebleau the ornately designed frescoes in the Galerie François I^{er} or the Salle de bal, but the printing press was able to make these designs available to a much wider public, who might never have the privilege of entering a royal palace. At the same time, *livrets* recording royal entries and court festivities included not only descriptions and illustrations of these events, but also explanations of the mythological stories which they exploited and their relevance to the affairs of state. It was generally understood that the fables of the Greeks and Romans could embody messages beyond their literal, often shocking meanings. Mythology could appeal to the sixteenth-century taste for the enigmatic as well as the aesthetic and erotic, all of which were catered for in the predominant style of the Valois court, Mannerism.

The sixteenth century did not discover classical mythology: it had formed an important part of medieval French literature, at least as far as Latin sources are concerned. However, with the increasing availability of Greek texts as the sixteenth century progressed, as well

¹ On the role of mythology in the French court, see Yates 1975: 127–72.

as a growing number of humanists in France who studied and interpreted these works, familiarity with the Greek tradition led to a more subtle, at times abstruse, interpretation of the ancient fables. Following the Alexandrian tradition characteristic of poets such as Lycophron, difficulty of interpretation could become an end in itself. At the same time, humanists were faced with the question of how to reconcile pagan literature and philosophy with the tenets of Christianity. Again, this was not a new phenomenon: the Middle Ages had also had to deal with this problem. However, with the ascendancy of the poetry of Ronsard, we encounter a radical change of approach in the middle decades of the sixteenth century in France, with neo-Platonism frequently acting as the bridge between the classical and the Judeo-Christian traditions.

The Medieval Tradition

The rich tradition of interpreting the Bible in the Middle Ages following certain established *sensus*—literal, allegorical, typological, and anagogical—could be applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to classical mythology.² The challenge of how to interpret ancient fables was met by two main approaches, but in either case the essential aim was to neutralise pagan myth, to make it safe for general consumption. On the one hand, the frequently shocking stories concerning ancient gods and heroes could be seen as embodying a moral message, either negative or positive, in line with the teachings of the Church and similar to the allegorical interpretation of the Bible. Mythological figures were frequently equated with particular vices or virtues (tropological or moral interpretations), or fables might also be seen as antetypes of events in the life of Christ (typological interpretations) in the same way as Old Testament stories (e.g. Elijah's ascent to heaven in the fiery chariot, II Kings 2. 11, foreshadows Christ's ascension). These approaches are best typified by the fourteenth-century *Ovide moralisé* and Pierre Bersuire's *Ovidius moralizatus*, though they by no means died out in the sixteenth century: moral interpretations continue to be the preferred exegetical method of the

² On the various forms of allegorical interpretation current throughout the middle ages, see Seznec 1953, chapters 1–4, and Moss 1982: 28–36.

immensely influential *Mythologiae* of the Italian mythographer Natalis Comes, first printed in Latin in 1567, and in French in 1604.³ On the other hand, ancient myths could be seen as the record of actual historical events, presented in exaggerated or fanciful form, an approach best represented by Boccaccio's *Genealogiae deorum gentilium libri*. In this essentially euhemeristic method of exegesis, the gods and heroes of the ancient world are seen as famous men and women about whom fables grew up after their deaths. The other main approach which occurred was physical interpretation, in which the ancient gods were seen as representing the elements (earth, air, fire, and water) or other forces of nature. In general terms, as with the reading and interpretation of the Bible itself, different explanations of an individual fable could be seen as coexisting, and there is seldom the sense that a myth must have one, and only one, meaning.

Mythology in the Renaissance

In all cases, however, pagan myth was seen as a problem to be resolved and explained away, and there is in general no sense that unredeemed pagans could have had access to divine truth, however much their medieval readers might admire their literary abilities. Virgil might be seen as an honourable exception, with the fourth *Eclogue* being frequently read as a messianic prophecy, but even for Dante the Roman poet must remain in hell. Things begin to change with the advent of Renaissance neo-Platonism, centred in the first instance on the group of humanists in Florence associated with Marsilio Ficino. Here, we encounter the notion that ancient poets such as Orpheus, Homer, and Hesiod were divinely inspired, and that they conveyed in mythical form truths about the world and the human soul which were comparable in their nature to the revelations of the Old Testament prophets and poets. Plato was seen as having benefited from this so-called *prisca theologia*, leading him to certain philosophical conclusions which were seen as compatible with Christianity (e.g. monotheism, the immortality of the soul, the pun-

³ The 1551 edition mentioned by Sez nec and others (Sez nec 1953: 229) is a ghost edition. The French translation appeared in Lyon, and was made by J. de Montlyard.

ishment or reward of souls after death).⁴ Contact between early French humanists such as Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples and the Florentine neo-Platonists, and Italian influence in Lyon on writers such as Symphorien Champier helped to introduce these ideas into France. By the end of the 1540s, neo-Platonic views were generally becoming disseminated amongst educated French writers. Thomas Sebillet, for example, in his *Art poétique françoys* of 1548, in many respects quite a conservative work, writes about divine inspiration in the following terms:

Car le Pöete de vraye merque, ne chante ses vers et carmes autrement que excité de la vigueur de son esprit, et inspiré de quelque divine afflation. Pourtant appelloit Platon les Poètes enfans dés dieuz: le père Ennius lés nommoit sainz, et tous lés savans lés ont toujours appelléz divins, comme ceuz qui nous doivent estre singlièrement recommandéz à cause de quelque don divin, et céleste prérogative. . . .⁵

One thing which led to this change of attitude was the dissemination of Greek exegetical texts, in many cases relating to the Homeric epics, which occupied a privileged position in Renaissance minds as the source of so much Greek and Latin poetry. After the *editio princeps* of Homer in 1488, it did not take long before ancient and Byzantine commentaries on the Homeric epics appeared in print: Heraclitus the Rhetor's *De allegoriis apud Homerum* in 1505, in a composite work printed in Venice by the Aldine press which starts off with Aesop's *Fables*; Lascaris' edition of the D scholia⁶ on the *Iliad*, printed in Rome in 1517, and of Porphyry's *Homericarum quaestionum liber* (*Homeric Questions*) and *De nympharum antro in Odyssea opusculum* (*Commentary on the Cave of the Nymphs*), printed together in 1518; the D scholia on the *Odyssey* (Venice: Aldus, 1528); and Bishop Eustathius of Thessalonika's enormous commentary on the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, which appeared in print for the first time in Rome between 1542 and 1550. To these we can add the anonymous *Moralis interpretatio errorum Ulyssis Homeric*, first published in 1531 in Haguenau in the original Greek by Vincentius Opsopaeus but translated into Latin

⁴ On the *prisca theologia* in general, see Walker 1972.

⁵ Sebillet 1932: 9–10.

⁶ The D scholia, which were attributed to Didymus in the sixteenth century, were the only Homeric scholia known at that time.

by Conrad Gesner and published in Zurich in 1542 along with his Latin translation of the *Cave of the Nymphs* and of Proclus' sixth essay on Plato's *Republic* in defence of Homer. Two years later, Gesner also published his own Latin translation of Heraclitus the Rhetor's *Allegoriae in Homeri fabulas de diis* (*Homeric Allegories*, Bâle, Oporinus), thus bringing to a relatively wide audience some of the main exegetical approaches to the Homeric myths.⁷

We see in Gesner's liminary epistle to Proclus's *In libros Platonis de Reipub. apologiae quaedam pro Homero* how much things have changed since medieval times. He is quite dismissive of the preferred exegetical methods of the Middle Ages:

Omnes enim hic de diis fabulae, non iuxta Grammaticorum vulgus historice, physice aut ethice tractantur, sed theologicis & metaphysicis rationibus explanantur.

(Gesner 1542: f. 32^v)

(For in this work all the fables concerning the gods are dealt with not according to the mob of grammarians in historical, physical, or moral interpretations, but they are explained according to theological and metaphysical principles.)

In fact, Gesner was aware from his reading of Plato's *Republic* and Proclus that there are two different kinds of myth, and that the more shocking kind is likely to embody a profounder message (Gesner 1542: ff. 35^v–36^r):

His respondebimus non unum esse fabularum genus, sed alias ad puerorum institutionem aptas: alias uero furore diuino plenas esse, quae magis uniuersam naturam, quam auditorum ingenia respiciunt.

(We shall reply to them that there is not a single type of fable, but that there are some suitable for the education of children, others however full of divine frenzy, which are concerned more with universal nature than the minds of those who listen to them.)

In the middle years of the sixteenth century, there is no doubt that such views prevailed. However, in the opening decades of the century, various interpretative traditions existed, with the moral approach which had been favoured in the Middle Ages continuing to hold sway for some time.

⁷ On these four works in Gesner's translation, see Ford 1985.

The Mythical Tradition before 1545

Until Ronsard's early poetry introduced more recondite forms of myth to a general public, the medieval traditions of mythological use and interpretation prevailed in the opening decades of the sixteenth century. Classical divinities can frequently be seen side by side with allegorical figures inspired by the *Roman de la Rose*, for example in Clément Marot's early work *Le Temple de Cupido*, while certain mythological themes were already being exploited by writers and artists for nationalistic purposes: the myth of the Trojan origins of France in Jean Lemaire de Belges,⁸ for example, or the figure of the Gallic Hercules, emblematic of the French kings, whose commands are willingly obeyed by their subjects.⁹

Until a knowledge of Greek began to become more widespread, thanks in part to François I^{er}'s patronage of learning through such institutions as the Collège royal, founded in 1530 to teach Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, Greek mythology was known to only a relatively few readers, and no doubt many of these knew their Homer through the Latin versions of Lorenzo Valla, whose *Iliad* translation appeared in Venice in 1502, or Raphael Volaterranus, whose translation of the *Odyssey* was first published in Rome in 1510.¹⁰ Nevertheless, there were exceptions such as Jacques Lefèvre d'Étaples (c. 1450–1536) and Guillaume Budé (1467–1540) whose contacts with exiled Greek scholars after the sack of Constantinople and with Italian humanists allowed them to develop a profound knowledge of Greek literature and culture. Homer is frequently cited by Budé, for example, in his *De transitu Hellenismi ad Christianismum* (Paris, 1535), a work which contains some of the first extended discussions of Greek mythology by a French writer. In particular, there is a lengthy exegesis of the myth of the Sirens, who symbolise in his view the attractions of city life, and in particular the allurements of the Court (Budé 1993: 160–90). Elsewhere, he suggests that the drugs used by Circe to

⁸ This foundation myth, later to be taken up by Ronsard in the *Franciade*, is to be found in the *Illustrations de Gaule et singularités de Troie*, first printed in 1511.

⁹ François I^{er} was presented in this manner during Henri II's entrance into Paris in 1549, surmounting the Porte St-Denis; see McFarlane 1982: f. 4^r.

¹⁰ Even at the end of the century, Montaigne, who includes Homer as the first of the three great men whom he most admires, admits that he has not read him in Greek (*Essais* II. ch. 36, 'Des plus excellens hommes').

transform Odysseus' crewmen into beasts represent the uncontrolled desire for wealth and spending, which only the divinely supplied *moly* (or philosophy) can cure (Budé 1993: 191). This type of ethical interpretation, with its more political and religious undercurrents, would find an echo in a number of the *Emblems* of the Italian jurist Andrea Alciati, who taught law at the university of Bourges from 1529, although in many cases he retains the more traditional moral readings: for example, Circe and the Sirens both represent for him prostitutes in the emblems he devotes to them, although he does see the Lotus-eaters as exiles who have been seduced by public office and esteem in Rome: 'Aeternae tantum te capit Urbis honos.' Such moral readings would later be sharply rejected by Jean Dorat in his commentaries on Homer, though he appears to have taken note of some of Budé's more political interpretations, and he follows Budé's lead in attaching great importance to etymology as an interpretative tool.

While vernacular poetry remains relatively conservative within court circles in the opening decades of the century, the thriving international community in Lyon and a strong sense of civic pride helped to foster poetry whose inspiration came both from neo-Latin authors within the city as well as from across the Alps. Maurice Scève's notoriously difficult *Délie* (1544) introduces a number of erotic themes which draw on both Petrarchism and neo-Platonism and in which mythology has an important role. In particular, the exploitation of myths associated with the goddess Diana in her various manifestations as Moon goddess, chaste hunter, and Hecate, goddess of the Underworld, leads to poetry which requires a full knowledge of the myths and their sources to be fully understood. However, Scève draws principally on the Latin and Italian traditions for his mythology. It would be the next generation of poets, and in particular the Pléiade, who turned their attention to the Greek tradition.

Jean Dorat's Interpretative Method and the Pléiade (1545–1585)

Despite his relatively modest publishing record, Jean Dorat (1508–1588) was undoubtedly one of the most influential figures in the mid-sixteenth century with regard to the interpretation of Greek myth.¹¹

¹¹ On Dorat, see Demerson 1983.

Until recent years, however, it was only possible to have a sense of his teaching from second-hand reports from his pupils: Ronsard, for example, the Pléiade poet most influenced by his teaching; or Guillaume Canter, a pupil from a later generation who recorded in greater detail his master's interpretations and emendations of ancient texts, in the absence of any printed accounts by Dorat himself. However, the discovery of a full set of lecture notes on books X–XII of the *Odyssey* in the Ambrosian Library in Milan has shed considerable fresh light on Dorat's methods, since these notes appear to be the essentially verbatim record of what he had to say on the subject.¹²

Probably dating from between 1569 and 1571, these lectures provide us with a good sense of Dorat's sources and his attitude towards them. His overall interpretation of the *Odyssey* had been known to modern scholars for some time, thanks to Guillaume Canter's *Novarum lectionum libri septem*. In the second edition, printed in Bâle in 1566 by Jean Oporin, Canter wrote:

Vlysses igitur, ne longum faciam, proponitur ab Homero uir non tam sapiens aut felix, nisi quantum humanae res ferunt, quam uerae sapientiae ac felicitatis (haec enim Penelope est, haec Ithaca) studiosus: ob quam obsequendam multos labores ac errores in mari, mundo uidelicet, subit. . . . Phaeacum ministerio, morte obita, optatam felicitatem consequitur. . . . Haec autem ex cuius ingenio prodierint, si quis requirat, I. Auratum, maximum sane virum, unicum & optimum Homeri interpretem, auctorem laudabo.

(Canter 1566: 261)

(Therefore, to cut matters short, Homer presents Odysseus less as a model of the wise or happy man, except as is natural in human affairs, as desirous of true wisdom and happiness (for one is Penelope, the other Ithaca). To gain them, he undergoes many travails and uncertainties on the sea, in other words in the world. With the help of the Phaeacians, after death, he gains the happiness which he had desired. Now, if anybody asks from which genius these ideas originated, I will give credit to Jean Dorat, certainly the greatest of men, the unique and best interpreter of Homer.)

Budé had suggested something similar in the *De transitu*, though he does not go quite so far as Dorat: 'ego vero ab etymologia nominis coniecturam faciens, viatoris nomen esse philosophi censeo, de salute sua bene in via sociorumque merentis' ('But for my part, extra-

¹² See Dorat 2000.

polating from the etymology of his [Odysseus's] name, I think it means the "traveller-philosopher" who took good care in his travels of his own salvation and that of his crewmen").¹³ Dorat is more unequivocal in his lecture notes. However, this underlying assumption that Odysseus represents the Christian's path through the trials and tribulations of life through to the ultimate felicity of the afterlife begs a number of questions, of which by far the most important is how Homer would have had any knowledge of the true religion.

Of the various Homeric commentaries at Dorat's disposal, it is Porphyry's explanation of the Cave of the Nymphs at the start of book 13 of the *Odyssey* which is the most obvious source. Though Porphyry was not a Christian himself, his neo-Platonic interpretation of Odysseus' arrival in Ithaca, which dates from the late third century AD, was easily absorbed into Christian thinking from the fourth century onwards,¹⁴ and the work became more generally available to Renaissance humanists, as we have seen, thanks to Conrad Gesner's Latin translation, printed in 1542. For Porphyry, the cave is the space in which souls pass into generation or out of it. It thus represents the point where Odysseus leaves behind his mortal form to take on immortality.

But Dorat is not content to see this event as a happy coincidence in Homer offering a *parallel* to Christian beliefs. Just as the ancients had believed that Homer, through divine inspiration, knew things about the physical and the metaphysical worlds which were denied to ordinary mortals, so too does Dorat. Nor is Dorat content to rely on the assumption of divine inspiration on its own. In the first place, he was convinced of the authenticity of the Sibylline oracles and their messianic prophecies. This in itself is unsurprising, and already formed part of medieval thinking. The floor of Siena cathedral contains inlaid marble slabs containing representations of the Sibyls which date from the fifteenth century, and they also appear in Michelangelo's ceiling in the Sistine Chapel. Closer to home in France, Antoine Caron painted in the 1560s the Tiburtine Sibyl revealing a vision of Mary and Jesus to the emperor Augustus.¹⁵

¹³ Budé 1993: 188.

¹⁴ See Lambertson 1986: 160–1.

¹⁵ This painting is now in the Louvre.

Apart from the lecture notes on the *Odyssey*, Dorat's interest in the Sibylline Oracles is demonstrated by a book printed in 1586, the *Sibyllarum duodecim oracula, ex antiquo libro Latine per Ioan. Auratum, poetam et interpretem regium, & Gallice per Claud. Binetum edita* (Paris: Jean Rabel, 1586). In an introductory poem in elegiac couplets to Henri III's wife, Louise de Lorraine, after referring to various events in the life of Christ predicted by the Old Testament prophets, Dorat writes:

*Talia de Christo Bissex cecinere Sibyllae,
Multorum antiquis testificata libris.
Quae sacris Euangelii tam consona constant,
Quam sacrae inter se quattuor historiae.*

(Dorat 1586: f. Aiiij^v)

(The twelve Sibyls sang similar prophecies about Christ, which were published in the ancient books of many authors. They are in as harmonious agreement with the holy Gospels as the four holy histories [of Christ] are with each other.)

In his own dedication to Louise de Lorraine, the publisher, Jean Rabel, explains that God 'a voulu predire au peuple gentil par les Sibylles, femmes infideles & agitees du maling esprit, lesquelles toutes-fois furent vaincues & forcees par l'esprit de Dieu (qui quelque-fois parle par la bouche des faux Prophetes, & les contrainct bon gré mal gré de dire la verité) en ce qu'elles nous ont predict des choses susdictes' (Dorat 1586: f. Aij^v).

Since, according to the authors of this volume, some of the Sibyls were more or less contemporary with Homer, he would have been able to have through them an intimation of certain truths concerning Christianity. In particular, Dorat writes of the third Sibyl, the Sibyl of Delphi:

*Tertia, cui Delphi tribuerunt Delphica nomen,
Dicta Themis, Troiae quae praecessisse ruinas
Dicitur: & cuius versus furatus Homerus
Versibus inseruit proprijs.*

(Dorat 1586: f. Bij^v)

(The third, to whom the Delphians gave the name of Delphic Sibyl, is called Themis, and she is said to have preceded the fall of Troy. Homer stole some of her verses and mixed them in with his own.)

Years earlier, in his commentary on the *Odyssey*, Dorat had made similar assertions. For example, while discussing Odysseus' descent into the Underworld, he writes:

Plurima quae in hoc libro sunt desumpta esse uidentur e Sybillinis oraculis eaque praesertim quae de Hercule traduntur. quemadmodum illae Domini nostri Jesu Christi descensum ad inferos praedixerant ita Homerus hic Vlysem alioque in loco Herculem descendisse scribit quod de Orpheo ueteres Poetae etiam fabulantur.

(Dorat 2000: 30)

(There are many things in this book which appear to have been taken from the Sibylline oracles, especially the traditions concerning Hercules. Just as the Sibyls had predicted the descent into hell of our lord Jesus Christ, so Homer writes here that Odysseus and elsewhere that Hercules descended there, a story which the ancient poets also tell concerning Orpheus.)

Clearly, if Homer is plagiarising the Sibyls, he is also being exposed to their messianic prophecies.

There is thus a suggestion here that the three ancient heroes who managed to enter the Underworld and return to life again—Odysseus, Hercules, and Orpheus—should be seen as antetypes of Christ, an updating of the medieval tradition of interpretation, justified by literary and historical evidence. Later on in his commentary, Dorat takes the image of Odysseus sitting astride the beams from the wreckage of his ship as prefiguring Christ:

In figura crucis quam transversa oblique carina et clauus efficiebant cuique insidens enatauit Vlyses mysterium inest quoddam. Nam cum littera X decem significet qui numerus omnium est perfectissimus putandum est hominem perfectum e quouis naufragio euasurum. Deinde si Sybillas et prophetas altius perscruteris X. initium nominis Χριστοῦ inueniemus in quo omnes salui facti sumus.

(Dorat 2000: 78)

(There is a kind of mystery in the figure of the cross formed by the hull placed at an angle across the rudder, astride which Odysseus escaped. For just as the letter X stands for the number 10, the most perfect of numbers, we should deduce from this that the perfect man will escape from any shipwreck. Then, if you study more profoundly the Sibyls and prophets, we will find that X is the first letter of the name of Christ (Χριστός) in whom we have all been brought to salvation.)

Dorat believes, then, that the Homeric epics contain hidden allusions to Christianity for those who are able to perceive them. Elsewhere, he sees allusions in the Bible to Homeric figures. For example, at the end of his section on Odysseus and the Sirens, he writes: ‘30 capitulo Iob harum meminit’ (‘Job recalls them in chapter 30’, Dorat 2000: 58), an allusion to the Septuagint version of the Bible where we do indeed read: Ἄδελφός γέγονα σειρήνων, ἐταῖρος δὲ στρουθῶν (‘I have become the brother of Sirens, and the companion of ostriches’).

Dorat is not only concerned, however, with finding intertextual links of a mythological or Christological nature between the Bible and Homer. He is also interested in what he sees as shared philosophical and theological notions. Commenting on the fact that Homer refers to Hercules both as one of the heroes whom Odysseus meets in the Underworld and as one of the heavenly gods, married to Hebe, the goddess of youth, Dorat explains that humans are composed of a body and a double soul, consisting of νοῦς and ψυχή. Drawing a parallel between Plato's notion of purgation in the *Phaedo* and Virgil's in the *Aeneid* on the one hand and the Catholic concept of Purgatory on the other, he writes:

qui enim in coelo sunt semper in iuuenili aetate manent et proinde immortalem uitam agunt. Aliorum uero aut in inferis purgari aut centum annis in terris errare (ut est apud Virgilium 6. Aeneidos) ut contagione mole faeaeque corporea relicta tandem integri et puri in coelum aduolent.

Paulus duas animae partes facit. unam uocat νοῦν id est mentem quam Plato uocat αὐτὸν ἄνεμον a concretionem grauioris partis deorsumque tendentis prorsus secretam alteram πνεῦμα seu ψυχήν quae proprie anima appellatur communis cunctis animantibus unde ψυχικοί. animales dicuntur.

(Dorat 2000: 30)

(For those who are in heaven remain for ever in the flower of youth and lead an immortal life. But the souls of others are purged in the underworld or wander for a hundred years on earth (as is the case in Virgil, *Aeneid* VI), to get rid of the contagion, mass, and impurity of the body and at last fly pure and spotless to heaven.

Saint Paul establishes the existence of two parts of the soul: one, which he calls *nous*, intelligence, and which Plato calls 'the very breath' is entirely separate from the matter made up of the heavier part which tends downwards; the other, which he calls *pneuma* or *psychê*, which in proper terms is called 'soul' [*anima*], is common to all animate beings, hence their name *psychikoi*, 'living beings'.)

Odysseus had encountered Hercules' *psychê* in the Underworld; the hero's nobler part, his immortal *nous*, is what resides in heaven. Dorat's allusion to St Paul is to II Thessalonians 2. 2, where Paul does not explain the difference between *noûs* and *psychê* and *pneuma*: Dorat appears to be superimposing a Platonic distinction onto Paul's words here.

Other examples of this process could be cited from the *Odyssey* commentary, notably in the section on the cattle of the Sun, where Dorat sees an allusion to the sabbath in the fact that Odysseus' crewmen feast on the meat from the cattle for six days, but cease on the

seventh. Judging on the basis of the commentary, it would appear that Dorat's religious views tended towards syncretism, not unlike other members of the Pléiade, in particular Ronsard, but also Pontus de Tyard, both men in holy orders, in the case of Tyard rising to be bishop of Chalon-sur-Saône. Dorat rejects Epicureanism on a number of occasions in the commentary, and appears to be keen to demonstrate not so much a universal religion, as the idea that the early Greek poets had access, through divine inspiration and prophecy, to the truths of the Judeo-Christian religion, including the notion of Christ as saviour and messiah.

Dorat's position both as Professor of Greek at the Collège royal (1556–67) and as 'poète et interprète royal' meant that his views on mythology had a broad influence in both humanist and court circles. These views gained a wider audience through the writing of Dorat's pupil, Ronsard, the member of the Pléiade who appears to have associated himself most closely with his master's teaching.¹⁶ Like Dorat, Ronsard believed that 'la Poësie n'estoit au premier aage qu'une Theologie allegoricque', and in the *Abregé de l'art poëtique françois* (1565), he wrote of Homer and Hesiod (as well as the mythical poets Eumolpus, Linus, and Orpheus):¹⁷

Pour ceste cause ilz sont appelez Poëttes divins, non tant pout leur divin esprit qui les rendoit sur tous admirables & excellens, que pour la conversation qu'ilz avoyent avecques les Oracles, prophetes, Devins, Sybilles, Interpretes de songes, desquelz ils avoyent apris la meilleure part de ce qu'ilz sçavoyent: car ce que les oracles disoyent en peu de motz, ces gentilz personnages l'emplifoyent, coloroyent & augmentoyent, estans envers le peuple ce que les Sybilles & Devins estoyent en leur endroit.

Ronsard had learned his lesson well from Dorat, and that lesson was aimed at bringing the early pagan poets whom both men admired so much into the revealed truth of Christianity. Not only could their works be read for enjoyment and historical interest, they could also be interpreted as moral, religious works, in need of a proper exegetical method, but in no way needing to be neutralised and tamed. However, not all ancient poets enjoyed this privileged reputation. Ronsard speaks of the later Greek poets as 'les seconds poètes que

¹⁶ On the Pléiade's use of mythology, see Demerson 1972.

¹⁷ Ronsard 1924–75: XIV. 4–5.

j'appelle humains, pour estre plus enfléz d'artifice & labour que de divinité', while the Roman poets 'ont foisonné en telle fourmilierie, qu'ilz ont apporté aux librairies plus de charge que d'honneur, excepté cinq ou six desquelz la doctrine, accompagné d'un parfaict artifice, m'a tousjours tiré en admiration' (Ronsard 1924–75: XIV. 5). Homer, Hesiod, and the works attributed by Renaissance humanists to Orpheus thus enjoyed a special status in Ronsard's hierarchy of poets.

The method used by Budé as well as Dorat to explain their myths is to a large extent based on the principles of etymology, and Dorat in particular believed that an individual's name contains his or her destiny. This notion derives in part from Plato's *Cratylus* as well as from the Adamic origins of language in Genesis 2. 19–20, but Dorat would have seen it at work in commentators such as Heraclitus the Rhetor and Eustathius. In addition to etymology as we conceive of it now (the analysis of the individual lexemes making up a word), Dorat also includes the process he refers to as *allusio* (word play or paranomasia), as well as anagrams, a poetic device recommended by Du Bellay in the *Deffence et illustration de la langue françoise* (1549):

Seulement j'ay bien voulu, et ne me semble mal à propos, montrer l'antiquité de deux choses fort vulgaires en notre langue, et non moins anciennes entre les Grecz. L'une est cete inversion de lettres en un propre nom, qui porte quelque devise convenable à la personne: comme en FRANCOYS DE VALOYS, De facon suys royal. HENRY DE VALOYS, Roy es de nul hay. . . .

(Du Bellay 1904: 275–6)

In fact, Du Bellay makes use of both anagrams and *allusiones* in his poetry, and in a posthumous work of 1569, the *Xenia*, he presents a series of *Illustrium quorundam Nominum Allusiones* ('Word play on the names of certain famous men') in which he puts the principle of *allusio* into practice (Du Bellay 1984–5: vol. VIII, 65 sqq.). However, the works of the Pléiade are scattered with examples of both *allusio* and anagram, bearing witness to their importance as both poetic and interpretative tools.

In addition, and unlike many medieval allegorical explanations, Dorat believed that it was important to provide a coherent, overall explanation of a myth, not simply a series of explanations of individual details which do not add up to a consistent whole. Thus, the *Odyssey* is an exploration of the human soul in which the hero learns from Circe and Calypso respectively the secrets of the physical and the metaphysical worlds, while the Sirens, following an interpreta-

tion advanced by Cicero (*De finibus* V. 18), stand for the dangers of the contemplative life, devoid of action.

Dorat does not entirely reject moral, physical, and historical interpretations, however, maintaining a generally eclectic attitude towards his sources, and usually reviewing the validity of different explanations where appropriate. Thus, although he rejects the common view of Circe and the Sirens as symbols of sexual lust, he does attribute this interpretation to Scylla, whose canine qualities are linked with the dog's traditional associations with unrestrained sexuality (Dorat 2000: 64). Elsewhere, he views other animals as representing different forms of government: lions stand for the monarchy, bears for aristocratic oligarchies, and pigs for democracy (Dorat 2000: 38). Euhemerism also has a place in his interpretative system, for example in the suggestion that Aeolus, the god of the winds, may have been an astronomer whose knowledge of the skies allowed him to forecast the weather, as suggested by one of Dorat's sources, Pliny (Dorat 2000: 4).

Dorat's pupils, Ronsard, Du Bellay, and Baïf, were variously influenced by his teaching. Ronsard in particular makes extensive use of Greek mythology in his poetry, and his early reputation for obscurity after the publication of the *Odes* and the *Amours de Cassandre* is no doubt a direct result of putting Dorat's teaching into practice. A decade or so later, in 1563, he would write in the 'Hymne de l'Autonne' of his period of study with Dorat:

... je vins estre
Disciple de d'Aurat, qui long temps fut mon maistre,
M'aprist la Poësie, & me montra comment
On doit feindre & cacher les fables proprement,
Et à bien deguiser la verité des choses
*D'un fabuleux manteau dont elles sont encloses.*¹⁸

In this much cited passage, Ronsard makes it clear that the essence of poetry for him lies in the poet's ability to create myths with which to represent reality in a hidden, mystical form. In general terms, he avoids relying on a single source for the classical fables which he deploys in his poetry, preferring rather to draw on several sources, as in such poems as the 'Hymne de Calais, et de Zetes' and the

¹⁸ Ronsard 1924-75: XII. 50.

'Hymne de Pollux et de Castor' (1556, Ronsard 1924–75: VIII. 255–327), both based on the *Argonautica* tradition, but drawing variously on Apollonius of Rhodes, Valerius Maximus, and Virgil. Like Ovid before him, he tends to deal at length with those stories which have not received extensive treatment in the ancient world, and often changes their details to provide an imaginative reworking.¹⁹

Like Dorat, he often avoids the more obvious moral interpretations of classical myths to opt for neo-Platonically inspired fables. There is a sense, as is often the case with the Pléiade, that the hermeneutic difficulty of the poetry is one of the pleasures which the erudite reader will savour, appealing to the Renaissance sense of delight in the enigmatic.

Du Bellay too, as we have seen, was influenced by Dorat's thinking on etymology, and like Ronsard he exploits Greek mythology in his poetry. However, in his vernacular writing, he tends to avoid the more obscure use of myth, instead using classical fables almost as a leit-motif in some of his poetry: the battle of the gods and giants as a symbol of Rome's pride in the *Antiquitez de Rome*, for example, or the figure of Odysseus as the exiled poet in the *Regrets*. Only occasionally does he do more than allude to these myths, with one notable exception being the 'Ode au seigneur des Essars sur le discours de son Amadis', three hundred heptasyllabic lines divided into thirty strophes, which recounts the story of the adultery of Ares and Aphrodite, taken from book VIII of the *Odyssey*.²⁰ We see in this poem much of the narrative verve which is typical of Ronsard's mythological verse. But only in his neo-Latin compositions does Du Bellay allow himself the range of mythological allusion and interpretative diversity that we take for granted in Ronsard.

Baïf is rather more conservative than either of these two in his use of mythology, generally being content with moral interpretations of classical myth, while Jodelle, particularly in his occasional verse celebrating the Valois court, tends towards an historical approach, associating prominent figures of his day with Greco-Roman divinities. In general terms, however, the popularity of the Pléiade's poetry, and the exploitation by themselves and others of mythological themes

¹⁹ See Ford 1997: 214–36.

²⁰ Du Bellay 1908–31: IV. 163–78.

in public celebrations, works of art, and national propaganda all contributed to an awareness of the various interpretative traditions which they themselves deployed.

The Transition to the Seventeenth Century

The popularity enjoyed by Ronsard and the Pléiade in the middle decades of the sixteenth century was not destined to outlive them by very long, and the at times hermetic, stylised, intellectual poetry which had been their hallmark fell out of fashion with the poetic reforms of Malherbe.²¹ Along with their loss of popularity went a whole interpretative tradition founded upon the principles of French humanism. Even at the height of their popularity, one man was working far from the public gaze in the south-west of France, whose view of Homer and Greek literature in general would ultimately triumph in the seventeenth century: Julius Caesar Scaliger.

Although Scaliger's *Poetices libri septem* was first published posthumously as early as 1561, it took a little time before its influence began to have an effect upon literary taste, or at least before French taste began to coincide with its critical point of view. If we turn to book V of the *Poetice*, entitled *Criticus*, we find a comparison between Greek and Latin poetry, the majority of which centres on Homer and Virgil. For Scaliger, the more polished, sophisticated writing of Virgil is incontestably superior to what Ronsard had referred to as the 'naïve facilité'—the natural flowing composition—of Homer, who is criticised both for the content and the style of his epics. As a result, we see opinion in France turning full circle with respect to the interpretation of classical mythology. In particular, Scaliger has no place for the 'merveilleux', no place for what is not 'bienséant' in Homer, and in this sense he can be seen as a forerunner of French classicism. For example, in chapter 2 of *Criticus*, he writes:²²

Neque vero temere multi docti sanaeque eruditionis viri exstiterē, qui merito notarint quaedam, a quibus nos iuberent abstinere. Nam quae ille de suis diis infamia infandaque prodidit? Adulteria, incestus, odia inter se. Quod si allegorias trahunt

²¹ On the literary fortunes of the Pléiade, see Faisant 1998.

²² Scaliger 1998: 56–8.

ad physica, numquam quicquam comminisci queant, quo Venus atque Mercurius [sic] a Vulcano in natura rerum comprehendantur. Quae sit Leucothea, quae invito Neptuno rege suo Ulysses servare audeat? Quis putet non esse puerile illud? Solis boves interficiunt Ulyssis socii ac vorant: hoc Sol ipse non nisi per nuntium resciscit. Et nisi dixisset Lampetie, etiam nunc ignoraret ille; misellae boves inultae errarent in Elysiis. At alibi sane recte dictum est: 'Ἡέλιος ὄς πάντ' ἐφορᾷ καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει. . . . De portu vero in Ithaca quot nugae Porphyrius?

(It is not without reason that many learned men of sound education have justly criticised certain aspects of Homer, and have invited us to avoid them. What dreadful infamies did he not reveal amongst his gods? Adultery, incest, mutual hatred. If one wants to see allegories of nature in them, it is impossible to imagine an explanation showing us in the natural world Venus and Mercury [sic] caught in the act by Vulcan. What can one make of Leucothea daring to save Ulysses despite the will of her sovereign lord Neptune? Who would not consider this as childishness? Ulysses' crewmen kill and eat the cattle of the Sun; the Sun himself only hears about it from a messenger; and if Lampetie had not told him, he would still not know about it, and his wretched cows would be wandering around in the Elysian Fields, unavenged. However, elsewhere he rightly speaks of 'the Sun, who sees everything and hears everything'. . . . As for the port in Ithaca, what nonsense by Porphyry on the subject!)

It is in this coolly logical, culturally determined manner that Scaliger approaches the mythical content of the Homeric epics and Greek mythology in general. Throughout the *Criticus*, Scaliger demonstrates the appropriateness of Virgil in contrast to the carelessness of Homer, and it is clear that he is the spokesman for an anti-Platonic, Aristotelian school of criticism which, with the advent of Malherbe and his followers, would witness a privileging of Latin over Greek models, and a more sceptical attitude to the question of the interpretation of ancient myth.

Such an approach would have found a sympathetic response in the new religious climate at the end of the century. Protestant writers such as d'Aubigné, of course, turned to the Bible rather than mythology for poetic inspiration, but religious attitudes within the Catholic Church after the Council of Trent meant that greater decorum was necessary in dealing with classical divinities. Syncretism was largely rejected, and along with it the tradition of seeing classical myth as foreshadowing events in the New Testament. It is the medieval traditions of moral, physical, and historical exegesis, previously denigrated by Gesner, which return to favour in late six-

teenth-century thinking,²³ and as the seventeenth century progressed, ancient divinities were simply transformed into abstractions, or presented in the guise of French courtiers, playing out their roles in an artificially created classical landscape.

²³ See Moss 1982: 44–53, who discusses the allegorical interpretations of Ovid by Johannes Sprengius and Georgius Sabinus.

THE EPIC IN SIXTEENTH-CENTURY FRANCE

Jean Braybrook

Sixteenth-century French poets and theorists frequently discuss their urge to write an epic poem. Peletier du Mans, for instance, mentions his vain attempt to construct one about Hercules.¹ Many writers try their hand at classical, heroic or mythical material. The longest work produced, however, is Ronsard's *Franciade*, an incomplete epic. This chapter will briefly examine some of the theoretical pronouncements about epic, then categorize the heroic and mythological poems according to theme. Finally it will consider *La Franciade*, which embodies Renaissance faith in art but also an awareness of flux.

Theory

The first critic to discuss the heroic poem in this period was Thomas Sebillet, in his *Art Poétique François*. However, he devotes scant attention to the matter; he treats it under the heading 'De la Version' (2.14), relegating it to a minor position. Regretting the excessive amount of translation being undertaken, he nevertheless recommends imitation of Homer, Virgil, and the *Roman de la Rose*.²

Du Bellay, doubtless wishing to express the ideas of the nascent Pléiade on a subject treated by an opponent, devotes a chapter of the *Deffence et Illustration de la langue francoyse* to the epic: 'Du long poëme francoys' (II. 5). He believes that a modern epic, fusing medieval with classical inspiration, would greatly enrich the French language.³ Du Bellay stresses that such a work would demand long preparation (ed. Chamard 1904: 238), and acknowledges that contemporary conditions are imperfect, since there are no longer generous patrons such as Virgil's. Nevertheless, he encourages poets to

¹ Ed. Boulanger 1930: 86; and the J. de Tournes ed., 1555: 120–21.

² Ed. Gaiffe 1910: 187.

³ Weinberg 1950: 21–22.

compose an epic, trusting to posterity. But he gives no precise indications concerning form or style.

Peletier in his critical works also esteems 'l'oeuvre heroïque', which he discusses in greater detail than his predecessors. Comparing other poetic genres to streams, he calls the epic an ocean, the form and image of the universe (p. 194), alluding to the notion that writers of epic embodied in their work encyclopaedic knowledge. Peletier gives precepts: the poet should begin with an invocation to the Muses. His tone should be natural and modest; he should start *in medias res*, whilst outlining the plan the poem will follow. Peletier advocates the insertion of allusions to philosophy and science, referring to the *Aeneid* as an example. He stresses that the poet should not adhere too faithfully to historical fact, echoing Aristotle and anticipating Ronsard's distinction between historian and poet in the prefatory material for *La Franciade*.⁴ However, Peletier says little about epic style, although he makes some comments on Virgil's techniques.

J.C. Scaliger's *Poetices libri septem*, published posthumously in 1561, had probably been circulating amongst his humanist friends for some time. They introduced much Aristotelian thought into French critical theory.⁵ Although Scaliger limits his study to Greek, Latin and Neo-Latin works, he considers the epic, comparing some of its aspects with those of tragedy: unity of action, consistency of characterization, *vraisemblance*. He places the epic above tragedy because it is a mixed form. It is third in rank after, first, the hymn and paean, and secondly, the *mele*, ode and scholia (I. 3, 'Poematum per modos divisio, et eorum ordo', p. 6, col. 2). Scaliger devotes Chapter 96 of Book Three to the laws governing epic poetry (p. 144, cols 1 and 2). He rejects the Horatian precept that the poet should begin *ab ovo*; rather, he should start 'ab illustri re'. Scaliger recommends that the reader be kept in suspense. He advises the poet to divide his work into chapters and sections, 'naturae imitatione'. In this chapter as elsewhere, Scaliger reveals his admiration for Virgil: he suggests that subsidiary episodes be modelled on the Latin poet. The long third chapter of Book Five, 'Homeri et Virgilii Loca', compares passages by Homer and Virgil, concluding that the latter is superior. Amongst

⁴ Compare Aristotle's distinction—commented on at length by the Italians—between poetry, which treats 'universals', and history, which deals with 'singulars' (*On the Art of Poetry*, tr. Bywater 1947: 43).

⁵ Spingarn 1954: 141–42.

the extracts Scaliger discusses are the tempest scenes from the *Aeneid*, which were to be employed in Ronsard's *Franciade*. Scaliger said more about style than many earlier theorists. He also gave catalogues of similes used by Greek and Latin writers: these were, potentially, a rich source of material for any aspiring epic poet (V. 18). Unfortunately, the scope of his work was limited by his failure to discuss vernacular literature.

The epic was therefore a highly respected genre, deemed worthy of imitation, but also treated with awe. The rising tide of nationalism was an important factor in the desire to create an epic on a par with those of Greece and Rome, and was to be a motive force behind Ronsard's *Franciade*. However, many pronouncements remained vague, and there was little discussion of whether the heroic spirit of antiquity really could be revived. Du Bellay alone seems aware of the difficulties caused by the radical change in cultural conditions. Significantly, too, the theorists concentrate on individual episodes rather than on the overall structure of the epic. Their views are more suitable for the epic fragment than for the full-scale heroic work. Indeed, until Ronsard published *La Franciade* in 1572, the sixteenth-century French poets produced only heroic and mythological fragments.

Dominant Themes

Before attempting to isolate narrative strands in the texts produced, one should recall that a characteristic of many late medieval and Renaissance compositions is their attempt to weave together as many legendary threads as possible, drawn from as many different sources as possible, rather after the fashion of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*. An example is Lemaire de Belges's *Illustrations de Gaule et Singularitez de Troye* (1510–1513), which purports to tell the story of France since the days of Troy and to show that Roman culture is an offshoot rather than a root of Western culture.⁶ It was to influence Ronsard's *Franciade*. Whereas this section separates out themes, works such as Lemaire's attempt to blend them.

⁶ Moss 1984: 17–40.

Transformation

French Renaissance writers extracted from Ovid's *Metamorphoses* many poems recounting a transformation. Perhaps metamorphosis reflected their preoccupation with instability and change; perhaps on the other hand it enabled them to explore the concept of immortality, to suggest that some forms of existence transcend death.⁷ The motif certainly allowed them to tell a colourful story presenting occasional burlesque elements and dramatic passages of direct speech.

Pontus de Tyard produced an ode, *Les Grenoilles*, derived from *Metamorphoses* VI. 339–81, telling how Latona causes some vulgar peasants to be turned into frogs.⁸ Jean-Antoine de Baïf composed several paraphrases of Ovid: *Salmaci* (from *Metamorphoses* IV. 285–389); *L'Amour de Medee* (from VII. 5–99); *Atalante* (from X. 560–704, a passage also remembered by Bereau in *L'Histoire d'Hippomene et d'Atalante*); and *Amour de Vertun et Pomone* (XIV. 623–94 and 761–71).⁹

Some Ovidian transformation tales attracted more attention than others. The story of Apollo and Daphne had already been employed by Lemaire de Belges in describing Paris' pursuit of Oenone.¹⁰ It formed the basis for *Le Laurier* by Baïf, in which fame is a key theme (ll. 281–85), and for Jean de La Jessée's *Metamorphose de la nymphe Fugeres, ditte Fugueros*, which owes much to Baïf, as well as to Ovid. The transformation of Narcissus, with the connected tale of Echo, inspired a cluster of poems. François de Belleforest produced *La Fable de Narcisse, et Eolio*, partly imitating Luigi Alamanni's *Favola di Narcisso*. Habert wrote *La Fable du beau Narcissus amoureux de sa beauté, dont il mourut*, a compressed version of Ovid. The *Description poetique de l'histoire du beau Narcissus* has been variously ascribed to Jean Bourdel, Habert and Jean Rus. Ronsard's *Le Narssis* re-shapes Ovid. It invites François Charbonnier to accompany him into the country and enjoy the first signs of spring. Optimism reigns (ll. 1–40): the repeated *ja* creates expectancy. The prologue also introduces mythology: lines 15 to 20 portray Venus, the Graces, wood deities, and Vulcan; lines 21 to 24 mention Bacchus and Ceres; in lines 35 to 36, Procne and

⁷ Demerson 1977.

⁸ Ed. Lapp 1966: xli and 202–07.

⁹ Wiley 1936.

¹⁰ Ed. Stecher 1882: I: 165–75. See Gmelin 1932.

Philomela appear, ushering in the theme of metamorphosis. A reference to the Argonautic expedition (ll. 37–40) proves that Jason's crew is already in Ronsard's mind as a potential subject. The narcissus legend is then introduced as another episode redolent of spring. The prologue presents the mythological world as one of youth and beauty: one not excluding suffering, however, as the reference to Philomela indicates and as the tale of Narcissus will make clear. The framework reappears at the end of the poem, where reasons for this optimism are adumbrated. Ronsard has been saved from his enemies by Michel de l'Hospital and D'Avanson; mention of the voyage he undertook in stormy seas reminds one of the allusion to Jason (ll. 185–90). Just as Ronsard's mood must have been one of renewed hope, so his attitude to myth contains fewer shadows than in some of his other poems. *Le Narssis* demonstrates how a prelude and conclusion control the reader's reactions to the myth and also introduce reflections on the poet's situation. Ronsard is elaborating a structure that will lend a sense of completeness to the fragment, by providing keys to exegesis. Finally, Vauquelin de la Fresnaie's eighth *Foresterie* focuses on Echo, and contains reminiscences of Baïf and Ronsard.

Many poets were also attracted to the tale of Pyramus and Thisbe, as narrated by Ovid (*Metamorphoses* IV. 55–166). There was an Old French version of the tale, which some sixteenth-century poets consulted.¹¹ Two interpretations of the story are moralistic: the first is by Habert, published in *La Jeunesse du Banny de lyesse, escollier, estudiant à Tholose . . .* in 1541, and influenced by *Le grand Olympe des histories poëtiques du prince de poésie Ovide Naso en sa Métamorphose*; the second is Baïf's *Le Meurier, ou La Fable de Pyrame et Thisbe*. Later in the century, Guillaume Belliard's *Les Tragiques Amours de Pirame et Tysbé, prises d'Ovide*, again displays didactic aims, but also a search for psychological consistency. These three poets seem to have consulted medieval renderings of Ovid's account. In La Roque's *Les Amours de Pirame et Tisbe*, published in 1597, are images found in L'Amomo's Italian elaboration on Ovid (1535). Interest in the Ovidian tale was maintained throughout the sixteenth century.

Not all the transformation poems produced in this period were derived from Ovid. Three writers composed, at different dates, poems centred on the metamorphosis of nymphs into willows. The seminal

¹¹ It is reproduced by C. de Boer 1911.

influence was exercised by Sannazaro's *Salices*, published in 1526.¹² Marguerite de Navarre used Sannazaro's composition in her *Fable du faulx cuyder*, printed in 1543.¹³ Whereas Sannazaro never moralizes, Marguerite's piece is imbued with religious aims. Her satyrs are more evil than Sannazaro's and plan in advance to ravish the nymphs; her nymphs are consecrated to Diana, which makes their blindness more serious. The transformation is symbolic; 'cuyder' becomes a leitmotif.¹⁴ Marguerite's poem was remembered by Scève when he composed his *Saulsaye*, *Eglogue de la vie solitaire*, printed in 1547. Scève had written introductory sonnets and a postscript for the two 1547 editions of Marguerite's work.¹⁵ An engraving illustrating Marguerite's poem, in J. de Tournes's edition of *La Suyte des Marguerites de la Marguerite des Princesses*, was also printed along with Scève's text.¹⁶ However, the main source is Sannazaro. The account of the transformation is inserted into a discussion on the merits of the solitary life. With the prelude and conclusion, the metamorphosis suggests how the same thing may be interpreted in different ways. Antire sees the fable in a pessimistic light, which accords with his description of the place to which Philerme has fled as a gloomy region. He thinks the transformation might have been averted by leading an active life (ll. 453–68). In his opinion, the nymphs failed: they were unable to anticipate or meet the demands of love. The satyrs were tempted because they led a solitary existence, with little to distract them from the demands of the flesh. Evangelical, anti-monastic satire seems near the surface. Yet Philerme would see the nymphs' flight as a valid abnegation of cruel love (ll. 32–89). He would deem their transformation an exemplary choice of rustic solitude. For Philerme, the willows are a harmonious part of the scene, not symbols of mourning.

The poem closes with Philerme's invitation to Antire to spend one night with him in the country and with a rhapsody on the pleasures of rustic life (ll. 625–730). The willows seem to represent stillness,

¹² It was republished in several other editions, notably the Lyon version of 1547, the year in which Scève's *Saulsaye* was printed. On the *Salices*, see Giraud 1968: 210–11.

¹³ Hulubei 1938: 270–71.

¹⁴ Lebègue 1962: 275–84.

¹⁵ Giraud 1968: 213.

¹⁶ Ed. Françon 1959: 86, 166.

introspection; transformation reflects a yearning for order and peace. The prelude, in which Philerme tells Antire of his suffering, caused by love, and in which Antire expresses his distaste for the solitary life, occupies the first 244 lines of this 730-line poem. Line 413 sees the resumption of the conversation, with Antire pointing a moral. The narrative is followed by 318 lines of discussion. The fable suggests how a phenomenon (the solitude of nature, or the change from one form of life to another) can be interpreted in widely differing ways. Like the framework, it testifies to the subjectivity of human perception. The moral of the tale is not explicitly developed, however.

Ravishment

Poems were also written on the abduction of a nymph. The chief source was Ovid. In *Metamorphoses* VI. 675–721, the Latin poet had told of Boreas and Orithyia. This inspired B. Tagault's 1151-line poem, *Le Ravissement d'Orithye*. Other poets were inspired by different episodes. Ronsard produced *La Defloration de Lede à Cassandre*, and Baïf *Le Ravissement d'Europe*, which were influenced by Moschus' second idyl, as well as by the close of Book 2 of the *Metamorphoses*.¹⁷ Ronsard also wrote *Le Ravissement de Cephale*, derived in part from *Metamorphoses* VII. 690–862. Magny placed in his ode 'A Madame Soeur du Roy' a version of the tale of Pluto and Proserpine, from *Metamorphoses* V. 385–538. The first part of La Péruse's *Ode à I. Boiceau* was inspired by Ovid's accounts of Jupiter's escapades with various nymphs.

Aetiological Myths

Certain Ovidian episodes use transformation as a means of elucidating, in a humorous manner, the origin of a natural phenomenon, such as a tree or plant. This aspect of the *Metamorphoses* also appealed to the French poets. Inspired by Ovid's example, they scrutinized objects around them, and produced their own aetiological myths.

An illustration is provided by Belleau's *Amours et nouveaux eschanges des pierres precieuses*. In various poems from this collection, Belleau invents a myth to show how certain precious stones were created.

¹⁷ See Lombard 1946: 34–50 and 117–25.

'L'Onyce', derived from a terse indication in Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, 37. 24, and 'L'Agathe' feature Venus. 'L'Agathe' contains a secondary narrative (ll. 115–44) derived from pseudo-Orpheus. More typical of Belleau, however, are aetiological myths telling of a metamorphosis and focusing on a pair of lovers.¹⁸ 'Les Amours d'Hyacinthe et de Chrysolithe', 'Les Amours d'Iris et d'Opalle', and 'L'Améthyste, ou les Amours de Bacchus et d'Améthyste' belong to this category and involve the creation of new mythological personages.

The French poets also like stories in which nymphs become flowing water. They use them to point to the origin of rivers or springs. Le Duchat's 'satyrus', in *Praeludiorum Liber I* (1554), recounts a triple transformation. Most interesting are the poems celebrating a spring in the territory of Jean Brinon, around which the Pléiade often gathered.¹⁹ The poems are: Dorat's witty *Villanis*, telling of a nymph who awakens Pan's desires; Le Duchat's 'Villanidi Nimphae, et fonti Brinonio', closely linked to the tale of Amymone; and Baif's *Medanis*, in Greek, followed by a Latin rendering.

One aetiological poem seems to have remained isolated, in terms of subject matter and metre (it is written in *vers baifins* of fifteen syllables), from other productions. This is Baif's *L'Hippocrène*, describing how the spring on Mount Parnassus was created.²⁰ Baif consciously tried to produce an epic fragment on a subject that had not been fully treated by any other poet. The numerous episodes in his poem own much to contemporary mythographers.²¹

Amorous Exploits

The ill-starred love of Venus and Adonis was a favourite theme of the sixteenth-century writers, often suggesting parallels with their own experience. For some it represented the tragedy of love, the ephemerality of human life. Others seized upon its more burlesque aspects. Bion's *Lament for Adonis* inspired many renderings. Melin de Saint-Gelais's *Elegie ou chanson lamentable de Venus sur la mort du bel Adonis* became popular, being reprinted by Antoine du Moulin under the

¹⁸ Besser 1886: 18.

¹⁹ Pichon 1849: 12–14.

²⁰ See Braybrook 1986: 139–56.

²¹ See Vinestock 1999: 63–72.

title *Deploration de Venus sur la mort du bel Adonis* in 1545, 1547, 1548 and 1554, and translated into Latin verse by J. Salmon Macrin. Other poems were inspired by pseudo-Theocritus, Idyl XXX. They include Pernette Du Guillet's *Conde claros de Adonis*, printed in du Moulin's collection of songs after Saint-Gelais's *Deploration* with the heading 'Suite à ladicte fable prise de l'espagnol' (although no Spanish source for the poem is known). Du Guillet introduces a note of gaiety into the tale. Salmon Macrin's *Adonis Theocriti, ex Gallico Sangelasii*, follows the thirteenth idyl, as well as Saint-Gelais's song. The idyl is, again, fairly faithfully rendered by Jean de Vitel, in his 'Autre imitation du 31. Idylle de Theocrite'.

Ovid's rendering of the legend (*Metamorphoses* X. 503-739) was also influential. It inspired Jean Passerats *Adonis, ou la Chasse du Sanglier*, published in 1606, the conclusion of which brings the reader back to the poet's plight as a lover. Ovid is blended with Bion in Baïf's *Pan*, where the eponymous demigod sings, amongst other things, of Venus' love for Adonis (ll. 65-136). Contamination of sources likewise characterizes Ronsard's *L'Adonis*: mythographers such as Conti and Giraldi have led Ronsard to introduce the slightly burlesque figure of Mars.²²

The dead Adonis, surrounded by 'mille et mille Amoureux', figures on the quiver described by Bellin in Belleau's eclogue first published in 1560 as the *Chant pastoral sur la mort de Joachim du Bellay Angevin*, and later incorporated in the 'Premiere Journee de la Bergerie'. This evocation was perhaps inspired by a contemporary painting, such as Rosso's fresco in the Galerie François Premier at Fontainebleau, as well as by literary sources.²³

Some poems depart altogether from the classical models. Habert in *Les Visions fantastiques du Banni de Liesse* imagines Venus mistaking him for Adonis, whom she has been pursuing. In his twelfth *Foresterie*, 'Le Chêne creus de Perrin', Vauquelin de la Fresnaie treats the myth humorously. Again the subject is, not Venus' lament, but the pursuit of Adonis by the goddess. The pathos of the relationship is forgotten.

Mythology had linked Venus with another man, Anchises. Their love lies on the verge of the *Aeneid*, as Venus, after her encounter

²² Lapp 1970 and Stone 1972.

²³ Delacourcelle 1945: 51-54.

with Anchises, gave birth to Aeneas. The third Homeric hymn told of the meeting. It inspired two sixteenth-century renderings. Baïf's *Hymne de Venus* follows the source closely, whilst emphasizing the notion of personal fame. Claude Turrin's *De l'Amour et du Despit* (1572) presents the tale as a lesson for his beloved, as proof of the way love can be corrupted by jealousy.

Whereas Venus' passion for a mortal lent itself to tragic interpretation, the love of the hideous Cyclops Polyphemus for Galatea was overtly comic and had already been presented humorously by Theocritus in his eleventh idyl and by Ovid in *Metamorphoses* XIII. 750–869. It provided the sixteenth-century poets with the opportunity to view their own amorous adventures in detached fashion. Antoine de Cotel produced *Bergerie 2. Thenot à M.*, a coarsened adaptation of the Polyphemus tale. But most important are the poems written on this subject by Ronsard, Magny, and Baïf, around 1560.²⁴ All blend Theocritus with Ovid. Ronsard's protagonist is Petrarchan in his protestations of love.²⁵ Magny's Cyclops adopts an anti-Petrarchan stance, and allows his author to display rhetorical ingenuity. Baïf's Polyphemus expends much energy on pleading his cause. Ronsard and Magny finally suggest a parallel between the Cyclops and themselves.

Myths Exploring the Poet's Situation

As well as finding in myth a reflection of their amorous exploits, the French poets saw in it images both of their problems as writers and of their inspiration. When the Pléiade poets, for instance, were striving to prove the worth of their poetry, they sought in legend symbols of the opposition they encountered. The Gigantomachy and the Titanomachy (which they confused) came to represent the poets' battle against Ignorance.²⁶ This struggle is depicted in Du Bellay's *Musagnoemachie* and Ronsard's *Ode à Michel de l'Hospital*, as well as in Tahureau's ode, 'A Madame Marguerite', and Turrin's second ode, dedicated to Chrestienne de Baissey, and influenced by the *Ode à Michel de l'Hospital*. The poets express through fable the hope that

²⁴ Demerson 1972: 561–62.

²⁵ McFarlane likens Ronsard's Cyclops to an artist—1974: 61–62.

²⁶ Joukovsky-Micha 1967.

arrogance will be punished and that true inspiration will prevail. The Gigantomachy figures too in *L'Hippocrène*—in the evocation of the engravings on Perseus' corselet—and, briefly, in Vitel's *Hymne de Pallas*. In these two poems, allegorical overtones are less evident. Again, the battle is used (to burlesque ends) in Ronsard's *Hymne de l'Hyver*, a re-formulation of the Hesiodic tradition which B.R. Leslie terms an epyllion.²⁷

The sixteenth-century writers were also anxious to celebrate the glory of their vocation. They were interested in tales of the ancient poets and *vates*, because they found there reflections of their own aspirations.²⁸ Orpheus above all attracted their attention; but as he is connected with the Argonautic cycle, he will be discussed below.

The other main ancient poet celebrated in this period is Arion. He is the subject of a poem that appeared around 1522: *Nicolai Parvi Bellosanensis sylva cui titulus Arion. De laudibus eiusdem*.²⁹ Petit divides his attention between Orpheus, Bacchus and Arion. Arion appears only two thirds of the way through the poem, and is almost overshadowed by an evocation of Bacchic inspiration. Scève wrote *Arion. Eglogue sus le trespas de feu Monsieur le Daulphin* (1536) and Forcadet an eight-line epigram, 'De Arione et Delphino' (1554). The myth was employed in court festivities.³⁰

Legend had already made Orpheus and Arion representatives of poetic creativity. Yet the sixteenth-century poets also endow other figures with artistic status. Belleau for instance incorporates in his work figures representing creativity. In 'L'Amour ambitieux d'Ixion' from the 'Seconde Journée de la Bergerie', one has an example of sterile creation: Jupiter makes out of clouds the shapes of Juno and Iris (ll. 136–49). He moulds them with the care a poet might devote to polishing his work; but he intends them to deceive Ixion. Belleau also explores the figure of the genuine artist. He sees Prometheus in particular as a creator comparable to the poet.³¹ In the 'Complainte de Prométhée', from the 'Seconde Journée', he presents Prometheus as a virtuous character, justly proud of his creation of man but under

²⁷ Leslie 1979: 85–90, 92–103, 107–14. Leslie draws a dubious parallel between the *Hymne de l'Hyver* and the Book of Revelation.

²⁸ Walker 1953, 1954.

²⁹ Joukovsky 1970: 124–26.

³⁰ Yates 1959: 57, 84.

³¹ Belleau's treatment of Prometheus is briefly discussed by Trousson 1964: I. 120–21.

attack from a vulture suggesting the opposition the artist encounters from people devoid of talent.³² It is again as a creator that Prometheus is seen in the introductory poem of the *Pierres precieuses*. Belleau hails him as the founder of the art of fashioning jewellery out of precious stones. Also noteworthy is Scévole de Sainte-Marthe's *La Statue de Pygmalion* (1579). The last three verses stress that Pygmalion is the solitary artist seeking, like the poet, to imitate reality.

The poets turn to myths of metamorphosis and ravishment for the sheer pleasure of story-telling. They also produce tales reflecting curiosity about the phenomena surrounding them, such as gems or rivers. They compose pieces containing implicit or explicit parallels with their experience as lovers. They also seek in fable an enhanced image of their poetic powers.³³ The poems they write on these subjects are not linked to a larger context. Whilst several of the pieces are designed for insertion into collections, they are not informed by an epic purpose. With the Argonautic cycle, however, epic aims emerge.

The Argonautic Cycle

Clues as to why the Argonautic legend should have assumed importance are found in the fifteenth century. Chivalry had perpetuated the legend thanks to the creation, in 1430, of the Order of the Golden Fleece, by Philippe le Bon. Jason was the symbolic patron of this institution, along with Gideon.³⁴ Philippe le Bon also asked various writers, notably Raoul Lefèvre, to compose a history of Jason's exploits. Banquets were held; scenes from Jason's life were enacted during them.³⁵ Jason came to represent the great conquistador; his deeds were also the subject of allegorical interpretations.

The esteem in which the fifteenth century held Jason and his crew was intensified in the following century, when the boundaries of the known world were being rapidly expanded by exploration. However, another factor contributed to the survival of the Argonautic legend:

³² Eckhardt suggests that this poem may be an allegory of the civil wars; that Prometheus, whose liver is constantly being eaten, may represent France (1917: 96).

³³ Joukovsky 1969: 180–81.

³⁴ Doutrepoint 1909 and de Lettenhove 1907.

³⁵ Doutrepoint 1909: 158.

the sixteenth-century taste for mythological festivities reflecting national aspirations. Poets, musicians and artists collaborated in the production of these celebrations. The Argonauts figured large, especially in the royal *entrées*; Orpheus and Jason were seen as representatives of the Prince, the Hero.³⁶ Charles the Fifth's entry into Paris in 1540 was marked by a procession and a banquet, during which there were constant reminders, in the form of statues and plays, of the tale of the Golden Fleece.³⁷ The legend also played an important part in the *entrée* of Henri II in 1549, masterminded by Jean Martin (a friend of Ronsard) and, on the literary side, by Thomas Sebillet. A triumphal arch on the Pont Notre-Dame represented Typhis, captain of the *Argo*, flanked by Castor and Pollux.³⁸ In the niches were Argonauts, four on either side (Telamon, Peleus, Hercules, Hylas; Theseus, Pirithous, Zetes, Calais). There were also two paintings on the arch, one depicting Phryxus dedicating the Golden Fleece to Mars, and the other portraying Jason seizing the Fleece and abducting Medea. A second *arc de triomphe* on the same bridge represented four more Argonauts: Calisto, Arcas, Croton and Pandarus.

Jodelle also utilized the Argonautic legend for the ill-fated celebrations he organized in 1558, for the reception of the king at the Hôtel de Ville in Paris, five weeks after the taking of Calais.³⁹ He created a scene representing rocks being moved to song by the sound of Orpheus' music. He suggested that the king, a new Jason, would win back the Fleece from the Hapsburgs. He established a parallel between the *Argo*—which the Argonauts in his masquerade carried on their shoulders—and the destiny of the town of Paris. He implied that the king should protect the people by defeating Amycus, and save the afflicted just as Calais and Zetes saved Phineus. In his masquerade, he listed the 'Argonauts' upon whom the king could rely. They included Castor and Pollux de Navarre, Hercule and Tiphys de Guise with their brothers Calais and Zetes. The Argonautic legend was thus employed by Jodelle to celebrate a French victory and to mark out a path of duty for the monarch.

The recourse of the sixteenth-century artists to the Argonautic material reminds one of medieval poetry, which linked the legend

³⁶ Huon 1956.

³⁷ *L'Ordre tenu* . . . 1539–40.

³⁸ Huon 1956: 26, and Saulnier 1956: 50–51.

³⁹ See Demerson 1972: 514–34.

with the start of the Trojan War. Benoît de Sainte-More's *Roman de Troyes* of the mid-twelfth century, for example, demonstrates this fusion.⁴⁰ What was new in the sixteenth century was not so much the subject matter as its treatment and the meanings for which it became a vehicle.

The Argonautic Legend As a Source of Amatory Interest

Lest the foregoing remarks suggest that the Argonauts were, for Renaissance writers, representatives solely of the tough, enterprising aspects of human nature, the focus of this first subdivision will be on lyrical poems featuring love affairs, which often owe more to Ovid than to Apollonius and Valerius Flaccus.

A cluster of lyrical poems formed around Medea, whose characterization had provided perhaps the most appealing facet of Apollonius' work. Two poets focused on Medea being abandoned by Jason, for whom she had sacrificed everything. Melin de Saint-Gelais's *Chant triste, de Medée, abandonnée de son aymé Jason*, published by Forcadel in 1548, refers to episodes from the Argonauts' expedition, such as the brazen-footed bulls and the defeat of the dragon. The emphasis is not on Medea's magic arts and wicked intentions, but on her suffering. Mythology is seen in familiar terms, stripped of prestige. A similar conception of the subject lies behind Hestreau's *Reproches de Medée à Jason*, published in 1578, and partly inspired by the *Heroides*. Looking back to the day when Jason's father helped to prepare the *Argo*, this poem resembles Ronsard's *Les Parolles que dist Calypson*, and relies on the opposition between two groups of epithets (denoting perfidy, with reference to Jason, and inexperienced youth, with reference to Medea) for its emotive appeal. Baïf chose a different stage in Medea's life for his *L'Amour de Medee*, likewise inspired by Ovid. Interest in the *Metamorphoses* and interest in the Argonautic cycle are here fused.

The tale of Hercules and Hylas, which was popular in the sixteenth century, combines the lyrical with the heroic. It also shows how French poets often drew inspiration from the Neo-Latins. For to the influence of Theocritus (Idyl XIII), Apollonius (*Argonautica* I. 1153–1279) and Valerius Flaccus (*Argonautica* III. 459–610) has to be

⁴⁰ See Dunger 1869.

added that of Pontano (*Urania* of 1533, the section entitled 'De furiis et dolore Herculis raptio Hyla'), and Flaminio, 'De Hercule et Hyla', in *Carmina* III, 1522).

Jacques Bereau seems to have remembered these Neo-Latin versions when composing *Le Ravissement d'Hyllas*, probably written in the early 1560s. Like Theocritus and Flaminio, Bereau starts by stressing that love extends to the gods. Again, like Theocritus, Flaccus and the Neo-Latins, Bereau places his narrative in the context of the Argonautic expedition, taking his reader back to a time of heroic deeds. Like Ronsard in the 'Hymne de Calais, et de Zetes,' he emphasizes the Argonauts' thirst for glory. Yet he also leans—more heavily than the other poets—on Flaccus. He reproduces the angry words of Juno, anxious to punish Hercules (ll. 146–60; compare *Argonautica* III. 510–20). He depicts Juno's encounter with lovely nymphs out hunting (ll. 168–72), providing a cynegetic comparison to evoke their flight at Hercules' approach (ll. 179–84). The nymphs who were hunting themselves become the prey. Bereau also reproduces Juno's speech telling Dryope to spy on Hylas at the fountain (ll. 185–206; compare *Argonautica* III. 535–44). Again, whereas Ronsard will simply mention as a possible version of the legend the deer enticing Hylas to the spring, Bereau portrays Hylas chasing this animal sent by Juno, until he is out of Hercules' sight (ll. 207–17). Bereau follows Flaccus by evoking in the pool, not the shadow of trees on water found in Pontano and Ronsard, but the reflection of Hylas, which is compared to that of the moon or sun on a river (ll. 243–46; from the *Argonautica* III. 558–60). For the aftermath of the abduction, too, he imitates Flaccus.

Bereau also displays affinities with the Neo-Latins. Like Pontano, he includes in his evocation of the fountain a mention of the narcissus (ll. 236–37), reminding the reader that in this environment youths may change shape. Like Flaminio, Bereau uses the tale to demonstrate the extremes to which love can lead (ll. 296–309). This sententious note (detected also, for example, in lines 63 and 64) distinguishes Bereau's poem from Ronsard's.

On the other hand, just as Pontano portrayed Hercules in a humorous light, so Bereau adopts a light-hearted tone, engaging in the occasional pun. The scope of his poem is more limited than that of Ronsard's. The myth is reduced to a lesson on love. Moreover, whereas Ronsard's narrative proper will end with a prophecy, the disappearance of the shade, and with a solitary hero facing only the

prospect of further tribulations, Bereau's hero finally rejoins the Argonauts. Ronsard's poem will be elegiac in its conclusion; Bereau's ends happily. Hercules dispels his grief by seeking out comradeship and activity. Indeed, when compared with Ronsard's rendering, previous versions of the fable display a tendency to dilute the dark ingredients.

Ronsard's version, published in 1569, reveals the poet's talent for blending sources. His models include those already mentioned: Apollonius, Theocritus, Valerius Flaccus, Pontano and Flaminio; but the poet also consults Virgil, *Georgics* IV, and Propertius, I. 20. His poem illustrates clearly the way the epic and the lyrical or decorative may be intertwined. Ronsard does not begin his process of contamination until line 91. Surprisingly, he opens the poem with praise of Hercules, perhaps aware that the title would summon up in readers' minds notions of ravishment and homosexual love.⁴¹ Ronsard defends Hercules' reputation and portrays him as a founder of civilization in France, similar to Orpheus. It is not only in the introduction that Ronsard devotes attention to the hero; for in lines 101 to 180, he leaves Hylas, and shows Hercules rowing with the rest of the Argonauts, breaking his oar, and falling over. This potentially comic incident is presented in a way that emphasizes Hercules' power; for although Hercules smiles, the crew is afraid to laugh or speak. The fact that Hercules, although at first angry, eventually sees the humorous aspects of his fall again reflects Ronsard's desire to paint a flattering picture; for Apollonius merely depicts Hercules sitting up speechless and glaring (*Argonautica* I. 1170–71). Yet Ronsard's demigod falls further and more heavily. He is, Ronsard implies, mighty enough to treat physical pain with a smile. Moreover, Hercules falls just as Hylas will be described as 'falling' into the water (ll. 304–05). Hercules' loss of his oar to the waves also prefigures his loss of Hylas; his initial reaction is the same: anger (compare line 135 and line 331). This episode shows Hercules in a favourable light and anticipates what is to come.

The poet then provides another picturesque scene concerning the hero: having quickly evoked the arrival at a port and the passing of night (ll. 144–45), he depicts Hercules looking for a tree with which

⁴¹ Lucian was the chief writer of antiquity to discuss these exploits. See Hallmark 1966; Hallowell 1962, 1966; Jung 1966; and Trousson 1962.

to make a new oar. Here too he follows Apollonius; but whereas the latter, writing a diffuse epic, is at liberty to provide many episodes, Ronsard's inclusion of the scene in a poem supposedly about Hylas is more striking. Once again, he emphasizes Hercules' strength, his ability to uproot a whole tree at his first attempt.

Before telling of Hylas' fate, Ronsard thus establishes that Hercules is intensely virile. Of the 430 lines in the poem, 252 are devoted to Hercules. Clearly, Ronsard intends to create a contrast between Hercules and Hylas. At the latter's first appearance, Ronsard stresses the difference in height of the pair by focusing on Hylas' diminutive feet (ll. 99–100). In this relationship, Hylas is subservient, almost assuming the traits of a wife. In line 182, Ronsard highlights Hylas' white hands, and his long hair; in lines 187 to 189, his 'chair blanche' attracts the loving attention of Calais and Zetes (compare Propertius, I. 20. 25–30). In every way, he is the antithesis to Hercules (whose Greek epithet Ronsard translates in line 370 as 'aux fesses noires'). Indeed, Ronsard touches upon the myth of the androgyne (ll. 199–200). A traditional theme becomes a vehicle for the poet's own preoccupations: for one may see Hylas as representing those gifts of artistry and sensitivity without which even the man of action is incomplete.⁴² Ultimately, the union of action and contemplation founders: Hylas does not wish to return to Hercules, whose life he deems excessively strenuous. But Hercules is left in despair, which implies that he needed the side of his nature symbolized by Hylas.

Perhaps Hercules also represents the epic side of Ronsard's talents, and Hylas the decorative side. Hercules is presented as a valiant character, whereas Hylas is seen against an aesthetically pleasing backcloth. Ronsard devotes much space to a description of the fountain (ll. 211–48), developing Theocritus but also emphasizing that the flowers around the spring were once human beings (ll. 212–14). The setting for the abduction is enriched by reference to other myths.⁴³ An elegiac and precariously lovely background is provided for Hylas. Ronsard also evokes the movements of the shadows of the oak trees, perhaps recalling a single line from Virgil (*Ecloga* V, l. 5), but simultaneously echoing Pontano (ll. 237–40). Ronsard adds

⁴² Cave 1973. Compare the notion of the double aesthetic principle developed in 'Le Thyrses', from Baudelaire's *Le Spleen de Paris* (32).

⁴³ Compare lines 265 to 272, which, with their allusion to Jupiter with Leda and Europa, continue the notion of metamorphosis through or for love.

colour to colour, anticipating the notion of *copia* elaborated in the concluding lines (especially lines 241 to 244). The flowers there visited by the bee recall those growing around the spring. Decorative beauty finally prevails, but cannot resolve the tension created by the initial celebration of brute force. The poem as a whole reflects the difficulties Ronsard encountered when writing in epic vein: he was constantly being drawn towards areas of lyrical description, in which the epic purpose would temporarily be obscured.

The Argonautic Legend As a Symbol of Heroism

Orpheus

For the sixteenth-century poets, Orpheus was the supreme representative of the *prisca theologia*. They seized upon him as a figure who would enable them to turn lyricism into a poetic theme. Perhaps they were particularly attracted to him as a great lover as well as a supremely talented musician. Yet they stressed that he was capable of joining in the heroic life by showing him with Jason's crew, usually sailing in the *Argo*. They knew about him because he and his lyre featured in many of the scenes enacted for the royal *entrées*.⁴⁴ Literary reasons too played a part in the vogue he enjoyed; for the sixteenth-century writers were acquainted with works attributed to Orpheus. Many new editions and translations were published from 1500 onwards.⁴⁵

The longest and earliest of the sixteenth-century poems on Orpheus was composed by an Italian, Quinziano Stoa, and published in 1510 under the title *Orpheos libri tres*. Pontano, in *De Orpheo navigante, et post ad inferos pro uxore descendente* (1518), seized on Orpheus' link with the Argonauts, and his attempt to win back Eurydice. There is no conclusive evidence for the specific influence of these Neo-Latin poems on the French writers; but they must have served to draw attention to the heroic and poetic facets of Orpheus' life on the one hand, and the amatory aspects on the other. These two angles are represented in mid-sixteenth-century French poetry.

⁴⁴ Joukovsky 1970: 24.

⁴⁵ Joukovsky 1970: 18–19.

Baïf, like Pontano, concentrates upon Orpheus as a poet and musician in *Les Muses* (1556–1560). He links poetry and heroism. Chiron tells Jason that Orpheus will guarantee the Argonauts' immortality (ll. 103–07). Poetry secures the glory that cannot otherwise be promised even to valiant heroes (compare ll. 116–23). Only when Jason seeks out the *vates* is the latter seen as a musician with the power to charm nymphs, fauns, animals, and trees (ll. 156–93). For Baïf, Orpheus' connection with valorous deeds is important enough to be mentioned before his capacity to move nature. Baïf illustrates the link between heroism and poetry via a scene reminiscent of the *Argonautica* published in 1500 (widely thought in the sixteenth century to be by Orpheus): Orpheus and his lyre encourage the Argonauts to pass between the spellbound Cyanean Rocks. When the courage of the crew proves inadequate, it is supplemented by the musician's powers (ll. 488–98). However, Orpheus also allows Baïf to indicate the difference between the Golden Age of the *prisci poetae* and his own times, in which men have become materialistic and brutal (ll. 583–86). The rest of the poem develops this melancholy theme of decadence.

Ronsard too is interested in Orpheus.⁴⁶ He describes him as a member of the crew of the *Argo* in the 'Hymne de Calais, et de Zetes' (ll. 57–72) and gives him a similar role in the ode of 1560, 'A André Thevet' (ll. 31–36). The *vates*, standing 'dessus la prouë' (l. 31), resembles a figurehead. The poet provides the inspiration, and the man of action contributes the physical strength.

Ronsard's *L'Orphée* (1563) again depicts Orpheus as a musician. The *vates* replies to Chiron with a song (ll. 209–344); and the reaction of the whole of nature to his music is evoked in the concluding lines (ll. 345–50), albeit much more briefly than in *Les Muses*. The last two lines, reminiscent of Pontano's *Urania* with their mention of how Orpheus' lyre became a constellation, stress that music conquers death. Orpheus' descent to the Underworld, whilst motivated by his wish to win back Eurydice, also represents the power of poetry to overcome death.

Nevertheless, the emphasis lies on Orpheus' role as a lover. The work opens with the whole group of the Argonauts (ll. 1–4); but Orpheus' position amidst the crew is seen in a light rather different from that of the two earlier Ronsardian compositions. What is

⁴⁶ See Kushner 1966.

underlined is not the encouragement Orpheus gives to others, but the solace he himself derives from engaging in the life of action: in a striking alteration to the legend, the *vates* is said to have been advised by his mother Calliope to lessen 'le soucy qui vient de trop aymer' (l. 336) by joining Jason's crew. The remainder of the poem highlights the problems Orpheus faced as a lover. Chiron's hymn about Yphis offers parallels and contrasts with Orpheus'. For although Orpheus' love was pure, it too became a 'fureur': it so blinded him that it made him forget his oath to Pluto (see line 298, and compare Virgil, *Georgics* IV. 494–95). Having finally lost Eurydice, Orpheus is overcome with grief; but Calliope's advice makes a new man of him, just as Yphis was filled with 'masle vigueur' when transformed. Both hymns concern a love that sins by excess.

Ronsard's 'Hymne de Calais, et de Zetes'

Ronsard wrote two hymns devoted to the Argonautic material, as a 'coup d'essai' in the epic domain ('Hymne de Pollux et de Castor', l. 13). His 'Hymne de Calais, et de Zetes', published in 1556, features Boreas' sons, and is largely inspired by Apollonius and Flaccus.⁴⁷ It is closely attached to the Argonautic cycle, as lines 43 to 168 indicate: following Apollonius, Ronsard lists members of Jason's crew. Their prestige enhances that of Calais and Zetes, who are the last to be introduced.⁴⁸ The presence of the crew as an admiring audience is felt while the winged brothers chase after the Harpies (ll. 383–86); and it is Jason who asks Phineus to predict the adventures the Argonauts will encounter (ll. 473–90).

The conclusion differs from that of most of Ronsard's other hymns. It contains neither a salutation in the style of Callimachus and

⁴⁷ Although there seem to be no other original poems on this subject, Ronsard's hymn was translated into Latin, by Jacques Grenier: *Hymnus Calaidis et Zethae, e gallico Petri Ronsardi Latine expressus*. . . . This version, indicative of a continuing demand for works in Neo-Latin, was published in 1586. Silver points out (1961: 351) that Ronsard's interest in Calais and Zetes is seen as early as the Cassandra cycle of 1552: the poet's thought, inspired by love, is compared to the winged Zetes (xv, ll. 9–14, ed. Weber: 12). On Ronsard's hymn, see Ford 1997: 216–17.

⁴⁸ The catalogue technique enables Ronsard on occasion to point forward to events he will not narrate in full. Thus lines 123 to 128 foreshadow the death of Mopsus, the prophet who failed to foresee his own end. (The motif of prophecy and blindness recurs later.) Such strategies widen the vistas of the fragment.

Marullus nor a prayer. Compared with the final verses of the other hymns, it is long, embracing several themes. As in *Hylas*, a traditional myth is interpreted in a novel manner. Having said farewell to Calais and Zetes (ll. 707–08), Ronsard indicates two possible readings of the tale: the moral and the physical. The moral interpretation, drawing a parallel between the brothers and those ‘philosophes constans’ who chase flatterers away from the king’s table, returns one to the world of the court, glimpsed in the introductory praise of Marguerite; mention of ‘les flateurs’ reminds one of Marguerite’s dislike of excessive praise.⁴⁹ The interpretation suggests that Ronsard’s concern is with the status of the poet at court; although, as always when Ronsard proposes an allegorical exegesis, the myth he creates assumes a vividness independent of hidden meanings. Phineus, as the prophet reliant upon a good relationship with the gods for his inspiration, symbolizes the poet; the Harpies stand for people who metaphorically steal the poet’s goods: flatterers, *versificateurs* devoid of originality.

Ronsard uses repetition and symmetry extensively. The Harpies’ attacks on Phineus are referred to four times, twice before being witnessed by the Argonauts, and twice as they occur before the crew’s very eyes. First, before the reader meets Phineus, he hears how the Harpies render everything unfit for the seer to eat (ll. 176–204). Secondly, Phineus begs the Argonauts to deliver him from the Harpies and tells them what these monstrous creatures do to him (ll. 248–72). On the third occasion, after Phineus’ vow that Calais and Zetes will not be harmed, the table is set for a meal; but the Harpies descend at once. Lastly and strikingly, the table is laid again. Neither Apollonius nor Flaccus mentions the table being laid twice; perhaps Ronsard took this detail from the *Aeneid*, III. 229–34, or from Ariosto’s *Orlando Furioso*, XXXIII. 102–28.⁵⁰ However that may be, Ronsard’s structure here illustrates his taste for repetition. This duality transcends the limits of the hymn; for Ronsard’s poem on Calais and Zetes was placed next to another derived from the legend of the Golden Fleece.

⁴⁹ Compare Ronsard’s warning to Henri II about the dangers sycophants present: *Ode de la Paix*, ll. 430–40, III, p. 31. See Demerson 1972: 446, n. 182, for other occasions on which Ronsard employs the Harpy motif. One of the most important is in the *Remonstrance au peuple de France* of 1563, ll. 415–20, XI, p. 85.

⁵⁰ Cameron 1930: 46 mentions this parallel with the Italian poet.

Ronsard's 'Hymne de Pollux et de Castor'

The poem Ronsard placed after the 'Hymne de Calais, et de Zetes' was the 'Hymne de Pollux et de Castor', likewise concerned with members of Jason's crew.⁵¹ The story of Pollux is introduced by a depiction of the activities of the Argonauts on reaching the 'port Bebrycien' (l. 88) and by Timante's account of Amycus' brutality (ll. 87–250); Amycus' arrival (which Ronsard delays until line 255, unlike Theocritus, who has Polydeuces encounter Amycus immediately) is accompanied by an evocation of the Argonauts pitching camp (ll. 265–72) and his menacing first speech by the furious reactions of Jason's men (ll. 317–23). The second part of the poem, however (from line 575), is not embedded in the Argonautic legend.

Once again, an old myth is endowed with new significance. In the 'Hymne de Calais, et de Zetes,' it was possible to see the winged brothers as representing the cardinal de Lorraine, from whom Ronsard endeavoured to gain support, and François duc de Guise, who had already—like Boreas' sons—proved his valour in battle. But the hymn was not dedicated to them. In the 'Hymne de Pollux et de Castor', on the other hand, the parallel with patrons becomes explicit. The introduction suggests that Gaspard de Coligny and his brother Odet (mentioned in line 28) are like Castor and Pollux.⁵² Ronsard expresses affection for the latter pair in terms stressing their affinities with Odet and Gaspard (ll. 79–82). Castor and Pollux, saving soldiers in the midst of battle, and ships in danger of shipwreck, are allegories of Odet and Gaspard, and of all those who protect poets, men of letters and musicians.⁵³ They also contrast with Amycus and his people, who keep watch for ships in distress in order to sacrifice their crew (ll. 129–44), and who perhaps represent factions hostile to poets.⁵⁴ Ronsard is exploring in particular the poet's relationship with patrons and his status at court.

⁵¹ Ford 1997: 201–03, 222–36.

⁵² On Ronsard's affection for Odet, see Jusserand 1913: 97. The parallel between the two pairs of brothers is also suggested in lines 783 to 784.

⁵³ Compare the 'Hymne de Charles Cardinal de Lorraine', ll. 775–82, where Ronsard likens François de Guise and his brother the Cardinal to Castor and Pollux, and says he has intentionally celebrated them together in the hymn. 'L'Hydre deffaict' of 1569 again uses the Dioscuri to justify the praising of two brothers (ll. 162–70).

⁵⁴ Demerson 1972: 446 suggests that behind the apparent objectivity of the Argonautic hymns lie personal preoccupations.

The hymn is not attached to the Argonautic cycle alone. In the introduction, Ronsard provides a résumé of the birth of Castor and Pollux to Jupiter and Leda (ll. 36–42). In the conclusion, Ronsard salutes the twins as ‘Nobles freres jumeaux d’Helene la tresbelle’ (l. 753) and refers to Homer (ll. 763–64). One rejoins the mainstream of epic, as well as Ronsard’s earlier ‘Defloration de Lede’, and the allegorical association of Leda and the swan with music and poetry.⁵⁵

The division of the hymn into two is derived from Theocritus’ twenty-second Idyl, which at several points Ronsard follows closely.⁵⁶ In the first part, Ronsard makes extensive use of Apollonius, Valerius Flaccus (*Argonautica* IV) and Virgil (*Aeneid* III and V). He tends to amplify his sources: for Pollux’s combat, he takes four times as many lines as Apollonius. He employs a multitude of similes (concerning wild animals, trees, and the elements) and remembers the tale of Goliath, 1 Samuel 17. He will draw on this material for the hypotyposis of Francus’ duel with Phovere in *La Franciade*. In eschewing Theocritus’ text in the first part of his hymn, Ronsard is trying to render his protagonists as fierce as possible. Thus he follows Flaccus in making Pollux taunt the dying Amycus (ll. 544–46). In Theocritus, on the other hand, Amycus swears to be kinder to strangers, and is pardoned by Polydeuces.

The second part of Ronsard’s hymn is a much closer imitation of Theocritus, but contains original details. For instance, Lynceus’ speech, accusing the Dioscuri of abducting the girls, is much longer in Ronsard (ll. 595–650). Ronsard makes Lynceus move from justified anger to flattery (ll. 633–36) and shows him in a favourable light, thereby casting aspersions on the twins. Ronsard makes Castor in particular into a protagonist whose grandeur is measured in terms of his crimes rather than his virtues.⁵⁷ Castor and Pollux undoubtedly undergo epic magnification: there are many references to their being Jupiter’s sons. Jupiter, indeed, intervenes to save Castor, by striking Idas dead with a thunderbolt. Yet Castor’s triumph has a bitter taste; after all, had Jupiter not stepped in, Idas might well have killed Castor. Castor’s victory is not due to his own prowess.⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Ford 1997: 224.

⁵⁶ Otis 1964: 15.

⁵⁷ See Leslie 1979: 73 and 105–06.

⁵⁸ Ronsard, unlike Theocritus, stresses that Castor defeats Lynceus by means of

Idas and Lynceus were right to challenge the twins; and Idas, having manifested superhuman force in attempting to avenge his brother's death (ll. 736–37), dies like a martyr.⁵⁹ Castor and Pollux behave like Jupiter's sons only in the sense that they share his passion for women.

How can this blackening of the protagonists be reconciled with the original parallel between Castor and Pollux and the Coligny brothers? The Dioscuri's ferocity undercuts one possible interpretation of their battle with the Apharidae, as a struggle between celestial and profane love. As often in Ronsard (as in 'Le Pin', for instance), there is a tension between the fable and potential allegorical interpretations. Ronsard did not intend his patrons to connect every detail of the myth with themselves. Indeed, one of the features of the epic miniature is that any process of allegorization must remain incomplete.

Ronsard allows his hymn to retain the asymmetrical quality found in Theocritus; if anything, in fact, he reinforces it, by expanding the section featuring Pollux. Although he constructs a framework for the poem, which begins and ends with the storm motif, Amycus, Lynceus and Idas do not correspond exactly to specific people or philosophical concepts; and the violence of the two episodes spills over into the framework and is not entirely dispelled.

Ronsard's Argonautic Hymns As a Diptych

Ronsard intended his two Argonautic hymns to be considered together. When dismissing Calais and Zetes, he looks forward to the next hymn (ll. 719–22). Castor and Pollux feature amongst the crew of the *Argo* described in the 'Hymne de Calaïs, et de Zetes' (ll. 129–62). Some twenty lines (ll. 141–62) evoke the robes they wear as they leave the ship. The poems are derived, in part at least, from the same sources, notably Apollonius and Flaccus. Imitation in both cases results in a dual structure. The poems are about two brothers. The binary structure of the 'Hymne de Pollux et de Castor' is particularly pronounced. In each of the two parts, a son of Jupiter defeats

a feint, tricking him into a false move (ll. 712–24). He has perhaps remembered the duel between Rinaldo and Sacripante in *Orlando Furioso*, II. 9. 3–8. He will transfer this passage to *La Franciade*. See Leslie 1979: 106.

⁵⁹ Idas brandishes a marble pillar, which could be seen as representing the plastic arts, over which the poet demigod triumphs.

an opponent or opponents seemingly stronger than himself (see ll. 747–48). This parallelism, holding together two apparently disparate sections, continues in smaller details not present in Theocritus. In part one, Amycus threatens the crew; Pollux replies, offering battle. In part two, Lynceus challenges the two brothers and is killed by Castor. Castor strikes the first blow, just as Pollux did when fighting with Amycus. Castor is wounded in the left arm, making the spectators think he will lose; likewise, Pollux is the first to be thrown, causing Amycus' subjects to rejoice prematurely. The stock epic combat is here presented from two different angles. Duality, although less obvious, is also found in the 'Hymne de Calais, et de Zetes'. The motif of sacrifice, for instance, occurs twice.

The juxtaposition of the two hymns in the first edition also implies that Ronsard meant them to be seen as a diptych. In later editions, however, the links between the two poems are blurred. In 1560 and 1567, although the hymns are placed in different books, a pattern is still found. Each comes third in the book it occupies: the 'Hymne de Calais, et de Zetes' in Book One, and the 'Hymne de Pollux et de Castor' in Book Two. The poems follow philosophical hymns: the 'Hymne de l'Eternité' (I) and the 'Hymne de la Philosophie' (II). In 1584, however, the Dioscuri hymn is flanked by the 'Hercule chrestien' and the Seasonal Hymns. In 1587 the hymns are once more juxtaposed.

Ronsard selects two episodes from the Argonautic legend that are separate in his sources, and is led by his taste for duality to connect them. Jason pales besides the two pairs of brothers, who allow the poet to experiment with parallelism and variation, and to explore his relationship with his dedicatee. Eulogistic aims come to the fore, as they will in *La Franciade*.

La Franciade

Although the miniature epic seems to have suited Ronsard's talents, the urge to transcend it, by writing a full-scale epic, runs through his work. Laumonier shows that allusions to Ronsard's epic undertaking are found as early as 1550, in the *Ode de la Paix*, and recur at intervals until the publication of *La Franciade* in 1572.⁶⁰ However,

⁶⁰ XVI-1: vi-xviii.

Ronsard repeatedly complains of inadequate patronage, and Charles IX apparently makes demands running counter to the poet's wishes, for instance that the epic be written in decasyllables.⁶¹ The epic venture soon appears arduous and only four books are completed.

Invention

Ronsard decides to glorify his nation and monarchy by using subject matter which, unlike the Argonautic material, is not treated in classical epics. Largely inspired by Lemaire's *Illustrations de Gaule*, he resolves to show that the French are descended from the Trojans.⁶² Beginning where the *Iliad* ends, he chooses material found in historical and pseudo-historical works, whilst remembering chapter 9 of Aristotle's *Poetics* and distinguishing, in the address 'Au Lecteur' and the 'Preface sur la Franciade', between poet and historian. His definition of poetic truth is lax. The poet's inventive power is emphasized, and celebrated in the famous image of the 'magnifique Palais' that poets construct on the basis of possibility (p. 340).

Ronsard did, however, have sources other than historians; for, where classical epic had little to say, royal *entrées* played a role in acquainting the public with the subject matter of *La Franciade*. The Trojan origin of the kings of France was an important theme in Henri II's entry into Rouen of 1550.⁶³ Ronsard, collaborating with Dorat, chose as a subject for one of the triumphal arches used in Charles IX's entry into Paris, 6 March 1571, the tale of Francus and Pharamond.⁶⁴ Another *arc de triomphe* depicted the king with his brother, Henri, in the guise of Castor and Pollux. Argonautic and Trojan myths were closely linked in Ronsard's mind.

In exploiting such sources, Ronsard experiences doubt.⁶⁵ He is aware he is writing in the shadow of the great poets of antiquity, whilst departing from them. He is concerned with the status of his protagonist when compared with heroes such as Hector and Aeneas.

⁶¹ See the lines Ronsard inserted into the second edition of his *Abbregé* in 1567, Laumonier, XVI-1: xiv.

⁶² Compare Faral 1929: I, 262-93, and Asher 1993: 9-43.

⁶³ See Chartrou 1928: 50 and 138.

⁶⁴ See Yates 1956 and Graham and McAllister Johnson 1972. The arch was at the Porte Saint-Denis.

⁶⁵ Braybrook 1999, Jomphe 2000, Bjai 2001, Csürös 1999.

Accordingly, although he admires beginnings *in medias res*, Ronsard decides to explore Francus' origins, the better to define his role and character. Unlike Homer and Virgil, but remembering Apollonius, Ronsard tells of his hero's childhood, and follows the *ordo naturalis* of the historians.⁶⁶ Francus is shown with his mother, who clings to her only son 'comme fait le l'hierre/ Qui bras sur bras les murailles enserre' (I, ll. 961–62). An image normally used to evoke sexual love is here linked to Andromache's power over her son, which prompts him to stay put, enjoying himself. The mother's influence is also represented by Crete, which Dicée describes to the Trojans as 'vostre ancienne mere' (II, l. 618) and which draws Francus to it. The lengthy Cretan episode did not figure in historians writing of the Trojan legend.⁶⁷

Francus learns to appreciate paternal love via Helenin, and also Dicée, weeping for the son he thinks lost (II, ll. 1072–4), or lamenting Clymene's death and almost forgetting his regal role under the influence of anger (IV, ll. 23–68). The mother's role is, however, more important than the father's in *La Franciade*. Andromache gives Francus 'un riche habit' (I, l. 1016) designed to remind him of the past and of her love (ll. 1039–42). The ekphrasis allows Ronsard to anchor his character in the Trojan legend: Hector wore this robe when Helen entered Troy (ll. 1033–35). However, this recall of Troy does not simply underline the hero's identity; it also threatens to inflict paralysis. The garment depicts Ganymede, abducted by Jupiter's eagle (ll. 1025–32). The boy, reaching out to what he is leaving behind, symbolizes attachment to Troy, to his past. His dogs pursue the shadow of someone who has already abandoned them. Ganymede is depicted at a turning point in his life (he is about to become cup-bearer to the gods), but like Francus he begins by resisting.

It is as if associating Francus with the Trojan legend made it difficult for Ronsard to progress. The problems surrounding the creation of his hero are implicitly commented on via the word *feinte*, from the verb *feindre*.⁶⁸ Although *feindre* frequently denoted the poet's activity, it had enough pejorative connotations to undermine Francus' status. In the epistle 'Au Lecteur', Ronsard refers to the frequent *feintes* or invented episodes in Book I (including 'la venue de Cybele',

⁶⁶ Jomphe 1998: 395–403.

⁶⁷ Ménager 1979: 306.

⁶⁸ See Castor 1964: 117–25.

omitted from the poem), which are, paradoxically, necessary to make Francus more *vraisemblable* (p. 10). The intervention of Jupiter himself is needed to insert Francus into the epic tradition. Jupiter tells how he saved Francus, Hector's son, from Pyrrhus by substituting for him a *feinte* which he placed in Andromache's arms (I, ll. 107–18). Francus owes his existence to an artifice like the one Ronsard uses when assimilating Astyanax-Scamandrius with Francus. The poet is evoking the fragility of his own inventions. During the storm, in which the hero fights to justify his existence, Francus complains to Jupiter of the 'feinte' whereby he was saved (II, ll. 181–84). He appears uncertain of his heroic destiny and believes that a dubious stratagem underpins his identity.

The text contains several episodes featuring ghosts, which explore the status of fiction. In Book II, erstwhile sailors appear before Francus (ll. 653–56). Deprived of life and function, they describe their precarious situation with the same word, *feinte*, that Ronsard used when speaking of Francus. The funeral of one of Francus' friends is evoked in detail, largely in the present tense (III, ll. 669–782); Francus 'veut soubz les ombres descendre' (l. 749). This retarding episode owes much to Homer and Virgil but depicts a hero obsessed with death. In Book IV, Hyante agrees to summon the 'Fantausmes vains' (l. 528). The episode recalls Virgil but places greater emphasis on the notion of the apparition. Hyante for instance evokes the vision of Marcomire, 'Qui sous l'obscur des ombres de la nuit/Verra dormant un fantausme en son lit' (ll. 767–68). A ghost himself sees another ghost. The characters of this text are indeed frequently wraith-like, unsure of their identity; the poet questions their mission and his own.⁶⁹

Female Identity

Ronsard hence underlines the instability of the human personality. He examines female identity particularly closely. Ariadne, deserted by Theseus, is a leitmotif, showing the problems faced by a woman asked to help an important man (III, ll. 1225–28, 1437–40; IV, ll.

⁶⁹ The *feinte* recurs in the *Sonnets pour Helene*, where the poet explores illusion and reality, the Trojan legend and everyday life, and refers to the belief, found in Stesichorus and Euripides, that a false Helen accompanied Paris to Troy.

339–42). Helen is naturally mentioned several times (III, ll. 1377–78, 1429–34). More importantly, Ronsard devotes much space to the words and sensations of women in love. Clymene and Hyante fall in love with Francus, in a striking case of reduplication that owes something to the character Anna in Virgil and reminds one of the Argonautic hymns.⁷⁰ Ronsard examines the effects of love on the personality of each girl, and remembers Ovid's *Heroides*. Hyante experiences love as alienation (III, ll. 14–16). Even her thoughts, she suggests, are determined by another. This contrasts with the past: Clymene reproduces the haughty words of her sister who, before meeting Francus, rejected male domination and dreamed of a society run by women (III, ll. 79–94). Before helping Francus, Hyante herself imagines in a long monologue critical words others will pronounce if she follows him (IV, ll. 479–83). Her head is filled with bitter voices. She also imagines the bad reputation that will pursue her everywhere (ll. 485–86). Others' tongues are perceived as destructive. The reader knows as well as Hyante that revealing the procession of monarchs to Francus will demand from her an enormous sacrifice, the loss of her autonomy and self-respect.

Clymene's position is even worse. To evoke her passion, the poet uses a beautiful image full of movement, derived from Apollonius and Virgil (III, ll. 806–16). Whereas the rays of the sun are joyous and free, Clymene is the prisoner of the chaotic thoughts produced by her love. Elsewhere too, Ronsard skilfully depicts a troubled mind, obsessed by circular thoughts, a prey to fallacious dreams (ll. 827–32, 859–70). Clymene is indecisive. Her nurse, prefiguring Racine's Oenone, gives her bad advice (III, ll. 1113–72): confronted with the world of heroes, a normal woman is defenceless. In her letter to Francus, Clymene evokes her loss of identity; the fusion of two souls is considered frightening for the woman (III, ll. 1209–11). Spurned, she becomes mad, incapable of recognizing herself or others. Mistaking a boar for Francus, she pursues it and, like Francus' ships but without a heroic mission, flings herself into the sea. The scene, evoked with virtuosity at the end of Book III, recalls the hunt for boar and deer in Book II (ll. 471–92), during which a deer guides Dicée to the Trojans. However, Clymene's hunt does not lead to a pleasant discovery. It involves a false boar and ends in her tragic transformation

⁷⁰ See Braybrook 1989: 104–05, and Sommers 1983.

into a sea-nymph. Whilst not disappearing so abruptly as Priam (I, ll. 93–94) or Phovere after the duel whose clusters of similes derive from the ‘Hymne de Pollux et de Castor’ (II, ll. 1455–68), Clymene experiences a disintegration of her personality.⁷¹

Involvement in public life is equally dangerous for women. In the procession of monarchs, Galsonde is seen, strangled by her husband Chilpéric (IV, ll. 1363–80). The murder is described several times. Chilpéric is himself killed by his second wife, Frédégonde (ll. 1395–402); then Frédégonde (likened by Protestant polemicists to Catherine de Médicis) goes into battle, ‘son fils de trois mois en ses bras’ (l. 1408). She sacrifices maternal love to war, unlike Andromache, who protected her son (I, ll. 101–06). Another queen detested by Renaissance chroniclers, Brunehaut, is tortured for her crimes. Her hair, skin and blood cover the countryside as her bound body is dragged along by her horse (ll. 1425–32; details are added in 1584). This fragmentation is, perhaps, the physical equivalent of Clymene’s mental breakdown. The suggestion is that women using illicit means to promote themselves will be punished as harshly as any man, being torn apart literally or metaphorically.

Art and Memory

Ronsard thus examines the sacrifices male glory demands of women. What then can be done to counter the erosion of the self caused by passions, politics and war? Despite the doubt inscribed in his text, Ronsard places faith in art, rather as the writers of fragments placed faith in the *prisci poetae*. He incorporates in his poem several works of art representing durability, memory, and a heroic tradition. Dicée describes the ‘grand’coupe d’or’ that Hector gave to Idoménée, king of Crete (II, ll. 599–616). It represents Perseus (whom Ronsard confuses with Heracles, *Metamorphoses* XI. 212) delivering Hésione from a monster reminiscent of Ovid and Ariosto. Thematically, the cup prefigures Francus’ rescue of Orée, as well as the dangers the sea represents for Clymene. It also underlines the importance of memory. Idoménée and Dicée cherish it because it reminds them of Hector’s virtues. Hector survives via this beautiful object; and on his glory depends in part that of Francus.

⁷¹ On the duel and the ‘Hymne’, see Braybrook 1989.

A less ornate description is devoted to the 'harnois que portoit/Troile à Troye' (II, ll. 1211-12). Troile, one of Priam's sons, wore it to fight Achilles. He perished; but the armour symbolizes the valour of Hector, whom he was emulating (ll. 1213-14). Helenin gives it to Francus 'Contre la mort assurance tres-seure' (l. 1218), in a line whose assonance seems designed to defeat death. Hector's power is symbolically transmitted to his son. The same is true of the belt given by Hector to Helenin, then by Helenin to Francus (IV, ll. 224-34). It represents friendship, valour and Helenin's prophetic powers.

In Dicée's castle, a ewer depicts the transformations of Briarée 'Pour se saisir de sa Cymopolie' (II, l. 906). From their union are born Dicée's forefathers. Briarée has to become a serpent to perpetuate his race. A bowl in the same castle represents Saturn and the infant Jupiter, escaping from his father thanks to a device like the one Jupiter uses to rescue Francus:

*Sa femme Rhée à l'autre bord estoit
Qui pour son fils un caillou presentoit
A ce vieillard, les appas de son ventre.* (ll. 915-17)

The bowl likewise suggests the continuity of a race (Jupiter survives) and its fragility (the other, unnamed, children are devoured).

Other beautiful objects belong to women. Apart from Andromache's 'riche habit', there is Venus' girdle, woven by Nature and representing fertility and love (III, ll. 613-46). The 'carquan/Fait en serpent' donned by Hyante (IV, ll. 155-56) is less feminine, as it was fashioned by Vulcan. It symbolizes the way an article may be passed from hand to hand as a token of friendship or remain in the same family to accentuate its renown (ll. 163-66). Hyante, about to step into the heroic world via prophecy, chooses a necklace testifying to the values of that world. The evocation of her coach a little later consequently emphasizes movement and action (ll. 175-84).

Splendid objects therefore represent human continuity and creativity. Allusions to love and metamorphosis, however, create doubt in the reader's mind even as far as these artefacts are concerned. Ultimately, art cannot dispel the pessimism culminating in Hyante's declaration at the end of Book IV, suggesting that only virtue lasts (ll. 1892-98; compare the concluding pages of Lemaire's *Illustrations*). Although Hyante affirms Francus' identity as 'Enfant d'Hector' (l. 1893), she dwells on the death of individuals and reminds one of Andromache's words (I, ll. 963-78). As Ménager has skilfully shown,

there is a tension between Ronsard's conception of time, change and death on the one hand, and the epic undertaking on the other.⁷²

Fragmentation finally asserts itself in *La Franciade*: textually, as the work breaks off at the end of Book IV and shows throughout a predilection for stasis; thematically, as Ronsard repeatedly questions the status of his work in relation to the Ancients, and reflects on the undermining of human integrity by passions, war, flux. The female characters express many of his disenchanted thoughts on glory (others are found, with Virgilian echoes, in Francus' mouth). Art shores up human identity; but its powers, represented by ornate objects, are limited. In May 1574 Charles IX, Ronsard's patron, died. This doubtless rendered Ronsard's task more difficult, his sense of transience more acute. He laments Charles's death at the end of the *Sonnets pour Helene*, a collection that returns to the Trojan legend and plays on the name of a famous woman but contains short poems testifying, via their form and content, to human instability.

The unfinished *Franciade* should be evaluated alongside the fragments previously discussed. It develops motifs they contain; parallels with the 'Hymne de Pollux et de Castor' are particularly close. Lyricism prevails. This may be compared with the marked sixteenth-century predilection for poems on metamorphosis, which allow time for examination of love and for colourful evocations. Again, ekphrasis in *La Franciade* reminds one of the interest shown in the artist and the poet in contemporary fragments. Despite the popularity enjoyed by the Argonauts, the balance comes down, in the short mythological poems too, in favour of description rather than action, things artistic rather than heroic, Hylas rather than Hercules.

⁷² 1979: 310-15.

Appendix

Primary Sources

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 'Adone. Daphni e Menalca', Egloga decima, I: 155-60
 'Favola di Narcisso', I: 288-314
 'Favola di Atlante di Luigi Alamanni. Al Christianissimo Re Francesco Primo', I: 341-53
 'Favola di Phetonte di Luigi Alamanni. Al Christianissimo rè Francesco Primo', II: 108-36
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Les Muses, Second Livre des Poemes, 2: 71-91
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Le Meurier, ou La Fable de Pyrame et Thisbe, Quatrième Livre des Poemes, 2: 165-82
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Fleurdepine, Cinquième Livre des Poemes, 2: 261-72
Hymne de Venus, Sixième Livre des Poemes, 2: 279-90
L'Amour de Medee, Sixième Livre des Poemes, 2: 298-304
Atalante, Sixième Livre des Poemes, 2: 310-16
Amour de Vertun et Pomone, Huitième Livre des Poemes, 2: 387-91
Le Ravissement d'Europe, Neuvième Livre des Poemes, 2: 421-31
Le Cyclope ou Polypheme amoureux, Eclogue 8, 3: 45-51
Pan, Eclogue 9, 3: 51-56
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L'Escargot, 1: 60-64
Première Journée de la Bergerie, Eglogue, 'Toinet, Bellin, Perot'. This contains Bellin's description of the dead Adonis, 1: 294-96, and Toinet's evocation of an elaborate

- cup, 1: 296–97; these were published, with the first part of the eclogue, as the *Chant pastoral sur la mort de Joachim du Bellay Angevin* (Paris: R. Estienne, 1560)
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- 'L'Amour ambitieux d'Ixion', *Seconde Journée de la Bergerie*, 2: 19–26
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- 'L'Améthyste ou les Amours de Bacchus et d'Améthyste', 36–54
- 'Les Amours de Hyacinthe et de Chrysolithe', 95–110
- 'Les Amours d'Iris et d'Opalle', 122–27
- 'L'Onyce', 140–45
- 'L'Agathe. A Madamoyselle de Surgères', 174–83
- 'La Pierre aqueuse', 239–43
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- Les Regretz de Marc Antoine, et de Cleopatre*, fol. 15r^o–29v^o
- Les Deplorables Amours de Pirame et Tybé, prise [sic] d'Ovide*, fol. 70r^o–v^o
- Les Tragiques Amours de Pirame et Tysbé, prises d'Ovide*, fol. 71r^o–82v^o
- La Triste Lamentation d'Olympe, prise du dixiesme chant de l'Arioste*, fol. 90r^o–100v^o
- La Delivrance d'Olympe, prise de l'onzieme chant de l'Arioste*, fol. 101r^o–112r^o
- La Jalousie de Bradamante, tirée du trente-deuxiesme chant de l'Arioste*, fol. 112r^o–121v^o
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- Le Second Chant des chants de Loys Arioste. Bataille de Regnauld, et de Sacripant, ensemble la cheute de Bradamant dans un puis creux, par la trahison de Pinabel*, 27–52

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 'De Arione et Delphino', 16
 'De Orpheo, quòd oratione dulci multa perficiantur', 32
 'De duplici morte Eurydices. Quòd saepius peccantibus vix Dii ignoscant', 47–48
 'Transformatio Astyanactis, qui fuit Hectoris filius, in lilium', 60
 'Adversus Deum non pugnandum', 106
 'De Daphnes exitu ac fructu', 126
 'Ad Atlantem', 133–34
 'Alphentis pueri Casus, et transformatio in arborem', 140
 'De Gorgonio', 170
 'Transformatio Melissa Nymphae in Apem', 174–76
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- Ordre L'* 1539/40, *L'Ordre tenu et gardé à l'entrée de tres hault et tres puissant prince Charles empereur toujours auguste, en la ville de Paris* [. . .]. *La description des arcz triumphans, magnificences; theatres et misteres faictz en icelle ville pour la reception dudit seigneur* (Paris: Gilles Corrozet and Jehan du Pré)
- Ordre L'* 1549, *C'est l'ordre qui a esté tenu à la nouvelle et joyeuse entrée, que treshault, tres-excellent, et trespuissant Prince, le Roy treschrestien Henry deuzieme de ce nom, a faicte en sa bonne ville de Paris, capitale de son Royaume, le sezieme jour de Juin M.D. XLIX* (Paris: Jacques Roffet)
- Ordre L'* 1572, *Bref et sommaire recueil de ce qui a esté fait, et de l'ordre tenue à la joyeuse et triumpante Entrée de tres-puissant, tres-magnanime et tres-chrestien Prince Charles IX de ce nom Roy de France, en sa bonne ville et cité de Paris, capitale de son Royaume, le Mardy sixiesme jour de Mars avec le Couronnement de tres-haute, tres-illustre et tres-excellente Princesse Madame Elizabet d'Austriche son espouse, le Dimanche vingtcinquesme*. With *Entrée de ladicté dame en icelle ville le Jeudi XXIX dudict mois de Mars, M.D. LXXI* (Paris: Denis du Pré, for Olivier Codoré). By Simon Bouquet.
- Passerat Jean 1606, *Recueil des oeuvres poétiques de Jan Passerat* (Paris: C. Morel). Contains:
Adonis, ou La Chasse du Sanglier. A Monsieur de Sancy, 21–26
- Peletier du Mans Jacques 1555, *L'Amour des Amours* (Lyon: Jean de Tournes). Facsimile edition with introduction by Ad. Van Bever (Paris: Société des médecins bibliophiles, 1926)
- Peletier du Mans Jacques 1930, *L'Art poétique de Jacques Peletier du Mans (1555)*, ed. by A. Boulanger, Publications de la Faculté des Lettres de l'Université de Strasbourg, 53 (Paris: Les Belles Lettres)
- Petit Nicolas de Bellozanac 1522?, *Nicolai Parvi, [. . .] Sylvae, Arion, Gornais, Barbaromachia, cum aliquot hymnis* (Paris: Jean de Gourmont). Contains:
Nicolai Parvi Bellosanensis sylva cui titulus Arion, De laudibus eiusdem, fol. B1r^o–H2r^o.

- Pigna Giovanni Battista 1553, *Jo. Baptistae Pignae Carminum libri quatuor, ad Alphonsum Ferrariae principem* (Venice: ex officina Erasmiana, Vincentii Valgrisi). Contains the following, all from the *Satyrae*:
 'Cyclops', 122–25
 'Faunus', 128–30
 'Laurati', 133–35
 'Nymphae', 135–44
 'Rhopalos', 144–49
 'Pitys', 166–70
- Pontano Giovanni Gioviano 1518, *Carmina* (Venice: in aedibus Aldi, et Andreae Soceri). Contains:
De Orpheo navigante, et post ad inferos pro uxore descendente. Versus lyrici, 1, fol. 89r^o–91r^o (actually numbered fol. 97, 90 and 99)
Polyphemus ad Galateam. Versus lyrici, 1, fol. 99r^o–100v^o
Polyphemus à Galatea spretus conqueritur in litore. Versus lyrici, 1, fol. 101v^o–103r^o
- Pontano Giovanni Gioviano 1533, *Urania, sive de Stellis*. Libri quinque (Venice: in aedibus Aldi Manutii, et Andreae soceri). See especially:
 'De Adonide, et Venere', 1, fol. 9r^o–v^o
 'De Lyra, et Orpheo', 3, fol. 68v^o–69v^o
 'De Furiis et dolore Herculis raptò Hyla', 5, fol. 101v^o–102r^o
 'De Hercule, et Hyla', 5, fol. 102r^o–104r^o
- Pyrame et Thisbé* 1911, *Pyrame et Thisbé: Texte normand du XII^e siècle*, ed. by C. de Boer, Verhandeligen der Koninklijke Akademie der Wetenschappen te Amsterdam. Afdeling Letterkunde (Nieuwe Reeks), Deel 12, 3 (Amsterdam: Johannes Müller)
- Ronsard Pierre de 1914–75, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. by P. Laumonier, completed by I. Silver and R. Lebègue, Société des Textes Français Modernes, 20 vols (Paris: Hachette, then Droz, then Didier). See especially:
 'Complainte de Glauce à Scylle Nimphe', *Troisième Livre des Odes*, 1550, Ode XXI, 2: 57–60
 'La Defloration de Lede à Cassandre', *Troisième Livre des Odes*, Ode 25, 2: 67–79
 'Le Ravissement de Cephale, divisé en trois poses', *Quatrième Livre des Odes*, Ode XVI, 2: 133–47
Ode de la Paix par Pierre de Ronsard Vandomois, Au Roi, 1550, 3: 3–35
 'Ode à Michel de l'Hospital, Chancelier de Madame Marguerite', *Cinquième Livre des Odes*, 1552, Ode VIII, 3: 118–63
 'La Harangue que fit Monseigneur le Duc de Guise aus soudards de Mez, le jour qu'il pensoit avoir l'assaut', *Cinquième Livre des Odes*, 1553, 5: 203–19
 'Le Narssis, pris d'Ovide, à François Charbonnier, Angevin', *Le Bocage*, 1554, 6: 73–83
 'La Grenouille à Remy Belleau du Perche', *Le Bocage*, 6: 83–89
 'Le Houx, à Jan Brinon', *Les Meslanges*, 1555, 6: 135–46
 'L'Hinne de Bacus à Jan Brinon', *Les Meslanges*, 6: 176–90
 'Les Daimons. A Lancelot Carle, Evesque de Rhiez', *Premier Livre des Hymnes*, 1555, 8: 115–39
 'Hymne de Calais, et de Zetes', *Deuxième Livre des Hymnes*, 1556, 8: 255–93
 'Hymne de Pollux et de Castor, à Gaspard de Couigny Seigneur de Chastillon, et Amiral de France', 8: 293–327
Chant pastoral sur les Noces de Monseigneur Charles Duc de Lorraine, et Madame Claude Fille II. Du Roy, 1559, 9: 75–100
 'A André Thevet Angoumoisain', *Cinquième Livre des Odes*, XXI, 1560, 10: 265–71
 'Le Cyclope amoureux. A Charles d'Espinay', *Premier Livre des Poèmes*, 1560, 10: 275–90
 'Hymne du Printemps. A Fleurimont Robertet seigneur d'Aluye', 1563, 12: 27–34
 'L'Hymne de l'Esté. A Fleurimont Robertet Seigneur de Fresne', 1563, 12: 35–45

- 'L'Hymne de l'Autonne. A Monsieur de Laubespine', 1563, 12: 46–67
 'L'Hymne de l'Hyver. A Monsieur Bourdin', 1563, 12: 68–86
 'L'Adonis, au Seigneur de Fictes', *Premier Livre du recueil des Nouvelles Poësies*, 1563–64, 12: 108–26
 'L'Orphée, au seigneur de Bray Parisien', *Premier Livre du recueil des Nouvelles Poësies*, 12: 126–42
Abbrégé de l'Art poétique François, à Alphonse Delbene, Abbé de Hautecombe en Savoie, 1565, 14: 3–35
 'Les Parolles que dist Calypson, ou qu'elle devoit dire, voyant partir Ulysse. Au Seigneur de Baif', *Sixième Livre des Poèmes*, 1569, 15: 48–60
 'Le Satyre, au seigneur Hurault dit de Candé', *Sixième Livre des Poèmes*, 15: 67–76
 'Le Pin, au seigneur de Cravan', *Septième Livre des Poèmes*, 1569, 15: 178–85
 'Hylas, au seigneur Passerat', *Septième Livre des Poèmes*, 15, 234–53
La Franciade, 1572, 16–1 and 16–2
 'Discours de l'équité des vieux Gaulois', *Le Bocage royal*, 1584, 18–1: 74–88
- Rus Jean, see Jean Bourdel
- Sainte-Marthe Scèveole de 1579, *Les Oeuvres de Scèveole de Sainte-Marthe* (Paris: Mamert Patisson). Contains:
La Statue de Pygmalion. A Monsieur de Villeroy, Secrétaire d'Estat, fol. 9v^o–11r^o
- Sainte-Marthe Scèveole de 1633, *Scaevolae et Abelii Sammarthianorum Patris et Filii. Opera latina et gallica, tum ea, quae solutâ oratione, tum ea, quae versu scripta sunt*. Editio ultima (Paris: Jacques Villery). Contains:
Les Alcions, 175–93. First published in *Premières Oeuvres* (Paris: F. Morel, 1569) as *Les Loyaux Infortunez*.
- Saint-Gelais Melin de 1873, *Oeuvres complètes de Melin de Saint-Gelays*, ed. by Prosper Blanchemain, Bibliothèque Elzévirienne (Paris: Paul Daffis). Contains:
Elegie ou chanson lamentable de Venus sur la mort du bel Adonis, 1: 127–36
Genève. Imitation des IV, V et VI chants de l'Arioste, 2: 328–38. (Saint-Gelays in fact begins at IV. 2 and breaks off at V. 11.) This poem was continued by Baif in his *Genève* (q.v.).
- Salius Panagius 1589, *Panagii Saliû audomarensis Varia Poemata* (Paris: Denys du Prê). Contains:
Panagii Saliû ad Catulli Epithalamium parodia, 71–85
- Sannazaro Jacopo 1535, *Jacobi Sannazarii opera omnia latine scripta, nuper edita* (Venice: Aldus). Contains:
Salices, fol. 39r^o–40v^o. First published Naples: Freccia, 1526.
- Sannazaro Jacopo 1544, *L'Arcadie de Messire Jacques Sannazar, gentil homme Napolitain, excellent Poete entre les modernes, mise d'Italien en francoys par Jehan Martin Secrétaire de Monseigneur Reverendissime Cardinal de Lenoncourt* (Paris: Gilles Corrozet)
- Scaliger Julius Caesar 1964, *Poetics libri septem. Faksimile-Neudruck der Ausgabe von Lyon 1561*, ed. by A. Buck (Stuttgart-Bad Cannstatt: Friedrich Frommann Verlag (Günther Holzboog))
- Scaliger Julius Caesar 1905, *Select Translations from Scaliger's Poetics*, F.M. Padelford, York Studies in English, ed. by A.S. Cook, 26 (New York: Henry Holt)
- Scève Maurice 1536, *Recueil de Vers latins, et vulgaires de plusieurs Poëtes Francoys, composés sur le trespas de feu Monsieur le Daulphin* (Lyon: François Juste). Contains:
Eglogue sus le trespas de feu Monsieur le Daulphin. ARIOM [sic], fol. B8r^o–C4r^o
- Scève Maurice 1959, *Saulsaye. Eglogue de la vie solitaire*, ed. by M. Françon (Cambridge, MA: Schoenhof). Facsimile of the edition printed in Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1547.
- Sebillot Thomas 1910, *Art Poétique François*, ed. by F. Gaiffe, Société des Textes Français Modernes (Paris: E. Cornély)
- Sépin Gervais 1553, *Érotopaëgnion* (Paris: Chrestien Wechel). Contains:
 'In eum quem salices scindentem reperit', Livre 1, Ode 31, 80–81. Quoted by Joukovsky-Micha in Appendix 2 of her *Poésie et mythologie*, 195–97

- Stoa Giovanni Francesco Conti, or Quinziano Stoa, or Joannes Franciscus Quintianus
Stoa 1510, *Orpheos libri tres* (Milan: chalcographo Petro Martyre Cassano)
- Tagault Barthélemy 1558, *Le Ravissement d'Orithye composé par B. Tag.* (Paris: André Wechel)
- Tahureau Jacques 1870, *Poésies de Jaques Tahureau*, ed. by Prosper Blanchemain, Cabinet du Bibliophile, 8 and 9, 2 vols (Paris: Librairie des Bibliophiles). Contains: 'A Madame Marguerite', Ode, 1: 17-29
Ode IV, on Leander, 2: 45-51
- Taillemont Claude de 1556, *La Tricarite plus qelqs chants, en faveur de pluzieurs Damoëzells: par C. De Taillemont, Lyonoës* (Lyon, Jean Temporal). Contains:
Conte de l'infante Genièvre fig'le du Roy d'Ecosse pris dû furieus, è fet François par C. de Taillemont, Lyonoës, 115-51
- Turrin Claude 1572, *Les Oeuvres poetiques de Claude Turrin, divisé en six livres* (Paris: J. de Bordeaux). Contains:
De l'Amour et du Despit. Elégie 5, fol. 41v^o-46v^o
'Ode deuxième. A Chrestienne de Baissey, Damoiselle de Saillant', fol. 88v^o-92r^o
- Tyard Pontus de 1966, *Oeuvres poétiques complètes*, ed. by J.C. Lapp, Société des Textes Français Modernes (Paris: Didier). Contains:
Ode: Les Grenoilles, from the *Livre de vers liriques*, 202-07. First published Lyon: Jean de Tournes, 1555.
- Vauquelin de la Fresnaye Jean 1956, *Les Foresteries*, ed. by M. Bensimon (Geneva: Droz; Lille: Giard). Contains:
'L'Echo forestiere', *Foresterie* 8, 56-63
'Le Chêne creus de Perrin. A Gefroi Grimoult', *Foresterie* 12, 81-93
- Viennet Jean-Pons-Guillaume 1863, *La Franciade: Poème en dix chants* [...], ed. by J. Janin (Paris: Henri Plon)
- Vitel Jean de 1904, *Les Premiers Exercices poétiques de Jean de Vitel*, ed. by Ch.-A. de Robillard de Beaurepaire, Société des Bibliophiles normands, 12 (Rouen: Léon Gy). Contains:
Hymne de Pallas, 9-21
Comment le Mont Saint Michel fut surprins par les Ennemis, et après recouré par le Tres-belliqueux Seigneur de Vicques, 23-63. This incorporates elements of *La Franciade*.
Autre imitation du 31. Idylle de Theocrète, à M. François Eschart, Advocat en la Cour de Parlement de Roüen. Sur le trespas d'Adonis, 101-03

THE GREEK ANACREONTICS AND SIXTEENTH-CENTURY FRENCH LYRIC POETRY

Patricia Rosenmeyer

I. Introduction

The nineteenth-century French scholar Émile Egger, in his two-volume work entitled *L'Hellenisme en France: Sur l'influence des études grecques dans le développement de la langue et de la littérature françaises* (Paris, 1869), divides the progress of sixteenth-century French lyric poetry into three stages:¹

d'abord une phase que je pourrais appeler de développement naturel et qui conforme à la tradition du moyen âge; ensuite, une phase d'imitation laborieuse, celle qui caractérise le *Pindarisme* de Ronsard; enfin, une sorte de retour à la nature, après la publication d'*Anacréon* par Henri Estienne.

Egger's tripartite division leaves out some details, such as the popularity of the Petrarchan sonnet tradition in France at this time,² and implies in an oversimplified way a strict chronological poetic development with little room for variation, but on the whole, his generalization holds true. The goal of this chapter is to explore the last of Egger's categories, the influence of Estienne's *Anacreon* on the scholars and poets of the 1550s in Paris, and in particular on Pierre de Ronsard.

In 1530, thanks in large part to the efforts of the brilliant philologist Guillaume Budé, Royal Readerships were established at the Collège de France; these Readers produced in the next few decades a stellar assortment of classical scholars specializing in such areas as

¹ Egger 1869: 347. For general background on sixteenth-century lyric poetry and the French Renaissance, see e.g., Chamard 1961; Hutton 1950; Pfeiffer 1958: 3–83; Silver 1981, 1985, 1987. On Ronsard, see e.g., Laumonier 1909; de Nolhac 1921; Hutton 1943; Silver 1969; Christodoulou 1988; Gendre 1997.

² See Hutton 1943: 103: "The attempt to naturalize the types of classical poetry on the one hand, and on the other the outpouring of Petrarchan sonnets, together very nearly make up the sum of poetical activity in the second half of the sixteenth century in France."

lexicography, law, and textual criticism: Adrien Turnèbe, Jean Dorat, Denys Lambin, Marc-Antoine Muret, and the somewhat younger Henri Estienne.³ James Hutton, in his excellent summary of “The Classics in Sixteenth-Century France,” points out the unusually close relationship between these classical scholars and a new breed of poets who happened to be under their tutelage:⁴

The outlook of this generation of scholars, their emphasis on the poets of Greece and Rome, made possible a fruitful relationship between them and the rising generation of French poets, whose publications began in 1549–50. Of these poets, Ronsard and Jean-Antoine de Baïf, and, briefly, Joachim du Bellay were pupils of Jean Dorat, while Étienne de Jodelle and Remy Belleau attended the college of Boncourt, where they had as masters George Buchanan and Muret. The interest of the scholars in the ancient poets gave them an interest in forming and encouraging the poets of the present, and these poets in turn, having seized upon the ancient idea of the *vates* and the *doctus poeta*, remained close to the world of scholarship throughout their lives.

The felicitous introduction by Henri Estienne of the poems of “Anacreon”—that is, the poems from the collection attributed to, but not necessarily written by, Anacreon—to the newly formed group of poets known as the “Pléiade” resulted in a new poetic direction not just in France, but in Renaissance England and slightly later in Germany as well, and changed the nature of the “ode légère” in European literature forever. Anacreon became their *vates*, an inspiration for lyric composition more suited to contemporary verse forms and subject matter than Pindar’s complexities. Let us begin this study with a closer look at the anacreontic corpus itself, and try to recover what it was about the poetry that excited both scholar and poet and led them to regard these verses as simultaneously a window to antiquity and an inspiration for new poetic composition.

II. *Henri Estienne and the Rediscovery of “Anacreon” in France*

We rely on a single manuscript for the transmission of the anacreontic corpus, which exists as an appendix to the tenth-century codex of the *Palatine Anthology*.⁵ The collection consists of sixty poems com-

³ Hutton 1950: 132–33.

⁴ Hutton 1950: 132.

⁵ The manuscript tradition is dealt with extensively in my book on the anacre-

posed in the manner of the archaic Greek poet Anacreon of Teos (*floruit* ca. 530 BCE). The poems are basically variations on a theme, namely the simple pleasures of life: wine, music, and love. All worldly complications are eliminated from the anacreontic sphere: money and power are rejected, death is merely a non-threatening reminder to enjoy life, and old age never interferes with the erotic urge. Love itself is easy and available; there is no jealousy or distress attached to romance, but rather a gentle and pervasive sense of well-being, an *eros* that is more sensual than sexual. The anacreontic atmosphere is thus created by combining the best of the erotic and the symposiastic worlds; it celebrates wine, beauty, friendship, and love with imagery of garlands, vines, drinking parties, and pastoral springtime. Anacreontic style and syntax are on the whole simple, characterized by brevity, plain language, and an abundance of parallelism and repetition. The metrical schemata are also quite short and straightforward: most of the poems are written either in hemiambs (catalectic iambic dimeters: ×-υ-υ-×) or anaclasts (ionic dimeters with anacalasis: υ-υ-υ-υ-).⁶ The poems allude frequently to a wide range of familiar ancient texts. In sum, it is a charming and accessible collection which both reanimated the image of Anacreon and led to the later development of an anacreontic genre in Western European literature.

A certain amount of doubt has always surrounded the origins of these anacreontic imitations, in terms of both authorship and

ontics, Rosenmeyer 1992; see also O'Brien 1995: 3–22. While this manuscript (cod. Paris. Suppl. gr. 384) is our only source for the complete collection of 60 anacreontic poems, various individual selections turn up in other locations. For example, Aulus Gellius (ca. 160 CE) quotes a slightly different version of poem 4 (*NA* 19.9.4–5): the context is a symposium at which the singers perform odes of Anacreon and Sappho, as well as more recent compositions. The Greek text follows, a fifteen-line version which M.L. West records in his Teubner edition of *Carmina Anacreontea* (1984) as 4(i); thus, by the mid-second century CE, this anacreontic text was circulating as genuine Anacreon. A twenty-one-line version of the same poem appears in our manuscript, and again in its shortest form of 11 lines, together with poem 8, in the anthology compiled by Cephalas at the end of the ninth century, no longer extant, but the archetype for the *Palatine Anthology* (*AP* 11.47–48), the Planudean, and a thirteenth-century Paris codex (codd. Paris. Suppl. gr. 352 and Paris gr. 1630). This discrepancy in the form of poem 4 may imply that other poems in the collection may also reveal “*non pristinam formam*” (West 1984: ix). Poem 6 re-appears in the Planudean text (7.185 = *AP* 16.388), although under the name of Julianus. The first four lines of poem 45 also exist as the third strophe in a set of anacreontic verses by Dioskourous, writing between 520 and 585 CE in Aphrodito, Upper Egypt (P. Cairo Cat. I 67097 verso F); see Heitsch 1961: I.151–52; also *Musée du Caire Catalogue Général des Antiquités Égyptiennes*, vol. I: Papyrus Grecs d'Époque Byzantine (Paris, 1911) I: 153–54.

⁶ See e.g. West 1984: xiv–xvi; Campbell 1988: II.8–10.

manuscript authority. External evidence tells us little; internal evidence suggests not one poet, but many, as the collection appears to span almost six hundred years, from late Hellenistic times to the Byzantine era.⁷ But the rigours of comparative philology which allow us to draw this conclusion had not yet been developed by sixteenth-century European scholars. Thus the humanist and philologist Henri Estienne (also known by his Latinized name Henricus Stephanus), publishing his *editio princeps* of the anacreontics in 1554, staked his reputation on what he claimed to be a previously unknown group of lyric poems by the archaic poet Anacreon himself.

When, on a trip in 1551 to read manuscripts at the library in Louvain, Estienne discovered the texts in a neglected appendix,⁸ he probably had a much vaguer picture of the "real" Anacreon than we now possess, thanks to our more recently discovered papyrus scraps. In fact, the legends in antiquity which grew about Anacreon after his death contributed greatly to a reduced image of a drunken

⁷ For a detailed discussion of the arguments on relative dating of the corpus as a whole as well as individual poems, see my unpublished dissertation on the *Carmina Anacreontea*, Rosenmeyer 1987: 81–104.

⁸ The consensus is that Estienne recorded from this manuscript appendix alone, since there are no discrepancies to be found between his apograph (cod. Voss. Gr. Q 18), now in the University of Leiden library, and the Paris codex (cod. Paris. Suppl. Gr. 384), now housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale de France; see West 1984: vii. The complete manuscript, which contains the books of the *Palatine Anthology*, has an eventful history, and we may never know exactly how it got into Estienne's hands in Louvain (see Campbell 1988: II.5ff.; also Cameron 1993: chapter 8). We can trace the manuscript to Heidelberg, where it was catalogued by the early 1600's, and thence to the Vatican, offered to Pope Gregory XV as war booty by Bavaria. While at the Vatican, it was bound in two volumes, with the break between books 13 and 14. In 1797 Napoleon transferred them to the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris. At the end of the Napoleonic Wars in 1815, the Palatine codices were slated to be returned to Heidelberg, but only the first volume was sent, and the error was not realized until after the librarian had catalogued what he thought to be the entire codex. The latter half, including the anacreontic texts, was considered missing until 1839, when Dübner reported having seen it in the Bibliothèque Nationale, and Rose confirmed this fact in 1864–66, when he studied the manuscript for his Teubner edition. The *Palatine Anthology* remains divided between Heidelberg (Cod. Pal. 23) and Paris, with the anacreontic sections in Paris. For further details, see West 1984: vi–ix; Beckby 1965: I.90–98; Preisendanz 1912: v–xvii; Gow and Page 1965: I.xxxiii. Estienne himself claimed to have found two manuscripts of the anacreontics, the one from Louvain, supposedly given to him by John Clement, and another brought back from Italy in 1549; see Silver 1969: 107; Laumonier 1909: 121; O'Brien 1995: 14–16. He insists that he collated both manuscripts, one on parchment and the other on papyrus, for his *editio princeps*. But as West puts it, "There is neither hide nor hair of another manuscript": *codicisque alterius nec vola nec vestigium est* (West 1984: vii); it has vanished without a trace.

old man singing love songs, an image which seemed to mesh perfectly with the newly recovered texts.⁹ In Estienne's initial excitement and enthusiasm, he observed only supportive evidence for his theory: the overlap of motif and subject matter between Anacreon's works and the new poems, the metrical similarity, and allusions to Bathyllus, Anacreon's alleged lover during his exile on Samos. He presented the texts to the public with great fanfare, and his *editio princeps* of 1554 (*Anacreontis Teij odae. Ab Henrico Stephano luce et Latinitate nunc primum donatae*) deeply influenced three centuries of poets and scholars.¹⁰ The impact of this slender work becomes clearer when we consider that Estienne's edition was the prototype for all subsequent scholarly editions of the anacreontics until the mid-1800's.¹¹ Estienne himself published new editions in 1560, 1566, 1567, 1568 (in Paris) and 1600, 1612, 1626 (in Geneva). In 1556, just two years after the first edition, Henri's father Robert Estienne and his colleague Jean de Morel published an edition of the poems which included a brief excerpt from the *Suda* on Anacreon's life, beginning an overt biographical connection which would be accepted unquestioningly for years to come, as scholars placed the imitative texts into the framework of the archaic poet's life and works.

In the preface to his first printed edition, Estienne claimed that the poems would not appeal to those who were *philoponoï*, fond of hard work like critics or scholars, but rather only to *philomousoï*, those who love, or are loved by, the Muses, in other words poets and admirers of poetry. With this formulation, Estienne neatly divided the world into sceptics and believers, and his enthusiasm for the charm and grace of the poems swept most of his contemporaries along with him in his fervent belief in the genuineness of the verses. His confidence in the poetry's authenticity was so strong that he

⁹ Chamard 1961: 56 puts it neatly: "un beau vieillard joyeux de vivre, ami du plaisir, du vin et des roses, chantant dans l'émotion d'une légère ivresse, et mort soudain à 85 ans d'un pépin de raisin arrêté dans sa gorge . . ."

¹⁰ See Silver 1969: 108, who states that this is a first edition in more than one sense: the Greek text is brought to light and partly translated for the first time, but it is also the first publication of Henri Estienne, appearing just when the "infatuation" with Pindar of Ronsard and his circle had begun to lose its momentum.

¹¹ Before Rose's Teubner text (1868), only Estienne (at Louvain in 1551) and J. Spalletti (at Rome in 1776) had actually viewed the manuscript of the *Palatine Anthology*. In 1843, Bergk (*Poetae Lyrici Graeci*) took the fateful step of publishing the anacreontics separately from the lyrics of Anacreon; he would be followed by Rose (1868) in the Teubner edition. For further discussion, see Baumann 1974: 13-29.

apparently felt justified in editing away any inconsistencies that might weaken his case. Even as he copied the text for the first time in 1551, Estienne already attempted to alter its state for future publication. His apograph (cod. Voss. Gr. Q 18) is a straightforward copy of the poems, followed by a re-ordering of 22 of the anacreontics with Latin verse translations; in the margins and between the lines one can read his emendations, notes, and conjectures. At this stage he still made clear where the texts ended and where his own contributions or comments began. Three years later, however, the first edition of 1554 reveals what some may call bad judgment, and others intellectual dishonesty. Estienne simply removed any suspicious poems, suspicious because they clearly denied Anacreon as author, and either omitted them altogether without comment, or placed them in an appended catch-all section for spurious fragments. Here they would rub shoulders with other "uncharacteristic" poems of the "real" Anacreon, for by accepting the anacreontic texts as authentic and therefore canonical, the editor was forced to demote any existing poems which did not conform to the style of this new corpus.

Estienne's first edition includes, in sequence: an introductory essay in Greek; three prefatory poems (two in Latin, one in Greek); 31 anacreontics from the manuscript; several genuine fragments of Anacreon mixed in with other anacreontics, all labelled inauthentic; five drinking songs by Anacreon and Alcaeus; seven genuine epigrams by Anacreon; selected odes of Sappho and Alcaeus; and Estienne's critical notes with Latin translations for the first 31 poems (i.e. the "genuine" ones).¹² The four-page introductory essay reflects a contemporary fascination with things classical: Estienne boasts of having brought the poems into the light of day, snatching them from the "adamantine bonds" which kept them imprisoned for so long in obscurity. He characterizes the poetry as sweet, pleasing, and full of grace; the poet himself as neither arrogant nor too magnificent, but elegant and joyful about life. Estienne's three prefatory poems continue in the same strain, predicting that the reader will be captivated by the delicate little verses, the literary equivalents of nectar and ambrosia:

¹² It is beyond the scope of this paper to discuss how Ronsard imitated not just the anacreontics but a wide range of archaic Greek lyric poets as well, as represented in Estienne's edition; on this topic, see Silver 1987: 299–387, "Ronsard and the Greek Lyric Poets from Alcman to Bacchylides".

*Aut hos versiculos dictavit Apollo poetae
Phoebeae aut contra Teia musa lyrae . . .
Qui non ergo huius capitur dulcedine versus,
Nil sapit, aut ipso plus sapit ille Deo.*

Either Apollo dictated these little verses to the poet,
Or, conversely, the Teian muse to Phoebus' lyre . . .
Whoever, then, is not captivated by the sweetness of this verse
knows nothing, or he knows more than the god himself.¹³

The texts then follow, but there is no sign of what is now known as anacreontic poem 1, which reveals a scene of poetic initiation and which would have altered the 16th century's view of the collection as the genuine work of Anacreon himself, as a translation of the opening lines reveal (1.1–8):¹⁴

Anacreon caught sight of me
That melodious man from Teos
(I am relating a dream) and he spoke
and I, running toward him,
threw my arms around him, kissed him.
He was old, but still handsome;
Handsome, and a good lover too.
His lips reeked of wine . . .

Anacreon then hands over a symbolic garland to the anacreontic imitator, who promptly begins to sing anacreontic verse. This poem would obviously have caused problems for Estienne's theories of genuine composition, since the imitator identifies himself specifically as *not* Anacreon the archaic poet, but rather his chosen heir.

Instead, Estienne begins his edition with an anacreontic poem from the Byzantine era (anacr. 2) which successfully serves as a programmatic piece; he justifies its placement by comparing it with the initial poem in Ovid's *Amores* (1.1). We will return to this poem later. At the end of the section of "genuine" poems, the editor inserts a warning: "of the following poems, some are by Anacreon, but others are not".¹⁵ There are no textual notes or translations for the

¹³ Estienne 1554: v. Considering the fate of the satyr Marsyas, who claimed to know more about music and poetry than Apollo himself and was thereupon skinned alive for his arrogance, the unappreciative reader is advised to admit he or she knows nothing.

¹⁴ All translations of the anacreontics are my own, taken from Rosenmeyer 1992: Appendix C.

¹⁵ Estienne 1554: 52.

“spurious” fragments, and they are presented in a significantly smaller font to mark their ambiguous status: this list of possible counterfeits contains anacreontics 6, 20, and 60, as well as seven genuine fragments of Anacreon (including two that we now think of as his most important pieces: fr. 348, the prayer to Artemis, and fr. 417, addressed to a Thracian filly). Estienne omits a total of five anacreontics he had originally found in the Palatine manuscript, and the problematic poem 1 will not reappear at all until 1560, when Estienne published an anthology of lyric poets, placing the anacreontics under Anacreon’s name firmly in the canon of the nine great lyric authors of antiquity.¹⁶ Even there, however, poem 1 is relegated to an appendix of spurious texts. The bold act of suppression certainly bolstered Estienne’s claims regarding the authenticity of his find, but his initial act of editing eventually worked against him to deconstruct the whole corpus. By claiming that some of the transmitted texts were inauthentic, he allowed for the possibility that the collection contained a mixture of “real” and “fake” Anacreon, and thus enabled future editors to argue for or against each individual poem.

Immediately upon publication in 1554, the collection was enthusiastically received by the literary community in Paris and indeed all of Europe. Less than a year later, the humanist Elie André (Helias Andreas) published a complete translation of the Estienne’s anacreontics into Latin.¹⁷ But the impact of the poems on the vernacular lyric tradition was even stronger than on the Neo-Latinists. The poet Pierre de Ronsard best summed up the feelings of his peers when he wrote his “Odelette à Corydon” in November of 1554:¹⁸

*Verse donq, et reverse encor
Dedans cette grand coupe d’or,
Je vois boire à Henry Estienne
Qui des enfers nous a rendu
Du vieil Anacreon perdu
La douce Lyre Teienne.*

¹⁶ The edition includes poems of Alcaeus, Sappho, Stesichorus, Ibycus, Anacreon, Bacchylides, Simonides, Alcman, and Pindar. Each section prefaces the poetry with a *vita*, and the Greek texts are made more accessible to the general reading public by a Latin translation on the facing page. See Estienne 1560.

¹⁷ O’Brien 1995: 124–25 offers excellent close readings of André’s Latin versions.

¹⁸ Text from Laumonier 1909: 121, who notes “Je cite tout le passage d’après le texte primitif (*Meslanges* de novembre 1554).” Same text in Laumonier 1930: VI.175–76. For discussion of the lines, see Silver 1969: 109 and 1987: 352.

This welcome for the “old lost Anacreon” shows Ronsard’s gratitude to the man who gave him a new poetic direction as well as the substance of more than 30 lyric poems. The French ode celebrates its own cleverness as well as the potential popularity of the anacreontic form for use in modern adaptation: the metre was eminently suited for French verse patterns, and Ronsard chooses the “rythme court” of the octosyllable, with rhyming couplets, to honor Estienne’s discovery. French poets through the ages would respond in kind to the “douce lyre Teïenne”, as evidenced by these verses from 1832 by Victor Hugo:¹⁹

*Anacréon, poète aux ondes érotiques
 Qui filtres du sommet des sagesse antiques,
 Et qu'on trouve à mi-cote alors qu'on y gravit,
 Clair, à l'ombre, épandu sur l'herbe qui revit,
 Tu me plais, doux poète au flot calme et limpide!
 Quand le sentier qui monte aux cimes est rapide,
 Bien souvent, fatigués du soleil, nous aimons
 Boire au petit ruisseau tamisé par les monts!*

The “sweetness” and simplicity of the lyre of “Anacreon” was particularly appealing to the poets, the *philomousoi*, who had formerly relied mostly on the complexities of Pindar’s verse for classical inspiration. On the other side, however, fueled by Estienne’s stubborn refusal to reveal his manuscript sources, stood a group of scholars, the *philoponoï*, who insisted that the entire collection must be a forgery, perhaps even one created by the editor himself.²⁰ As the years went by, these dissenting voices became stronger in their questioning of particular anacreontic selections, although few had the courage to deny the collection any authenticity whatsoever. We may consider the divergent opinions of Johannes Cornelius de Pauw, writing in Utrecht in 1732, and Joseph Spalletti, writing in Rome in 1781, as typical of the debate 200 years after Estienne’s “discovery”. In his preface to *Anacreontis Teii Odae et fragmentae gr. et lat. cum notis*, de Pauw claimed that the collection contained no real Anacreon at all; rather,

¹⁹ Delboulle 1891: viii.

²⁰ This group included Francesco Robortello in his *De Arte* (*perridiculus est is, qui nuperrime . . . Anacreontis odas esse scribit . . .*, which translates as “that man is absolutely ridiculous who most recently . . . writes that these are poems of Anacreon . . .”) and Estienne’s son-in-law, Tanaquil Faber, who rejected many of the poems on metrical grounds. See Baumann 1974: 24; Silver 1987: 323–24; Rosenmeyer 1987: 55–80; and O’Brien 1995: 17–22.

many different authors had composed imitations capitalizing on the archaic poet's celebrity. His criteria of judgment were diction, syntax, dialect, and metrical patterns inappropriate to Anacreon. De Pauw also took the radical step of denying the poetry's intrinsic literary quality, whether authentic or not. In sharp contrast stands Spalletti, who gained access to the original manuscript which was housed at that time in the Vatican, and published an accurate transcription in 1781 at Rome: *Anacreontis Teii Convivialia Semiambia*. His edition is definitely that of a "lover of poetry", a *philomousos*. It is lavishly illustrated throughout with miniature engravings, often of allegorical scenes of cupids, little satyrs, and Bacchic revelry. The two title pages epitomize his view of the status of the anacreontics: first an elaborate medallion of the Teian poet's profile, and then a depiction of poetry as a monument to eternity, stronger than the forces of time or death.

As long as the anacreontics were considered genuine, part of the rich inheritance of Anacreon, few doubted their literary quality. In fact, with the exception of de Pauw, even when serious doubts did arise concerning authorship, most critics agreed that the poems had intrinsic poetic value, no matter who wrote them. Thus a nineteenth-century anthologist writes on the subject: "If, however, we are compelled to place them among the Apocrypha of ancient poetry, we are not therefore to be blind to their rare excellence. . . ."²¹ Also, the strong tradition of attribution to Anacreon was not easy to erase, and editors found themselves caught in the biographical fallacy in spite of themselves. Johann Fischer wrote a ninety-two-page preface to his edition (Leipzig 1752) in which he dealt with the scholarly debate at great length; his conclusions were that the anacreontics must be of more recent origin, either composed as *centos* of certain genuine odes, or written in the manner of the archaic poet. Nevertheless, his edition includes sixty-four ancient sources of information on Anacreon's life and poetry, and five different *vitae*. Even if Anacreon was to be denied his role as author, biographical anecdotes were still seen as valuable insights into the characteristics of the anacreontic mode of poetry.

A turning point came in the mid-1800's, when it became clear from developments in scholarship that the texts could not possibly

²¹ Merivale 1833: 42, quoted in Baumann 1974: 25.

be archaic productions. The poems themselves had always declared their derivation, but Estienne's suppression of the introductory poem had silenced their proclamations. Estienne unknowingly precipitated the swift downfall of the poems' reputation by originally establishing the reader's expectation of an archaic context; for the corpus which had never pretended to be otherwise was now wholly condemned for its derivative nature. The objective and methodical questioning of modern scholarship marked a shift in the canon, and from this point on, the label of "spuriousness", however unfair, carried automatically with it the stigma of poor literary quality.

Three hundred years after Estienne's *editio princeps*, after philology had finally put to rest the question of authenticity, Friedrich Gottlob Welcker, the most innovative scholar of Greek literature in his time, argued for recognition of the uniqueness of these post-classical texts, suggesting that they be given their own distinct generic identity as "Nachahmungen des Anakreon".²² Ironically, this nineteenth-century term is also applicable to the anacreontic imitations, translations, and adaptations produced by the Pléiade upon the original publication of Estienne's edition. Let us now turn to the reception of the anacreontic poems in the last half of the sixteenth century in Paris, considering how the anacreontics inspired a new poetic direction, in particular for Pierre de Ronsard, perhaps the most famous of the anacreontic imitators, and his circle of friends.

III. *Pierre de Ronsard, The Pléiade, and "La Douce Lyre Teinne"*

By the early 1550s, Pierre de Ronsard was already an accomplished scholar and poet. His education in Paris at the Collège de Coqueret under Jean Dorat, one of the foremost Hellenists of his time, had given him a mastery of Greek and Latin poetry unusual even in that learned age.²³ One of his fellow students, Remy Belleau, offers a sketch of Ronsard's studies:²⁴

*Tu le trouvas dessus Nicandre,
Sur Callimach, ou sur la cendre*

²² Welcker 1845: II.369. This is also the direction I follow in Rosenmeyer 1992, arguing for the quality of the poems *qua* imitations.

²³ See Silver 1961: chs. 2-4.

²⁴ Belleau's text in Laumonier 1930: VI.100-101.

*D'Anacreon, qui reste encor
 Plus precieuse que n'est l'or,
 Tout recourbé, moulant la grace
 De ses traits, à l'antique trace,
 Sur le patron des plus segrés
 Poettes Rommains et poettes Grécs
 Pour nous reclarcir leur vieil age . . .*

Thus it was not only the most famous poets from antiquity that Ronsard and his peers (among others, Belleau, Baïf and du Bellay) studied, such as Homer, Pindar, Plato, Vergil, and Horace, but also the “most secret” ones, such as Nicander, Aratus, Callimachus, and Lycophron from the Hellenistic period of Greek literature.

The direct result of this broad humanistic education may be seen in Ronsard's first poetic publications in 1550: his *Quatre Premiers Livres des Odes* and a series of earlier poems collected under the title *Le Bocage*, in which he called for a return to the models and ideals of ancient poetry and their Italian imitators. At about the same time, his friend du Bellay brought out his *Deffence et Illustration de la Langue Francoyse* and *Vers lyriques* (1549). Both poets challenged the traditional forms and styles of French medieval verse and declared a “new poetry”, one written in the French vernacular but assimilating and re-energizing the Graeco-Latin poetic heritage.²⁵ Ronsard began his revolutionary campaign by aligning himself with Pindar and Horace as his main models, developing the French “ode” in the manner of these two great lyric poets.

The Pindaric ode provided Ronsard with a framework for the display of his classical erudition. Ronsard represented himself as inspired by a Pindaric poetic frenzy, a stance cultivated and developed by Horace; he showed himself eager to grant immortality upon his addressees through the power of his verses. He imitated Pindar's dense and intricate style, form, and content, generously larding his odes with obscure mythological allusions from both Pindaric and later Hellenistic sources. He also recreated the triadic stanza (strophe, antistrophe, epode), which in Greek antiquity reflected the movements of choral dance, and set many of his pieces to music.²⁶ From

²⁵ Jones 1970: 17–22.

²⁶ See Silver 1981: 276–81. Silver 1981: 250 also offers an interesting discussion of the history of the verb “pindariser”: it first appears in the 1490s meaning “compose in the grand style”; it occurs in a work of Jean Bouchet, protégé of Ronsard's father, ca. 1500, meaning “compose in the style of Pindar”.

Horace directly he took moral themes of the joys and limitations of mortality: the *carpe diem* refrain which praises the timely enjoyment of life's pleasures.²⁷

While Ronsard modeled his verses primarily on the ancients, others in the Pléiade turned to the Petrarchan convention of publishing collections of love sonnets dedicated to a particular woman.²⁸ One can see an elegant combination of Horatian and Italian literary conventions in Ronsard's contribution to the genre, *Le Premier Livre des Amours* (1552). Here we find some of the themes and treatments that anticipate his incorporation of anacreontic motifs from Estienne's 1554 edition: young girls in love compared to bouquets of roses, or elaborate "blasons" of the beloved's beauty. Ronsard himself seemed to define his love poetry as distinct from his earlier Pindaric imitations, and in his *La Nouvelle Continuation des Amours* (1556), he placed an epilogue describing his "new style":²⁹

*Or, si quelqu'un après me vient blâmer de quoy
Je ne suis plus si grave en mes vers que j'estoy
A mon commencement, quand l'humeur Pindarique
Enfloit empoulement ma bouche magnifique,
Dy luy que les amours ne se souspirent pas
D'un vers hautement grave, ains d'un beau stille bas,
Populaire et plaisant, ainsi qu'a fait Tibulle,
L'ingenieux Ovide, et le docte Catulle . . .*

Similarly, he explicitly contrasts Pindar and "Anacreon" in the preface he composed for Belleau's complete translation of the anacreontics in 1556.³⁰

*Me loüe qui voudra les repliz recourbez
Des torrens de Pindare en profond embourbez,
Obscurs, rudes, facheux, et ses chansons congnes
Que je ne scay comment par songes et par nuës,
Anacreon me plaist, le doux Anacreon!*

²⁷ On Ronsard's early imitation of the Horatian ode and his approach to Pindar and the Greek lyric poets through Horace, see Silver 1981: 245–50 and Laumonier 1909: 565.

²⁸ Jones (1970) 41: Baïf, de Tyard, du Bellay, and de Magny.

²⁹ Text in Laumonier 1934: VII.324; discussed in O'Brien 1995: 191–92.

³⁰ Laumonier 1966: VIII.356; see also Laumonier 1934: VII.228. Ronsard here uses the same contrasts between raging Pindaric torrents and calmer, smaller waters that Horace had used in his "Pindaric" ode, *Odes* 4.2.

But it is worth noting that his more “popular” *Amours* still benefited from a commentary written by two of his friends, Marc-Antoine de Muret and Remy Belleau, who explained particularly obscure segments from mythology or other classical sources.³¹ There were no radical breaks in Ronsard’s poetic development: he shifted gradually from allegiance to the Pindaric ode to experimentation with Horatian themes and Italianate forms, and finally to anacreontic “simplicity”, occasionally retracing his steps or anticipating new directions, all the while never abandoning his basic belief in the superiority of classical models.

Thus, when Estienne’s edition of the anacreontics came on the scene in 1554, Ronsard’s *Amours* had in some regards already paved the way for his interest in their form and topics. Also, many of the themes Ronsard had adopted from Horace as much as ten years earlier echoed the anacreontic manifesto of “wine, women, and song”.³² Ronsard, an acquaintance of Estienne’s, may have already been shown some of the Greek poems before their publication; Estienne seems to indicate as much in the preface to his Latin translation of the poems.³³ He also had read poems of the “real” Anacreon transmitted in the *Palatine Anthology*, in the *Attic Nights* of Aulus Gellius, and in Athenaeus’ *Deipnosophistae*.³⁴ Therefore, while Estienne’s *editio princeps* was a truly remarkable moment in literary history, Ronsard had been moving in an anacreontic direction since his gradual distancing from Pindar in the early 1550s.³⁵ But as soon as the edition appeared, Ronsard turned eagerly to more anacreontizing: in his *Bocage* (2nd ed. 1554) and *Meslanges* (1554) alone, he published twenty-three imitations and paraphrases of Estienne’s anacreontic collec-

³¹ Jones 1970: 42.

³² See de Nolhac 1921: 33: “tout ce que [Ronsard] empruntera à l’Anacréon d’Henri Estienne, toute la grâce, si neuve dans notre poésie, de ses odelettes et de ses chansons, le chantre de Lydie [Horace] le lui a déjà révélé”.

³³ Laumonier 1909: 121–22, points out that already in 1552, in his *Amours*, Ronsard had published a sonnet modelled on anacreontic 10: “Ces liens d’or” (Laumonier 1957: IV.10–11); in 1553, as part of his *Folastries*, Ronsard published a close translation of anacreontics 4 and 8, which would reappear, post-Estienne, in his *Meslanges* of 1554 in a substantially different form. See on this subject also Silver 1969: 110–17, who gives the Latin text of the preface, but argues for only limited access by Ronsard to Estienne’s manuscript before actual publication; and O’Brien 1995: 158–61.

³⁴ Laumonier 1909: 123.

³⁵ O’Brien 1995: 162: “Ronsardian Anacreontism in its broadest understanding antedates the publication of Estienne’s *Anacreon*”.

tion.³⁶ In the third edition of his *Odes* (1554) he published two more, and in the *Continuation des Amours* (1555) another six. Thus we can count thirty-one adaptations of anacreontics within one year of their publication.³⁷ Let us now consider some of Ronsard's explicitly anacreontic verses—his translations, imitations, and adaptations—, as well as those of his friends in the *Pléiade*, to try to understand the influence of these newly discovered lines from antiquity on the development of Ronsard's lyric voice.³⁸

IV. *Anacreontic Adaptations*

Estienne's collection began, as we mentioned above, not with the original scene of anacreontic initiation, but with poem 2, a conventional *recusatio* in which the poet announces his refusal to write epic and dedicates himself instead to the genre of symposiastic lyric: "Give me the lyre of Homer/without its bloody chord . . . so that I will dance, drunk . . . singing along with the strings,/I will shout out the drinking song. . . ." But it was poem 23, similar in tone and topic, that the French poets turned to as their manifesto of anacreontic composition. I give first a close translation of the Greek:

I wish to speak of Atreus' sons,
 And I wish to sing of Cadmus,
 But my lyre with its strings
 Sings back only love.
 Just now I changed the strings,
 And even the whole lyre;
 And I then tried to sing the feats
 Of Heracles, but the lyre
 Spoke back of loves.

³⁶ Laumonier 1909: 160–61 offers a complete list of specific imitations.

³⁷ Chamard, 1961: II.58. Laumonier 1909: 161 adds "sans compter une dizaine d'autres pièces imprégnées du même parfum et enrichies d'un ou de plusieurs vers suggérés par le recueil de H. Estienne".

³⁸ Delboulle 1891: x lists some of the French poets of the sixteenth century who imitated the anacreontics: Belleau, Baif, Olivier de Magny, Jean Doublet, Leconte de Lisle, Gilles Durant, Richard Renvoisy, Ronsard, Melin de Saint-Gelais, La Fontaine. Silver 1987: 358–62 offers his own selection of anacreontics by Belleau and Ronsard, attempting to show Ronsard's general superiority to his friend in anacreontizing. See also O'Brien 1995: 155–240 on Ronsard's and Belleau's translations; he also makes some excellent points in these pages about the differences between translation and imitation.

As for me, henceforth farewell
 You heroes. For my lyre
 Sings only of loves.

Both Ronsard and Belleau offer a version of this poem, which functions as a declaration of poetic intent, following the Hellenistic goal of elevating the light and personal (lyric, erotic) over the lofty and public (epic, political) mode. Although Ronsard called his friend Belleau “un trop sec biberon pour un tourneur d’Anacreon”,³⁹ and critics tend to generalize about Ronsard’s flexibility and exuberance as opposed to Belleau’s plodding precision and faithfulness to the Greek original,⁴⁰ Belleau’s complete French translation of the anacreontics in 1556 (*Les Odes d’Anacreon Teien, traduites de Grec en Francois*) offers glimpses into more subtle differences between the two anacreontic imitators. First Belleau’s version, “Que sa lyre ne veut chanter que d’amours”:⁴¹

*Volontiers je chanterois
 Les faits guerriers de nos rois,
 Mais ma lyre ne s'accorde
 Qu'à mignarder une corde
 Pour l'Amour tant seulement.
 En essay dernièrement
 Je changé cordes & lyre,
 Et ja commençois à dire
 D'un haut stile la grandeur
 D'Hercule, et de son labeur:
 Mais toujours elle fredonne
 L'amour qu'elle contresonne,
 Comme celle qui toujours
 Ne veut chanter que d'Amours.
 Adieu Mars, adieu ton ire,
 Puisque mon lut ne veut dire
 Que les Amours desormais,
 Adieu Princes pour jamais.*

³⁹ Delboulle 1891: x; Laumonier 1934: VII.311, from “Ode à Remy Belleau” (1556). Laumonier 1909: 163 points out that this phrase can be interpreted in two ways: either Belleau is a bad translator of the anacreontics because he is unwilling to relax and drink as his model does, or he is a good translator and should therefore relax and drink up as his model does. Laumonier prefers the latter interpretation of the phrase, as a gentle exhortation in the Horatian/anacreontic mode. See also Silver 1969: 235 on this verse, which he claims is “intended in a playful spirit.”

⁴⁰ Laumonier 1909: 161.

⁴¹ Text in Delboulle 1891: 2. See also the comparable attempt by Claude de

The twelve lines of the anacreontic model have expanded to eighteen in Belleau, but otherwise the poem remains quite close to its model in spirit and substance; it imitates the easy anacreontic meter with a simple heptasyllabic pattern with rhymed couplets, as Ronsard will also do in most of his adaptations.⁴² While the first line alludes to “nos rois”, no other modern details intrude on the “archaic” scene. Belleau replaces the specific names of Cadmus and Atreus’ sons, allusions to mythology and the Trojan war, with the Latinized and generalized Mars, god of war; but he retains the easily understood image of Hercules as the representative of brute strength, and “les Amours” as the equivalent of the gentle *erotes* of the anacreontic text.

Ronsard, however, makes more striking changes in his translation: he structures the eighteen-line ode in three stanzas of six verses each, rhyming with an AABCCB pattern, and proclaims his contemporary French identity in the very first couplet:⁴³

*Nagueres chanter je voulois
Comme Francus au bord gaulois
Avec sa troupe vint descendre;
Mais mon luth pincé de mon doy
Ne vouloit en despit de moy
Que chanter amour et Cassandre.*

*Je pensois (d'autant que tousjours
J'avois dit sur luy mes amours)
Que ses cordes par long usage
Chantoient d'amour, et qu'il falloit
En mettre d'autres s'on vouloit
Luy apprendre un autre langage.*

Morenne from 1584, which retains references to Achilles and the Trojans; Delboulle (1891) 4–5. Laumonier 1909: 159–63 argues convincingly against Sainte-Beuve’s belief that Belleau’s anacreontic translation work preceeded Ronsard’s. On Belleau and Ronsard as translators of Anacreon, see Silver 1969: 234–41.

⁴² On the issue of anacreontic style and rhetorical idiom transferred to a vernacular context, see O’Brien 1995: 155–99.

⁴³ Text in Delboulle 1891: 3. Ronsard first published this ode in the *Meslanges* of November 1554, so well before Belleau’s 1556 translation. Laumonier 1930: VI.133–34 gives a substantially different text with an additional final stanza, which begins “Or adieu doncq’, pauvre Francus,/Ta gloire, sous tes murs veinqus. . .” See O’Brien 1995: 179–80. Ronsard is not quite as explicitly “French” as Jean Doublet, who declares in his 1559 version “Tionville je veus dire,/Calais chanter je desire,/Mais sonner onc ne voulut/Que Amourètes mon lut . . .”, and refers to his king “Henri” as well as “vaillans rois & capitaines”; see Delboulle 1891: 4.

*Et pour ce faire il n'y eut fust,
 Archet ne corde qui ne fust
 Echangee en d'autres nouvelles;
 Mais après qu'il fut remonté,
 Plus fort que devant a chanté
 De Venus les flammes cruelles.*

Ronsard is not content simply to translate, but simultaneously adapts the Greek details to his contemporary context. Just as he thinks he must “apprendre un autre langage” to his recalcitrant lute, so he subtly reorients the ancient material: the Trojan plains metamorphose into “Francus au bord gaulois”, the lyre to a “luth”, and *erotes* to the Latinized Venus but also a specific beloved named Cassandra.⁴⁴ She is not, of course, the doomed heroine of Homeric epic, but rather Cassandre Salviati, the daughter of a Florentine banker at the French court.⁴⁵ Yet while Ronsard may be more creative in his modernizing, both Belleau and Ronsard use the anacreontic model in similar ways. The anacreontic poet declares his abandonment of martial themes in favor of love songs, and the Pléiade poets use this model as a way to swear allegiance to the anacreontic mode, trading their former “haut stille” of Pindar and the more complex lyric poets for “un beau stille bas”.⁴⁶ Ronsard and Belleau both attempt to render in the French vernacular a certain sweetness or “mignardise” that they see as characteristic of their Greek models.

After this adaptation of the opening programmatic poem, one of the best examples of Ronsard’s anacreontizing is his version of poem 32, a song in praise of love and wine, with Horatian overtones of *carpe diem*. The Greek is shaped into three stanzas of six lines each:

On tender myrtles
 And on lotus grasses,
 I wish to spread my couch and drink toasts.
 And let Eros, fastening his tunic
 With a cord below his neck,
 Act as my wine steward.

⁴⁴ In Laumonier’s version (1930: VI.133–34), the line “De Venus les flammes cruelles” occurs in two other versions: “Les amours et les damoyelles”, and “Comme il souloit, les damoyelles”. This shows a neat shift from the completely Graeco-Roman to a compromise of Roman and French, to a singularly French phrasing.

⁴⁵ Jones 1970: 47.

⁴⁶ See above, note 29. On the rhetoric of categories, see O’Brien 1995: 156–57; on “mignardise”, see O’Brien 1995: 208–15.

For just like the wheel of a chariot
 Life runs rolling along,
 And we shall soon lie,
 A bit of dust from crumbling bones.
 What use is it to shower myrrh on a stone?
 What use to pour libations in vain to the earth?

For me, rather, while I am still alive,
 Give me myrrh, crown my head with roses,
 And call forth a girl.
 Before going down there, Eros,
 To join the choruses of the dead,
 I wish to banish my cares.

Ronsard titles his version "Odelette à Corydon", and adds a fourth stanza:⁴⁷

*Pour boire, dessus l'herbe tendre
 Je veux sous un laurier m'étendre,
 Et veux qu'Amour d'un petit brin
 Ou de lin, ou de chenevière,
 Trousse au flanc sa robe legere
 Et mi-nu me verse du vin.*

*L'incertaine vie de l'homme
 Incessamment se roule, comme
 Se roulent aux rives les flots:
 Et, après nostre heure dernière,
 Rien de nous ne reste en la biere
 Que je ne sçais quels petits os.*

*Je ne veux, selon la coutume,
 Que d'encens ma tombe on parfume,
 Ni qu'on y verse des odeurs:
 Mais tandis que je suis en vie,
 J'ai de me parfumer envie
 Et de me couronner de fleurs.*

*Corydon, va querir m'amie:
 Avant que la Parque blémie
 M'envoie aux éternelles nuits.*

⁴⁷ Text from Laumonier 1909: 601 of the 1560 revision of the original 1554 publication. A slightly different version is in Delboulle 1891: 18 and in Laumonier 1930: VI.103-04. Belleau and Renvoisy also translated this ode; see Delboulle 1891: 17-19. See also the discussion in Jones 1970: 67-68, and Silver 1987: 317.

*Je veux avec la tasse pleine,
Et avec elle, oster la peine
De mes miserables ennuis.*

Ronsard begins by retaining the Greek setting and mood but changing the details to ensure the poem's accessibility to a French reader: the Greek myrtles and lotuses become soft grass and the shade of a laurel tree; Eros the wine steward, dressed in a tunic tied up with a cord made of papyrus fibers, turns into "Amour", who tucks his "robe leger" up with the help of a piece of flax, linen, or hemp.⁴⁸ Ronsard offers these three choices, almost as if he cannot make up his mind which kind of rustic string would best replace the anacreontic papyrus.

The next stanza reveals even more adaptation. The anacreontic poem introduces the image of life as a chariot wheel, rolling along in a straight and unstoppable line towards death. Ronsard, perhaps assuming that his audience would not respond emotionally to the archaic chariot imagery, introduces instead the comparison of mortal life to waves rolling against the shore; he loses the point of the straightness of the chariot's path in his description of the ebb and flow of water, but retains the Greek verb (translated by "rouler") appropriate for a chariot wheel. This stanza ends in the Greek version with reference to the uselessness of offering myrrh to a tombstone and libations to the ground, when the human body has become just "a bit of dust from crumbling bones".

The concept of death and the afterlife is often quite culturally specific, a fact which Ronsard acknowledges by changing the details yet again. Here it is well worth pausing to consider two other versions of this scene, those of Belleau and Richard Renvoisy. Renvoisy, in his 1573 adaptation set to music, omits any reference to the physicality of death and moves directly to the rejection of flowers and perfumes on an unfeeling grave.⁴⁹ Belleau sticks closely to the Greek, translating "dust from crumbling bones" with "ash and powder", presumably the remains of cremation: "Aussi bien ne restera pas/Chose de nous qui soit plus chere/Qu'un peu de cendre et de poudriere/De nos os après le trespas".⁵⁰ Ronsard apparently struggled with the

⁴⁸ Ronsard's diction here does not reflect the implication of the Greek word "papyrus", which may hint at the literary nature of the anacreontic loves, or of the whole verse.

⁴⁹ Delboulle 1891: 19.

⁵⁰ Delboulle 1891: 17. See the excellent comparison of Ronsard's and Belleau's

impact of the pagan image of burial on his readers. P. Laumonier records that in the first edition of this ode in 1554, Ronsard wrote: "Et apres nos heure funeste,/De nous en la tombe ne reste/Qu'un peu de cendre de nos os"; however, "Ronsard a supprimé en 1560 la *cendre* de l'urne, qui avait à ses yeux une couleur grecque trop prononcée".⁵¹ He solves his dilemma by laying out the bones (metonymically representing the "body") on a bier, implying a recent death, and neatly avoiding the details of the disposal of the body itself. Ironically, the Greek itself has nothing of ash or urns: Ronsard first made his translation more "Greek" than the anacreontic, modeling it on the Homeric custom of cremation and placement of bones in a funerary urn, but then revised and even Christianized the scene for his own audience's tastes. Laumonier views the result as a convincingly unhellenic product: "Qui n'a pas l'illusion qu'elle est sortie tout entière du cerveau de Ronsard, gentilhomme vendômois?".⁵²

But Ronsard does retain some pagan elements, those that might not offend contemporary French sensibilities. Thus he speaks of the custom of anointing the tomb with unguents, or crowning the gravestone with flowers, all of which, in good anacreontic fashion, are rejected for sensual enjoyment during life. Ronsard follows the last anacreontic stanza fairly closely, calling for his beloved to join him in merrymaking before death closes in, but the French here offers even more vivid images than the Greek original: Ronsard evokes the "pallid Fates", the threat of "eternal nights", and the "pain of his miserable anguish"; the anacreontic poem simply speaks more generally of banishing (or, more literally, "scattering") cares. The final difference to note is the addressee of the two versions. The anacreontic poet addresses Eros in the last lines, reminding the reader of the joys of love in the face of mortality. Ronsard chooses to speak to Corydon, a generic classical (and Vergilian) name for a shepherd or cupbearer.⁵³

versions in O'Brien 1995: 218–20; he concludes that "one of the most marked features of Belleau's work is the way in which the Greek text and contemporary version by Ronsard are parallel 'sources' to be combined or divided at will" (O'Brien 1995: 222).

⁵¹ Laumonier 1909: 601.

⁵² Laumonier 1909: 602.

⁵³ See also his three "Odelettes à Corydon" in the *Bocage*, and the already mentioned "Odelette à Corydon" of the *Meslanges*. For the Corydon texts, see Laumonier 1930: VI.102–07, 175–76.

In discussion thus far, several issues have arisen about the process of translation and adaptation: the “normalization” of Greek names and places, and the difficulty of uniquely Greek customs or idioms that must be rendered otherwise in the French context. Since the anacreontic poets were inordinately fond of lists, the question of names and places comes up fairly frequently. Anacreontic 14 compares the number of the poet’s love affairs to the infinitude of leaves on the trees and waves in the ocean, and proceeds to enumerate the lands which provide him with his beloved women. Belleau’s translation keeps all the ancient place names listed in the original: Athens, Corinth, Achaea, Lesbos, Ionia, Rhodes, Caria, Syria, Canopis, Crete, and the far-flung lands of Gadeira, Bactria, and the Indies.⁵⁴ But the opening lines of Ronsard’s translation make it immediately clear that he has in mind a completely different effect.⁵⁵ First, instead of leaves and waves, Ronsard introduces the image of countless flowers of spring and the number of grains of sand the ocean casts up on the shores of Africa. None of this is totally foreign to the anacreontic spirit, but it subtly introduces a set of related yet more specific images: not just foliage but spring buds; not the waves of just any ocean, but the sands of the African shore. The specificity of the cliché may make it more accessible to the modern reader, who is assisted, as it were, in his imaginings. Ronsard expands the *topos* through another stanza, adding the *comparanda* of the number of stars in the sky or the green leaves of the oak tree. Next he changes the anonymous addressee of the anacreontic poem to his fellow poet and friend Olivier de Magny, and the remaining five stanzas take us on a tour through the towns and regions of France: Touraine, Maine, Angers, Amboise, Vendome, Paris, and Blois; in Blois we are introduced to “les yeux de Cassandre”, as once more a specific French individual replaces the generalizing anonymity of the anacreontic mode. Ronsard finishes by claiming the impossibility of the task: “Car tu ne trouverois en France/Assez de gettons pour conter/D’amours une telle abondance”.

Further insight into the differences between Greek and French literary expectations comes from an anecdote about another sixteenth-century editor and translator of the anacreontics, the brilliant Mme.

⁵⁴ Text in Delboulle 1891: 102–03.

⁵⁵ Text in Laumonier 1930: VI.256–58, discussed in O’Brien 1995: 182.

Dacier (née Le Fèvre). Anacreontic poem 27 describes “a certain delicate/brandmark inside the soul” that lovers have to show that they are in love, just as horses have a brandmark of fire on their flanks. In his collection of French adaptations of anacreontics, A. Delboulle records a note from Mme. Dacier as follows: “Il y a dans le grec ‘ils ont dans le coeur’, etc. mais j’ai changé cela dans ma traduction, parce qu’il est impossible de voir dans le coeur, et je trouve qu’il est plus naturel de dire que l’on connaît les amans à une marque qu’ils ont aux yeux, qu’à une qu’ils ont au coeur”.⁵⁶ Delboulle adds a comment on this emendation, inadvertently revealing his own nineteenth-century perspectives: “Charmante remarque de la savante helléniste qui montra que, malgré son amour pour le grec, elle était bien restée ‘femme’”.

Let us consider another anacreontic poem translated in turn by Ronsard, Belleau, and Baïf;⁵⁷ the three different versions give us an opportunity for comparison, as we try to separate French literary effect from personal poetic choice. For the sake of brevity, Baïf’s version will be alluded to only in comparison, and not quoted fully. First, the Greek model of anacreontic 22, which uses the traditional motif of shape-changing as a framework to express ways in which a lover might approach his beloved and satisfy his physical longings:⁵⁸

The daughter of Tantalus once stood
 As stone on the cliffs of Phrygia,
 And once the child of Pandion took flight
 As a bird, in the form of a swallow.
 But would that I were a mirror
 So that you would always gaze at me;
 If only I were a cloak
 So that you would always wear me.
 I wish I were water
 So that I could wash your skin;

⁵⁶ Delboulle 1891: 166. Belleau offers a version in which he translates “car il porte dans sa poitrine/un signal qui parait un peu”, and later Sainte-Beuve adapts these lines to read “Il porte un petit signe au dedans de son âme”, which comes closest to the original Greek. See Delboulle 1891: 167–68.

⁵⁷ Delboulle 1891: 65–71 records all the French versions, including ones by Olivier de Magny (“une imitation très proluxe”) and Leconte de Lisle. Baïf expands his version to forty-four lines, and de Magny tops the list at forty-eight, while Leconte de Lisle stands fast at thirteen.

⁵⁸ See Rosenmeyer 1992: 161–66 for a discussion of the literary tropes in anacreontic 22.

If only, my lady, I were perfumed myrrh
 So that I could annoint you.
 And a fillet at your breast,
 And a pearl at your neck,
 And a sandal I would be;
 All I ask is that you step on me.

Not surprisingly, Belleau's translation is closest to the original:⁵⁹

*Jadis la fille de Tantale
 En roch changea sa couleur palle
 Dessus le sable Phrygien,
 Et se changea la fille belle
 De Pandion en arondelle,
 Comme dit le peuple ancien.*

*Ha que pleust aux Dieux que je fusse
 Ton miroir, à fin que je peusse,
 Te mirant dedans moy, te voir:
 Ou robe, à fin que me portasses,
 Ou l'onde, en qui tu te lavasses,
 Pour mieux tes beautez concevoir.*

*Ou le parfum et la civette
 Pour emmusquer ta peau douillette,
 Ou le voile de ton tetin,
 Ou de ton col la perle fine
 Qui pend sur ta blanche poitrine,
 Ou bien, Maistresse, ton patin.*

The Greek version contained 16 lines of seven syllables each; Belleau expanded them to 18, and Ronsard, as we see below, to 24 octo-syllabic lines:⁶⁰

*Plusieurs de leurs cors denués
 Se sont veuz en diverse terre
 Miraculeusement mués,
 L'un en serpent, et l'autre en pierre,*

*L'un en fleur, l'autre en arbrisseau,
 L'un en loup, l'autre en colombelle,
 L'un se vit changer en ruisseau,
 Et l'autre devint arondelle.*

⁵⁹ Text from Delboulle 1891: 65–66.

⁶⁰ Text in Laumonier 1930: VI.258–59.

*Mais je voudrois estre miroir
Afin que toujours tu me viesses:
Chemise je voudrois me voir,
Afin que toujours tu me prisses.*

*Voluntiers eau je deviendrois,
Afin que ton cors je lavasse,
Estre du parfum je voudrois
Afin que je te parfumasse.*

*Je voudrois estre le riban
Qui serre ta belle poitrine:
Je voudrois estre le carquan
Qui orne ta gorge ivoirine.*

*Je voudrois estre tout autour
Le cural qui tes levres touche,
Afin de baiser nuit et jour
Tes belles levres et ta bouche.*

The first obvious difference between the two French versions is that Belleau keeps the archaic list of Tantalus' and Pandion's daughters (Niobe and Procne respectively), while Ronsard jettisons the mythical examples but expands on the concept of metamorphosis, borrowing from Ovid a whole list: snakes, rocks, flowers, trees, wolves, doves, rivers, and swallows. Niobe and Procne are included in the categories of rocks and swallows, but not specifically named. Laumonier interprets Ronsard's stylistic choice here as an intentional decision to appeal to the "lecteurs ordinaires" who earlier were put off by his obscure pindarizing.⁶¹ But surely the effect here is not one of popularization but rather animation and lyricization; Ronsard uses the anacreontic source as an inspiration for his own poetic genius, but does not allow it to limit him in its specifics; in this case Ovid serves his purposes better than Greek myth. The Ovidian list format also anticipates the similar pattern at the end of the Greek version; there the first four examples of objects (mirror, cloak, water, myrrh) are presented in couplets, while the last three (fillet, pearl, sandal) follow in quick succession without an explanatory second line.

⁶¹ Laumonier 1909: 599 note 1. It is worth noting that most of the anacreontics also avoid excessive mythologizing, so that Ronsard in a way is imitating his model when he removes the obscure (to his readers) references. See Rosenmeyer 1992: 106–09.

Ronsard conversely keeps the couplet format for all eight of his objects in stanzas three through six, but uses the Ovidian list in stanzas one and two to give the impression of quick succession found at the end of the anacreontic model. Baïf is closer to Ronsard on two counts: he omits the specific archaic references and offers a list of metamorphoses; his original contribution is that he catalogues the shape-changing not of women, but rather of the gods who pursue them (in the form of bull, ram, or horse), clearly following the Ovidian model; and he expands the couplet format, often giving a full stanza to each object of desired transformation.

The next issue of modification concerns the objects themselves, which reflect a particular Greek context. Belleau follows precisely in the anacreontic footsteps: mirror, robe, water, perfume, blouse (equivalent of "fillet", the strap that binds the top of the dress under a woman's breasts), pearl necklace, sandal. Ronsard's diction reveals a slight modernization of the original Greek words: he chooses "chemise" for cloak, "parfum" for myrrh, "carquan" for pearl, "riban" for fillet, and expands the beloved's "neck" into an almost Petrarchan "gorge ivoirine". But his version still appears relatively restrained compared to Baïf's, where the delicately suggestive tone of the Greek is abandoned for greater explicitness: his "beau collet" wishes to "toucher sa joue et son sein"; he wishes to be a glove "afin que fusse partout/toujours tenu de ses mains"; and he desires to become the "chemise mise à son dos/afin de mieux retâter/son bras, sa cuisse, son flanc".⁶²

Curiously enough, Baïf is the only one of the three French poets who is able to understand and appreciate the import of the last anacreontic couplet: "and a sandal I would be; all I ask is that you step on me". Voltaire had been repulsed by these lines and claimed to find in them the prosaic "sentiment de cordonnier"!⁶³ In the anacreontic poem, the lover finds more satisfaction in encircling or binding the foot of his beloved and being "walked on" by her than in any return of affection; the whole image is that of an undeserving lover surreptitiously creating moments of physical contact with the idealized woman, and the last two lines sustain that image of simultaneous passion and humility. Belleau keeps the sandal ("patin")

⁶² Text in Delboulle 1891: 67-69.

⁶³ Quoted in Laumonier 1909: 599.

without explaining its context; Ronsard continues to hover around the face and torso of his beloved (“riban”, “poitrine”, “gorge”) and ends with constant kisses on her coral lips, perhaps a more culturally acceptable act in sixteenth-century France than the slavish binding or “kissing” of feet. Of the three, only Baïf tries to reproduce the spirit of the two lines of the Greek in his final eleven-line stanza:⁶⁴

*Mais quand de ces privautés
Me montrerait se facher,
Comme excessives pour moi,
Tant seulement je voudrais
Estre un patin de ses pieds,
Afin qu'heureux me rendant
Sur moi la belle marchât.
Car, belle, j'aimerais mieux
Me voir foulé de ton pied
Qu'aller, par autre porté,
Fut-ce au plus haut de son chef!*

The same conclusions as above may be drawn about many of the anacreontic odes translated by both Belleau and Ronsard. On the whole, Belleau translates word-for-word, while Ronsard adapts and modernizes, bringing a new lyricism to the French verses.⁶⁵ Thus in the anacreontic poem 15, in which a messenger pigeon brings a love letter from Anacreon to Bathyllus, Belleau keeps the names and situations of the Greek, while Ronsard turns the poem into a dialogue between Cassandra and the bird, with Ronsard himself replacing Anacreon, sending the message from the Vendôme.⁶⁶ Here Ronsard, with the simple name change, effectively also replaces the Greek homosexual love affair with a heterosexual one, presumably more socially acceptable in sixteenth-century France. Similarly, in a version of the anacreontic poem 10 about a noisy swallow who awakens the poet and interrupts his dreams of love-making, Belleau again keeps

⁶⁴ Text in Delboulle 1891: 68–69. De Magny transforms the sandal stanza into a wish to become the beloved’s lute, while Leconte de Lisle actually sticks closely to the original format: “ta sandale meme,/pout etre foulé de ton pied divin!”.

⁶⁵ Laumonier 1909: 605–07 has an excellent summary of Ronsard’s “liberties” taken with Estienne’s Greek text, including adaptation of meter and rhythms, paraphrase, contamination, transposition of ideas and expressions, insertion of new material, re-framing from a sixteenth-century French perspective, and inclusion of Latin or Italian references.

⁶⁶ Texts in Delboulle 1891: 31–32. O’Brien 1995: 188–89 reads this poem as a Petrarchist avowal of love.

Bathyllus' name, while Ronsard mentions Cassandra, Baïf leaves his beloved unnamed ("sa belle"), and Gilles Durant, writing in 1587, speaks of lying in the arms of his "Catin".⁶⁷ The first three retain an air of modesty and unreality—perhaps it is all but a dream—, but Durant leaves nothing to the imagination: for the Greek lines "why from my sweet dreams/with your early morning songs,/have you snatched away Bathyllus?" (10.8–10), we read in Durant's version: "Heureux, j'avoy toute nue/entre mes bras ma Catin,/je tatonnoy son tetin,/bruslant d'une douce envie/de laisser couler ma vie/languissante entre ses bras. . . ."

V. *Ronsard's Eroticism: Grec ou Gaulois?*

We have talked at length about Ronsard's particular adaptations of the anacreontic mode, his delicate balance between the Greek inspiration and his own genius. One last point is worth making in connection with Durant's choice above of explicit eroticism absent in the Greek. Ronsard, too, added occasionally overtly sexual lines to his anacreontic imitations.⁶⁸ One of the most famous is his response to the anacreontic poet's anxiety about old age, reflected in white hair but unabated "joie de vivre". The anacreontics use old age as an affirmation of the joys of living, a reason to spend one's final years in constant enjoyment of sensual pleasures: in anacreontic 7, even as women mock him for his white hair, the Greek poet continues to drink, dance, and enjoy his loves (7.6–13):

But I, as far as hair is concerned,
 Whether it is there or has fallen out,
 I do not care to know.
 This I do know:
 That for an old man,
 It is even more appropriate
 To enjoy's life's pleasures
 The closer one is to Fate.

⁶⁷ Texts in Delboulle 1891: 42–46.

⁶⁸ See examples in Laumonier 1909: 608–17.

The anacreontic scenes are all muted and suggestive (“to enjoy life’s pleasures”), the drinking is controlled, the desires never explicitly consummated.⁶⁹

Ronsard, however, adapts the anacreontic motif in various ways. He can remain close to the spirit of the original, as in the last two stanzas of this ode from the *Meslanges* written in direct imitation of anacreontic 7:⁷⁰

*Alors je luy respons: Quant à moi, je ne sai
Si j’ay l’oeil chassieux, si j’ay perdu courage,
Si mes cheveux sont noirs, ou si blancs je les ay,
Car jamais je n’ay de mirer mon visage:*

*Mais puis que tu me dis que j’irai bien tost voir
Charon, tu m’en devrois d’autant plus estre humaine,
Car le vieil homme doit, ou jamais, recevoir
Ses plaisirs, d’autant plus qu’il voit sa mort prochaine.*

But elsewhere, in a companion piece based on anacreontic 51, he continues the same line of argumentation with more explicitness, responding to his girlfriend’s complaint about his “prétensions de vieux galant”. This is the middle stanza of three:⁷¹

*Pour cela, cruelle, il ne faut
Fuir ainsi ma teste blanche:
Si j’ay la teste blanche en haut
J’ay en bas la queüe bien franche.*

Since Sainte-Beuve first suggested the idea, critics have considered this passage an example of the rough medieval French spirit peering through Ronsard’s Renaissance polish, since the idea of “la queüe bien franche” exists nowhere in the Greek model. Laumonier agrees wholeheartedly:⁷² “Ronsard alors est bien moins grec que gaulois; il

⁶⁹ See anacreontics 7, 51, 52A, 53, and Rosenmeyer 1992: 57–62, 111–14. Many fragments of Anacreon also concern white hair and old age, e.g., Page (ed.) 1962: 358, 378, 379, 395, 418, 420.

⁷⁰ Text in Laumonier 1930: VI.198–99.

⁷¹ Laumonier 1930: VI.255–56; Delboulle conveniently omits this version. See discussion in Laumonier 1909: 609–10; O’Brien 1995: 186–87. One can compare the poem in Laumonier 1930: VI.164, where “l’autre point” stands for penetrative sex, and Ronsard claims a “cheval blanc” is fine for kissing if not for anything more physically demanding; see O’Brien 1995: 187–88.

⁷² See Laumonier 1909: 610–11. His views are discussed further in Silver 1987: 365–68.

n'est plus anacréontique, mais rabelaisien . . . La sève national et traditionnelle bouillonne et reprend le dessus". Of course the rabelaisian element itself, as well as French medieval songs and ballads, come originally from the same literary source as many of the lighter love poems of antiquity; to quote Sainte-Beuve again, "l'Anacréon chez nous était comme préexistant".⁷³

But without denying some validity to Sainte-Beuve's remarks, let me suggest, for the particular example of "la queue bien franche", another poetic motive entirely, one based not on an anacreontic model, nor on some sort of medieval French inheritance, but on a poem of the archaic Anacreon himself. Laumonier hints at this idea when he concludes that Ronsard's image of "Anacreon" was closer to that of the archaic Ionian singer than the alexandrianisms of the later adaptations, which he labels "decadent"; the "real" Anacreon was bolder, more exuberant, earthier.⁷⁴ The poem in question is *PMG* 358, in which golden-haired Eros entices the poet, tossing him a purple ball and nudging him to "play" with a pretty young girl in colorful sandals. But his options have faded with his white hair, and she mocks him, disdainful of his advances and preferring another. Scholars have argued over just why the girl spurns him.⁷⁵ The last stanza of the Greek offers many possible reasons:

But she, for she is from well-built
Lesbos, dislikes my hair
Because it is white,
And gapes after another.

The Greek "another" is left vague, as most scholars have noticed, simply a feminine pronoun that could refer to any feminine singular grammatical antecedent, explicit or implied. Does the young woman reject Anacreon because she is from Lesbos, as the text informs us, and thus prefers women, gaping after "another girl"? Does she prefer a younger man to an older man, hence the emphasis on his white-hair, as she gapes after "another [color] hair"? Or,

⁷³ Quoted in Laumonier 1909: 614–15; see also *ibid.* 617: "Sous François Ier tout le monde anacréontise sans le savoir, ou sans y songer, à la gauloise, et ce qui revient un peu au même, à l'italienne. Sous Henri II, Ronsard et ses amis continuent ce mouvement: ils anacréontisent à leur tour, mais ils le savent".

⁷⁴ Laumonier 1909: 612. Silver 1987: 347–68 also speaks of "the two Anacreons".

⁷⁵ For the lengthy scholarship on this poem, see the selected references in Marcovich, 1983: 372 note 1; Woodbury 1979: 277 note 1.

best suited for the present argument, does she gape after not another color hair but rather another kind of hair, namely pubic hair?⁷⁶ Women of Lesbos were renowned in antiquity not for our modern definition of “lesbianism”, which results from many years of misunderstanding Sappho and her role(s), but rather for their skill at *fellatio*; in Aristophanes, the verb *lesbiazein* reflects this meaning.⁷⁷ It is entirely possible that Ronsard, eminent classicist that he was, may have been thinking of these lines when he redirected his girlfriend’s gaze from his white hair to his still potent groin. We may even detect a bilingual pun in the French, since the noun *penis* in Latin means both “tail” (Ronsard’s “queüe”) and the male sex organ.

With the example above in mind, we can return to Laumonier’s idea of Ronsard’s “blending” of the Ionian and Alexandrian “Anacreons”. It may be worth reminding ourselves of the obvious, namely that Ronsard did not differentiate between the two, but viewed both (what we now know as) imitative anacreontics and “genuine” verses of Anacreon as representative of the archaic age, and therefore eminently suitable models for translation and adaptation. If the anacreontic poems kept their eroticism to a minimum, several poems of Anacreon may be considered as likely candidates for Ronsard’s frankness, including *PMG* 358 and the suggestive “Thracian filly” poem (*PMG* 417), printed in Estienne’s *editio princeps* and imitated elsewhere by Ronsard, even though Estienne himself doubted its authenticity. Where the scholar saw a problematic difference in tone, the poet saw only more material for poetic adaptation; there is no need, therefore, to call on the spirit of Rabelais in the context of Ronsard’s passionate and sweeping dedication to Greco-Roman antiquity.

Although much more could be said on the subject, perhaps the best way to conclude this brief survey of Ronsard’s response to Estienne’s *Anacreon* is to read one of his last poems, entitled “Pour son tombeau”, both a nod at the classical tradition of the epitaph, and a concise statement of the “meaning of his life”.⁷⁸

*Ronsard repose icy qui hardy dès enfance
Détourna d’Helicon les Muses en la France,
Suivant le son du luth et les traits d’Apollon:*

⁷⁶ This was suggested first by Giangrande 1976: 43–47.

⁷⁷ See *Wasps* 194–95; Henderson 1975: 183–84; Dover 1978: 182–83.

⁷⁸ See Silver 1987: 392–03 for text and discussion. The text is also in Laumonier 1967: XVIII.181.

*Mais peu valut sa Muse encontre l'eguillon
De la mort, qui cruelle en ce tombeau l'enserre,
Son ame soit à Dieu, son corps soit à la terre.*

Ronsard defines himself in the double role he played throughout his life: as the heir to the grand progression of ancient Greek lyric poets from Pindar to Anacreon, “following the sound of the lyre and in the footprints of Apollo”; and as the teacher of France, “leading the Muses from Helicon” to their new abode in sixteenth-century Paris.

FABLES: AESOP AND BABRIUS*

Paola Cifarelli

“Apologue est langage par chose familière contenant moral erudition”: this is how Guillaume Tardif, *liseur* of the future king of France Charles VIII, defined the Aesopic fables which he was about to translate into French at the end of the sixteenth century.¹ Actually, the fable seems to elude every effort to identify exactly the constituent elements that distinguish it from all other forms of short narration. Fable, myth, parable, *exemplum* or *facetia* often tend to merge together and are often found side by side in collections of Aesop’s fables. On the other hand, theoretical scholarship on this literary genre seems not to have come to a satisfactory result. As G. van Dijk demonstrated in his recent work on Greek fables, critics who have treated this problem have so far come to completely contrasting conclusions: some have limited themselves to a ‘theoretical aporia’, stating the multiformity of the genre and the heterogeneity of the collections, while others have elaborated excessively restrictive and sophisticated theories, which fail to catch the flexibility of this narrative form.² What complicates the problem even more is the variety and multiple definitions of the terms used both in classical and modern languages to designate fable: αἶνος, λόγος and μῦθος in Greek, *fabula*, *fabella* or *apologus* in Latin, *fable*, *fabel*, *fableau* and also *apologue*, *facetie*, *similitude*, *parabole* in the idiom of Marie de France’s contemporaries and successors. This multiplicity of terms to designate fable is nothing more than further evidence of its multiformity. The problem of which genre it belongs to is particularly thorny when it comes to identifying the apologues that are found inserted within another literary genre.³ In the following pages we will principally concentrate

* I am greatly indebted to Professor Gerald Sandy for revising my English text.

¹ The quotation is taken from Tardif’s prologue to the collection entitled *Les Apologues et Fables de Laurens Valle translatees de latin en françois* (no place or date) [Paris, Vêrard, after 1492]; Ruelle P. 1986: 60. On this fabulist, see below, p. 441 note 66.

² Van Dijk 1997: 34.

³ The definition, proposed by Van Dijk G. 1997: 112–115, has the advantage of concision and flexibility. According to this scholar, fable can simply be defined

on Aesopic fables that have been assembled in collections. Here the above problem can be considered of minor importance; in fact, all the French collections we will refer to are characterised by the presence of the name Aesop in the title associated with the term *fable* or *apologue*. The name of the mythic and legendary inventor of this genre seems therefore to have been, even in medieval and humanistic times, a sort of *griffe* indispensable for the identification of a genre with misty borders.⁴

The fabulistic heritage that the classical world has left us is rich, even if our knowledge of it is somewhat fragmented. In addition to the collections in verse from Babrius, Phaedrus and Avianus, scholars specializing in early fables have underlined the importance of such prose collections as the fables from ms. Rylands 496, the *Augustana* redaction, anonymous collections as well as the rhetorical recastings of Aphantonius, of Pseudo-Dositheus, and of 'Sintipas'.⁵ These, they have argued, through complex relationships and ample chronological distribution, bear witness to the vitality of this genre. More recently, the analysis of stray fables has permitted the completion of this *tableau*.⁶ But how and through which channels did this treasure of fables that go under the name of Aesop reach medieval Europe and then the humanistic public? The survey that follows will try to put light on the diverse mechanisms through which the Aesopic *corpus* has been transmitted in French medieval culture and above all in that of the Renaissance. It will also confirm that, contrary to all too popular belief, between Marie de France, the first French fabulist of great talent, and La Fontaine, indisputably the pre-eminent master of this genre, there is no void.⁷

As is well known, the European Middle Ages knew only in part and indirectly the Greek and Latin fable heritage. The western tradition of the Middle Ages is almost exclusively dependent on the Latin derivatives by Avianus and Romulus, because the works of the two great fabulists in verse of the classical era, Babrius and Phaedrus,

as a "fictitious, metaphorical narrative"; the nature of its characters as well as its function and its formal characteristics only aid in defining the genre, but none of these elements is omnipresent or exclusive.

⁴ Van Dijk 1997: 98–105.

⁵ On classical fable, see Adrados F.R. 1979–1987, Nøjgaard M. 1964–1967, Perry B.E. 1952, Perry B.E. 1965.

⁶ Van Dijk 1997. This scholar is preparing a revised edition of Adrados's work.

⁷ See, for example, Ahmer S. 1997: 37.

were known basically through their late Latin rearrangements in prose. As for the Greek prose collections, they were completely unknown until at least the humanistic époque and often not until modern times.

After having rapidly examined the characteristics of the medieval and humanistic collections that transmit in vernacular languages the Babrian heritage through Latin imitation, we will draw attention to the Phaedrian tradition, in order to analyse first of all the testimony of the *Isopets*, and successively that from the collections of the fourteenth century. In the last section we will study the humanistic translations of the Latin and Greek collections as well as their arrangements and translations into French.⁸

1. *Babrius's Heritage*

As noted previously, the medieval and Renaissance fabulists had no direct knowledge of the well known Greek collection of fables that the poet Babrius composed in choliambic verse towards the end of the first century AD.⁹ In fact it was not until 1844 that the Greek text of the babrian apologues was taken out of oblivion and published.¹⁰ The numerous imitations that this innovative collection inspired among the Greek authors were also unknown during the Middle Ages. An exception was the collection in elegiac distichs attributed to Avianus and dating from approximately the fifth century AD, which was destined to become a real 'best seller' of medieval Aesopic literature. Evidence of its exceptional success, above all as a school text, are over one hundred manuscripts preserved until today.¹¹

If Avianus knew about Babrius and Phaedrus, whom he cites in the prologue to his collection, his source is indirect, as he seems to

⁸ Our analysis will be limited to the period up to 1595 because the evolution of fable genre in the seventeenth century is very complex and would require a development exceeding the limits of this work. On this subject, see Parussa G. 1993.

⁹ For a modern edition of Babrius's fables, see Herrmann L. 1973.

¹⁰ The famous manuscript of Mount Athos containing Babrius's fables was discovered by Minas during his trip to the Near East and published in 1844 by Boissonade.

¹¹ The Avianus texts have been published by Gaide F. 1980. See also Hervieux L. 1894: III vol., 3-156.

have worked on the basis of an arrangement in Latin prose on which critics are still divided. In addition, only twenty-five of the forty-two fables by Avianus correspond to Babrian themes.

Avianus's fables have also been imitated, rewritten, commentated on and abridged both in verse and in prose and have been used essentially in the teaching of Latin grammar and of rhetoric; in fact, they were inserted in the curriculum of medieval students because their formal structure lent itself to both language practice and stylistic exercises.¹² But the pedagogic worth of the fable in verse, used in the teaching of style, has never been separated from the moralistic goal, as the exemplary value of the narrative allows the very young to get in touch with the principles of the moral; the importance of the message underlying the *fabula* is often stressed by the use of the metaphor of the 'fruit hidden by the skin'.¹³

Among the Latin adaptations in verse two collections can be attributed to the Parisian *milieu*: the brief *Novus Avianus* that Alexander Neckam compiled during his stay in France in the 70s or 80s of the twelfth century for use with his students of rhetoric, and the *Antiavianus*, an anonymous set of nine fables in verse which were also used pedagogically and are preserved in one unique manuscript.¹⁴

When Avianus's fables were rendered in French in the thirteenth century, their public changed considerably, and their function became fundamentally didactic. The only medieval adaptation in French which we know of is the *Avionnet* ('little collection of Avianus'), a collection of nineteen fables composed in verses of eight syllables and preserved in five manuscripts.¹⁵ The anonymous translator sets out his intent in the prologue:

¹² On this subject, see Bisanti A. 1991: 166–96. I have been unable to see the work of Fisher B.F. 1987.

¹³ This metaphor became a *topos* of the prologues to fable collections and recurs in several compilations in French dating from the middle of the sixteenth century, like the one Corrozet published in 1542 and that of the anonymous fabulist of 1547. On these collections, see below, p. 447 and following.

¹⁴ The latin adaptations in verse are at least four in number: in addition to the *Novus Avianus* of Alexander Neckam and the *Antiavianus*, described above, there are the *Novus Avianus* by the so-called Astensis poeta (see Zurli L. 1994 and Hervieux 1894: III vol., 181–205) and the *Novus Avianus Vindobonensis-Monacensis*, so-called because the text is preserved in two manuscripts from Vienna and Munich (Vienna, Österreichische Staatsbibliothek 303 and Munich, Staatsbibliothek clm 14703). On the *Novus Avianus* by Alexander Neckam see Garbugino G. 1987: 13–52, Klein T.A.P. 1998 and Hervieux L. 1894: III vol., 222–34, 462–67. The *Antiavianus* has been published by Tamanza S. 1998: 143–76. See also Hervieux L. 1894: III vol., 235–37, 468–744. The text is preserved in ms. Cambridge, University Library Dd.XI.78

¹⁵ The text has been edited by Bastin J. 1929–1930: II vol., 349–84. The manu-

*Avionnet, un autre livre
 D'autres bonnes fables nous livre
 profitables a escouter:
 Pour ce me vueil encores entremettre
 Et du latin ens romans mettre
 Au preu de ceulz qui les liront;
 Car aucun bien aprendre y pourront.*¹⁶

It is clear that in this case the text is not intended as a rhetoric model to follow or re-elaborate in order to acquire proficiency in style and composition, but rather as a means to offer a lay public a way pleurably to provide instruction through a simple and agile narrative, hiding a *senefiance* to be discovered with the help of the *moralité*. The precept of mixing the *utile* with the *dulce*, underlined by those who during the Middle Ages had theorised on the Aesopic fable, has been here taken up and put into practice. The verse is thus the instrument for *delectatio*, but also a means to confer literary dignity to these vernacular texts: the same will happen for the other *Isopets*, which are based on Latin versions of Aesopic fables traceable to Phaedrus, and above all for the collection compiled by Marie de France.¹⁷

Avianus's success was not confined to the Middle Ages; in fact in 1476 twenty-seven of his fables were inserted and translated into German in the important collection called *Steinhöwels Äsop*, which was turned into French a few years later by the Agostinian monk Julien Macho.¹⁸ Finally, in the early sixteenth century two humanists contemporary with Erasmus and associated with the University of Louvain each published a selection of fables adapted from Avianus. What makes these paraphrases original in respect to all other previous arrangements was their humanistic goal of supplementing grammatical instruction with a better Latin text, i.e., in prose and more in conformity with classical style, for an author who was a fundamental part of the university curriculum. In fact, the verse version of Avianus's and more generally of Aesop's fables were not considered by humanists worthy of the classical models.

scripts of the *Avionnet* are: Bruxelles, Bibl. Roy. 11193; Paris, BnF fr. 1594, fr. 19123 and fr. 24310; London, British Museum Add. 33781; see Bastin J. 1929-1930: xxvi-xxix.

¹⁶ Bastin J. 1929-1930: II, 349.

¹⁷ See below, pp. 433-34.

¹⁸ See above, note 53.

Of the texts that William Hermansz of Gouda, ca. 1466–1510, adapted from previous versions, we still have the thirty-eight fables which were included in those editions of the *Aesopus Dorpii* dating later than 1513;¹⁹ the compilation edited by Martin van Dorp in 1509 and reprinted at least two hundred times played, as we will see later, a fundamental role in the development of fable genre and became the vulgate version of Aesopic material during the fifteenth century.

As for the adaptations of Hadrianus Barlandus (Adrianus Cornelii Barlandus, 1468–1538), his nine fables were at first published within a collection of Aesop's fables that he compiled in 1512 but were not reproduced in the 1513 edition of *Dorpius*, probably because the young latinist did not want to compete with his more famous predecessor Goudanus.²⁰ In the successive editions of *Dorpius*, four of his fables were inserted.²¹

Because the *Aesopus Dorpii*, which has been defined “l'Esopé des temps modernes”, had been translated several times in France during the sixteenth century, several excerpts of these two Latin paraphrases from Avianus were also translated into French during this period.²²

2. *The Gallo-Roman Middle Ages and Phaedrus*

As already said, also Phaedrus's fables were not directly known in Medieval Europe.²³ The first instrument used to accede the original texts of Latin fables was in fact the 1597 edition by Pierre Pithou, if we exclude the thirty-two fables of the *Epitome fabellarum Aesopi, Avieni et Phedri* that Nicolò Perotti (1429–1480), an Italian humanist

¹⁹ For a biography and bibliography of Goudanus see Bietenholz (ed.) 1985–1986: II, 184–85.

In the 1513 edition of the *Dorpius*, only two fables from the Goudanus's version of Avianus were inserted by the editors, i.e. Dorpius-Barlandus. See González González E. 1998: 39, note 20. On the *Aesopus Dorpii*, which we will discuss later, see Thoen P. 1970 and 1973.

²⁰ On Barlandus, see Daxhelet E. 1938 and Bietenholz (ed.) 1985–1986: I 95–96.

²¹ González González E. 1998: 39.

²² Thoen P. 1970: 241.

²³ On late medieval latin fables, see Grubmüller K. 1977; Hervieux L. 1895; Mann J. 1986: 193–200; Bisanti A. 1991: 161–212; Bertini F. 1988: 981–91.

who was the pupil of Vittorino da Feltre, compiled for his nephew; but this collection remained in manuscript form for a very long time.²⁴

The paraphrases of late antiquity traceable to Phaedrus can be arranged in three groups, different in consistency: the *Wissenburgensis* redaction, the fables of Ademar of Chabannes and lastly the complex series of the so-called *Romulus* derivatives.

The *Recensio Wissenburgensis*, so called because it was contained in a manuscript once housed in a Wissenburg monastery and today preserved in the Herzog-August-Bibliothek in Wolfenbüttel (ms. Gudianus latinus 148), seems to have been composed in Gaul in the fifth or sixth century and consists of fifty-five fables divided into five books, most of which can be traced to Phaedrus. The texts are preceded by a letter supposedly written by Aesop to a 'Magister Rufus'.

As for the fables of Ademar of Chabannes, monk from Limoges who spent a good part of his life in the monastery of Saint-Cybard at Angoûleme and in that of Saint-Martial at Limoges, they are preserved only in the manuscript Leiden 8° 15 and consist of sixty-seven pieces in prose, most of them traceable to Phaedrus, and in part having no parallels in other collections.²⁵

The diffusion of these two compilations was, however, limited and is not equal in importance to that of the redaction of late antiquity that is known by the name *Romulus*.²⁶ This designation indicates a series of collections sharing the presence, in the opening folios, of a letter by a certain Romulus dedicating the work to his son Tiberino.

Like the mythic character of Aesop, considered to be the inventor of fable, the principal medieval adapter of Phaedrus is also surrounded by a legendary aura and does not seem to have an attested historic identity.²⁷ The numerous Latin codices that transmit his name are proof of the success of this adaptation, while the various redactions show the productivity of this collection. In the following pages we will not discuss in detail the complex relationships that connect

²⁴ About Perotti, see Boldrini S. 1988.

²⁵ On Ademar of Chabannes, see Bertini F., Gatti P. 1988.

²⁶ About this collection, see Hervieux L. 1893: 330-431; Thiele G. 1910.

²⁷ This 'Romulus' was first identified with the last Roman Emperor, Augustulus, who could have dedicated his fables to his son Tiberinus; later scholars have suggested that this name indicated a mythical character, without historic identity. See Hervieux L. 1893: 293-305.

the different versions of the *Romulus* but will limit ourselves to indicating those that have given rise to French adaptations.²⁸ They number six, of which three are in prose (the *Romulus Ordinarius*, the *Romulus* of Vincent de Beauvais and the *Romulus Nilantii*), and three in verse (*Anonymus Neveleti*, or Fables of 'Walter of England'; *Novus Aesopus* by Alexander Neckam; collection of Odo of Cheriton). We will begin with the collections in prose.

Critics have underlined that the use of prose by medieval fabulists often betrays a moral aim: the straightforward Latin prose collections, deprived of ornaments and rhetorical figures, were intended as a repertory of *exempla*, meant to provide orators with *narrationes* illustrating a moral truth; going through the texts reviewed in G. Dicke and K. Grubmüller's repertory of the medieval fable tradition, one cannot help but be surprised by the variety of literary contexts in which fables are applied.²⁹ A clear example of this use of fables is represented by Odo of Cheriton's works; in fact, he often included Aesopic themes in his sermons, taking inspiration from the tradition of *Romulus*. The preacher composed one hundred and twelve apologues, which were translated into French anonymously during the thirteenth century. The co-existence in this collection of fable themes and of others borrowed from similar genres dealing with animals, in particular from bestiaries, is significant in that it reveals the fragility of the borders between fable and other categories of *récit bref* that we mentioned initially.³⁰

The same exemplary function characterizes the four books of the so-called *Romulus Ordinarius*, or *Recensio Gallicana*; it contains around eighty fables, accompanied by explanations of the moral significance within the narrative. The manuscript tradition consists of five codices, but the long lasting success of this collection is due to a printed edition in 1476–77. The texts of the *Romulus Ordinarius* were in fact reproduced in the opening pages of the Latin-German *Steinhöwels Äsop*, which is, as we shall see, one of the most significant collections of the late Middle Ages.³¹ The 'Aesop' compiled by Steinhöwel

²⁸ A good edition containing a selection of medieval French fables has been published by Boivin J.-M. and Harf-Lancner L. 1996.

²⁹ Dicke G., Grubmüller K. 1987.

³⁰ Another example of intertextuality between fables and other forms of short narrative are the *Contes moralisés* by Nicole Bozon; on this subject, see Parussa G. 1992: 141–56.

³¹ Dicke G., Grubmüller K. 1987.

was soon translated into many languages; the French version by Julien Macho of Lyon is almost complete and includes the 80 fables of the *Romulus*.³² Because Macho's prose is often monotonous and flat in style and tone, like the Latin model, his fables seem quite unattractive to the modern reader. However, they enjoyed considerable popularity in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

The 29 texts that Vincent de Beauvais inserted in his *Speculum Historiale* towards the middle of the thirteenth century are very similar in both form and theme to those mentioned previously.³³ The medieval encyclopedist grouped them according to the vice or virtue that he supposed they were intended to exemplify; here, too, we can note the absence of any literary flair and, like Macho, the translators who turned the *Romulus* of Vincent de Beauvais into French never tried to elevate their writing above the mediocre style of their source. Chronologically, these French versions are staggered over a whole century and a half. The one elaborated by Jehan de Vignay towards 1330 is an attempt to render to the letter the Latin text; that is why these texts are often difficult to read.³⁴ On the contrary, both the anonymous adapter of the *Manuel d'Histoire de Philippe VI*, compendium of the *Speculum Historiale* composed around 1326–1328 and that of the *Rudimentum Novitiorum*, another compilation of universal history based on the work of Vincent de Beauvais anonymously published in Lubecca in 1475, used a more fluid prose.³⁵ All these collections are significant above all as evidence of the function of fable in medieval thought and of the diffusion of Aesopic themes in Medieval literature.

Formal simplicity also characterizes the *Romulus Nilantii*, a collection in prose compiled during the eleventh century and comprising 50 fables divided into three books; this text was probably destined to provide edification in monastic schools and intended for the instruction of young clerics.³⁶ Very much different is its adaptation in French

³² This translation has been edited by Ruelle P. 1982. See also Batany J. 1993: 3–14.

³³ On these fables, see Snively G.E. 1908 and Mombello G. 1995: 49–61; a critical edition of the French translations of Vincent de Beauvais's fables is being prepared for the Société des Anciens Textes Français, on the basis of the unpublished work by P. Ruelle.

³⁴ On Jehan de Vignay, see Snively G.E. 1911: I, 347–374.

³⁵ On the *Manuel d'Histoire*, see Couderc C. 1896: 415–44; Guigniaut J.D., de Wailly N. 1855: 146–158; as for the *Rudimentum Novitiorum*, see Surprenant A. 1990: 439–66 and Vaganay H. 1913: I, 67–82.

³⁶ This collection is so called because it was first published by Johann Friedrich

verse by Marie de France.³⁷ Through the pen of the first fabulist in the *langue d'oïl*, the narration comes to life, the verses take on colour and the significance of the model changes. The variety of the formal, structural and stylistic elements shows the intent of the narrator to put the accent on the pleasure of the narration and on the charm of poetry rather than on the moral significance of the text. Another particular aspect is the tendency shown by the fabulist to inscribe the moral that we extract from her fables within the social context of her time. Furthermore, critics have underlined how the public to which Marie de France's fables are directed can be identified with a noble if not regal court and that many of her texts express feudal-chivalric ideals through tone, dialogue structure and language.

Marie de France's *Isopet*, composed around 1180, shares some of its characteristics with the other medieval *Isopets* known to us. Four of these are also in verse. These are the *Isopet de Lyon*, the *Isopet I* (which contains also the *Avionnet* mentioned earlier), the *Isopet II de Paris* and the *Isopet de Chartres*. Only one text is in prose: the *Isopet III de Paris*, a rather mediocre paraphrase of the *Isopet I*.

Apart from the studies conducted by J. Bastin for her edition of the *corpus* of the Old French *Isopets*, these texts have been rather neglected by critics, but this is no reason to consider them less interesting. A few years ago, in one of the rare studies dedicated to these texts, K. Busby wrote that "future studies might look more closely at the techniques of adaptation from the Latin sources, at the degree and nature of the various *Isopets* as moral, didactic literature and at their stylistic, semantic and lexical aspects."³⁸ For the moment, scholarship has highlighted that behind the differences in spirit and style that characterise each of these texts it is possible to find some common lines. First of all the narrative structure, the characters, the subject and the prologues clearly show that *delectare* is here even more important than *docere*: like Marie de France, the anonymous adapters often intentionally and cleverly used the stylistic instruments at their

Nilant in 1709 under the title *Fabulae antiquae ex Phaedro fere servatis ejus verbis desumptae* (. . .). See Grubmüller K. 1977: 70.

³⁷ For a critical edition of Marie de France's fables, see Warnke K. 1898, Brucker Ch. 1991; an English translation has been published by Martin M.L. 1984. As for bibliography on this author, see Burgess G.L.S. 1977 and 1986, as well as Ahmer S. 1997: 214-43.

³⁸ Busby K. 1993: 45.

disposal to render the discovery of the moral message more pleasant. Moreover, the more or less explicit literary references to *Roman de Renart* and to courtly literature, with which they share metric form and sometimes language, suggest that these texts are to be considered an integral part of the medieval narrative corpus. As for the use of sources, a significant difference separates the work of Marie de France, which is also the only one which carries the name of the author, from the other *Isopets*. In fact of the 102 fables that make up the collection of the Anglo-norman poet, only slightly more than one third are found in the *Romulus Nilantii*. For the other motifs so far it has been impossible to trace a direct source either in western literature or in middle eastern fable tradition.³⁹ Furthermore, the themes that can be traced to a Latin antecedent are transformed, re-arranged and adapted in such profound and personal ways that it is difficult to speak of immediate sources.

On the contrary, for all the other *Isopets*, the modern editor has been able to find a direct Latin antecedent. As for sources, the five *Isopets* that we have mentioned can be divided into two groups. The first of these is composed of the three *mises en roman* of the 60 fables of 'Walter of England', that is *the Isopet de Lyon*, the *Isopet I-Avionnet* and the *Isopet III*; on the other hand, the *Isopet II de Paris* and the *Isopet de Chartres* are based on the collection by Alexander Neckam, author of a *Novus Aesopus*, in addition to the above mentioned *Novus Avianus*.

The so-called *Aesop* of 'Walter of England' is a set of 60 Latin fables, the content of which refers back to the *Recensio Gallicana* of the *Romulus*; their form somewhat imitates Avianus.⁴⁰ It is in fact a collection of very elaborate, rhetorical verse fables composed around the twelfth century by a compiler whom L. Hervieux believed to be a certain 'Walter of England', or 'Gualterus Anglicus'.⁴¹ This collection is also known as *Anonymus Neveleti*, from the name of its editor Nevelet.⁴² According to its more recent editor, "It seems likely

³⁹ About the relationship between the *Romulus Nilantii* and Marie de France's texts, see Ahmer S. 1997: 37-45. This work also discusses the indebtedness of Marie to the Oriental fable tradition, but her conclusions do not seem to be completely satisfactory.

⁴⁰ Edited by Wright A.E. 1997.

⁴¹ Hervieux L. 1893: I, 475-95.

⁴² In 1610, Isaac Nevelet published in Frankfurt a collection entitled *Mythologia Aesopica*. See Thoen P. 1973: 304-306.

that the fables were written to provide a more modern and more orthodox alternative to the older collection", that is, the Avianus compilation.⁴³ The presence in many of the manuscripts of interlinear glosses with lexical notes and moral comments in prose suggests that this text was also destined to provide Latin instruction for the younger students.⁴⁴ Between the thirteenth and the fifteenth centuries vernacular adaptations were elaborated in various regions in France and they are proof of the success of this collection, which seems to have bettered even that of Avianus. 200 codices and 34 incunable editions of the Latin text remain to this day.

Of the three French versions of this collection, the *Isopet de Lyon* is preserved in one unique manuscript that also contains the Latin text;⁴⁵ the adapter follows the source in a very precise way, both in content and in the internal sequence of motifs. As for the *Isopet I*, in five of the six codices preserving the text the Aesopic fables are grouped with the above mentioned *Avionnet*,⁴⁶ the French adaptation is based on a slightly different Latin textual tradition. Some of Walter of England's fables have in fact been omitted, while another seven from another translation have been added. Of the two known redactions the oldest is that preserved in the manuscripts f.fr. 19123 and 24310 in the Bibliothèque nationale de France. The presence of a dedication to Jeanne de Bourgogne in the other manuscripts (Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique 11193, London British Library Add. 33781, Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France f.fr. 1594 and 1595 [without the *Avionnet*]) allows us to date this second redaction to approximately 1340. Finally, the *Isopet III*, a paraphrase in prose of 40 fables from the *Isopet I*, seems to be a scholastic exercise.⁴⁷

The 42 fables in verse that comprise the Aesopic collection of Alexander Neckam come mainly from the *Romulus* according to their modern editor, but are based on a redaction that partially differs from that known to us, with some different motifs and at times nearer to Phaedrus.⁴⁸ Elegant and correct, the Latin collection of the medieval

⁴³ Wright A.E. 1997: 3.

⁴⁴ These versions are known as *Aesopus Moralisatus cum bono commento*.

⁴⁵ Bastin J. 1929-1930: xvi.

⁴⁶ Id.: xxvi-xxix.

⁴⁷ Id.: xxxix-xxxx.

⁴⁸ On Neckam's collection, see Garbugino G. 1987: 47-50. She lists six codices containing this text.

encyclopedist has not been transmitted by a large number of copies but has all the same two French adaptations, both in six-line stanzas with eight syllable verses, written around the end of the thirteenth century but differing in content. In fact, the *Isopet II* de Paris translates 40 fables, while only 38 pass on to the *Isopet de Chartres*, which adds the adaptation of two fables by Avianus. The two adaptations can be considered almost contemporaneous, the first being dated to between the end of the thirteenth century and the beginning of the fourteenth, while the second dates back to the end of the thirteenth century. As for place of origin, the *Isopet II* was probably composed in the North of the Ile de France, while indications within the other collection suggest that it was in effect drawn up at Chartres. Only one manuscript (Chartres 620) has transmitted this text, while the other is preserved in two codices in Bnf (fr. 22432 and 15213).

We conclude this review by mentioning a collection that in many ways acts as a link between medieval fable tradition and the new humanistic works that renewed and profoundly amplified the Aesopic subject.

The *Æsop* that Heinrich Steinhöwel published at the end of the fifteenth century contains heterogeneous material and is therefore a proof of the fluidity characterizing the fable genre.⁴⁹ Apart from offering a romanticised version of the life of Aesop attributed to Maximo Planude, the collection is composed of more than 150 pieces that include animalistic themes and short stories: *facetiae* and *exempla*.⁵⁰ The *Romulus Ordinarius* opens the volume and it represents the medieval inheritance; the first three books of this collection also contain the texts of the *Anonymus Neveleti*, or *Romulus* of 'Walter of England'. The *Romulus* fables are followed by another seventeen fables that the editor defines as *extravagantes* and by another seventeen, taken from the Latin translation that the humanist Rinuccio d'Arezzo prepared on the basis of a Greek manuscript.⁵¹ These specimens of the new

⁴⁹ On Steinhöwel's *Æsop*, see the edition by Österley H. 1873, as well as the work of Dicke G. 1994.

⁵⁰ Three Greek redactions of Aesop's life are known; one of these was written around 1300 by Maximos Planude (Perry B.E. 1952: 1) and translated into Latin by Rinuccio d'Arezzo. This translation was edited in 1474 by Antonio Zaroto and then published by both Steinhöwel and Bono Accorsi (1480). On this subject, see Adrados F.R. 1985: 661-97.

⁵¹ The 'fabulae extravagantes' are excerpted from the translations made by Aldo

humanistic tradition are then followed by a series of twenty-seven fables by Avianus, thirteen *exempla* from the *Disciplina Clericalis* (compiled by Petrus Alphonsus between 1106 and 1110) and eight *facetiae* by Poggio Bracciolini.⁵² The Latin text was accompanied by a German translation and was a great publishing success; hence the early French translation, which was published in Lyon only three years after the first edition.⁵³ Even if this version, entitled *Subtilles Fables de Esope*, was no work of art as far as style was concerned, it was re-edited several times during the sixteenth century in Lyon, Paris, Anvers and Orléans.⁵⁴ The variety of motifs contained in the text and the presence of engravings attracted readers of different cultural backgrounds and different interests. As proof that this version represented, at least until the first decades of the sixteenth century, the *vulgata* of the Aesopic fable, we have the assertion that still in 1547, when it was already clear that this version needed to be replaced by new translations based on humanistic sources, the fabulists still felt the necessity to organise their material according to the order in Macho's collection.⁵⁵

To sum up the methods of transmission of the Aesopic heritage in medieval France, we can affirm that even if only basing themselves on a limited number of subjects and using exclusively the tradition of the classical Latin fable, the medieval fabulists amply elaborated the material they had at their disposition for two principal and often pervasive aims. The first is essentially linked to the teaching of Latin grammar and rhetoric and use these rapid and concise narratives as introductions to the Latin language or as stylistic exercises. The second tends to put the accent on the moral significance of the narration. The fable is thus considered as an eclectic and versatile exemplary tale, well adapted to different contexts.

Manuzio senior for the Latin-Greek edition of Aesop's fables published in 1505. On Rinuccio d'Arezzo, see below, pp. 442-44.

⁵² A modern edition of the *Disciplina Clericalis* can be read in Hilka A., Söderhjelm V. 1911-1912. The text of Poggio Bracciolini's *Facetiae* can be read in Poggio 1964-1969. On the diffusion of this text in France see Koj P. 1969 and Sozzi L. 1967.

⁵³ On the French translation by J. Macho, see the bibliography cited by Mombello G. 1981: 15-16 and above all the edition by Ruelle (Ruelle P. 1982).

⁵⁴ They reach the number of sixteen editions by 1572 (Mombello G. 1981: 17-29).

⁵⁵ This is the case for the anonymous translation of 1547 as well as the first collection published by Corrozet in 1542 and for Luyhton's collection. On these compilations, see below pages 448 and following.

While the collections in prose are structured, as were the Greek prose collections, as repertories of subjects answering practical needs, the verse fable, be it in Latin or French, had literary as well as moral aspirations; for this reason fabulists played on the double register of *prodesse* and of *delectare* to impart in the most pleasant way a didactic message.

3. *The Fable in the Humanistic and Renaissance Age*

The real revolution that took place in the world of fable during the fifteenth century was the rediscovery of the Greek Aesop.

The Italians played a fundamental role in the rebirth of the antique Aesopic heritage, because they were the first to translate into Latin the texts found in the manuscripts that arrived from the Eastern Roman Empire.⁵⁶ From the earliest years of the fifteenth century the pupils of Guarino da Verona and Vittorino da Feltre translated the Greek texts into Latin, both as school exercises while learning Greek and to render these texts accessible to all those who did not know the language of Aristotle and Plutarch. It is clear that these translations, like the medieval Latin verse adaptations, had an educational role, as they were part of the curriculum of those who studied Greek. Furthermore, they belong to the humanistic project of the rediscovery of the Greek authors and works in their original language.

In the first half of the fifteenth century, seven translations of Aesop saw the light in Italy, the work of a coterie of humanists who knew one another well; in fact, Ermolao Barbaro senior, who was the first to translate 33 fables as a scholastic exercise in 1422, worked on the same manuscript that Lorenzo Valla used twenty years later and that was again used by another pupil of Guarino Guarini da Verona, who probably compiled an anthology for educational purposes. On the other hand, before 1433 Ermolao was the dedicatee of 120 fables translated by Ognibene da Lonigo, Vittorino da Feltre's pupil.⁵⁷

⁵⁶ See Filosa C. 1952: 74-ss.

⁵⁷ On the translation by Ermolao Barbaro senior, see Berrigan J.R. 1978: 141-48, as well as Cocco C. 1994: 13-80. The latter edited Ermolao's fables followed by an Italian translation in the same work. An English translation of the same set of fables has been made by Berrigan J.R. 1977. Valla's fables have been edited by Ruelle P. 1986: 39-57; on the problem concerning his Greek source, see Finch C.E.

Another of Vittorino's students, Gregorio Correr, is the author of approximately 60 fables, written nearly in the same years, but he was also the dedicatee of the translation by Leonardo Dati.⁵⁸ As for Rinuccio d'Arezzo, author of one of the two translations that had the most success during the fifteenth century, he was Valla's Greek teacher from 1424.⁵⁹

Although the great part of the fifteenth-century tradition remained hand-written, the collections of Rinuccio d'Arezzo and of Lorenzo Valla were printed. This fact contributed to their success during that century but also was a determining factor in their future diffusion. Only these two compilations were known outside of Italy and were translated into various languages, including French. We will therefore pause to consider these texts, which have in common the fact that they are not strictly related to the educational goal of teaching Greek but rather had literary ambitions; as C. Filosa noted in his work on the fable, after the rediscovery of the Greek Aesop, writers found a new interest for the fable as a literary genre and they particularly appreciated its witticisms and rapid narrative.⁶⁰

The famous roman humanist Lorenzo Valla (1407–1457), secretary to the King of Aragon Alfonso V, claims in the prologue to his translation of Aesop to have dedicated a mere two days to this work done for the pure pleasure of it; he goes on to say that he found the Greek manuscript "ex preda navali".⁶¹ In reality, scholars who have worked on this text have underlined that the collection turned into Latin by Valla around 1440 during his stay in Gaeta must have been the same used by Ermolao Barbaro, who translated the same number of fables in the same order.⁶² C. Cocco, who has recently published Ermolao's collection, has demonstrated that the Greek source of the two translations must have contained 33 fables in prose, in alphabetical order according to the initial letter of the Greek text and gathered together at the latest around 1420.⁶³ Already in 1960,

1960: 118–20 and Cocco C. 1994: 31–58. About Ognibene, see Thoen P. 1970: 671, while about Vittorino da Feltre, as well as on Guarino Guarini, see Woodward W.H. 1897.

⁵⁸ On Correr's fables, see Finch C.E. 1973: 44–48 and Berrigan J.R. 1975. The text of Leonardo Dati was edited by Tacke O. 1912: 276–301.

⁵⁹ Rinuccio's fables have been studied and edited by Pillolla M.P. 1993.

⁶⁰ Filosa C. 1952: 79–80.

⁶¹ Ruelle P. 1986: 39.

⁶² See above, p. 439 note 57, as well as note 73 p. 443.

⁶³ Cocco C. 1994: 44–45.

C.E. Finch had indicated an affinity between L. Valla's fables and the Greek ones preserved in two Greek manuscripts (Ambrosianus 91 et Vat. Pal. Gr. 122), which, however, for philological reasons could not be considered the sources of our translation.⁶⁴ These two manuscripts are traceable to the *Recensio Accursiana*, i.e., the complex of Byzantine editions prior to the sixth century AD, that takes its name from the *edito princeps* of 1480 by Bono Accorsi. Research done by C. Cocco suggests that Valla's Greek source was an *excerptus* to be used in schools, prepared by Guarino Guarini and taken from a larger collection of one hundred and twelve apologues. Two manuscripts preserved to this day (Laurentianus, Conv. suppr. 64 and Laudanus 10) have very similar features; however, they contain a number of fables that has been increased by about 30 over the probable archetype.⁶⁵

Valla's collection was dedicated to Arnolfo Fenolleda, Alfonso of Aragon's secretary and protector of the Italian humanist. The fables were composed in a dense and elegant prose and were printed from 1472; in 1475 they were edited in Paris by Louis Simonel and Richard Blandin, in their famous atelier called the "Soufflet Vert". Their success is confirmed by the twelve incunabula editions still preserved, as well as by the fact that they were turned into French from the last decade of the fifteenth century. In fact, towards 1490, an in-folio came out in Paris from Pierre le Rouge's printers for Antoine Vêrard. The first text it contained was *Les apologues et fables de Laurens Valle Translatees de latin en françois*. The translation was by Guillaume Tardif, teacher of grammar and rhetoric in the pure humanistic tradition, and friend of the best known second-generation French humanists;⁶⁶ he was the author of numerous works both in Latin and in French and had translated the *Facetiae* by Poggio.⁶⁷ The grammarian, who worked also as corrector at the atelier "Soufflet Vert" at the time Valla's work was being published, must have used a printed edition for his translation.

Tardif dedicated his fables to King Charles VIII, to whom he was *liseur* from 1475, and it seems that they were not reprinted. Of this

⁶⁴ Finch C.E. 1960: 119.

⁶⁵ Cocco C. 1994: 37.

⁶⁶ Mombello G. 1981: 47, note 3 and Ruelle P. 1986: 25–26.

⁶⁷ About this translation, see Ruelle P. 1986: 23–25 as well as texts mentioned in note 52.

unique edition four copies are known, three on paper and one on parchment. Critics who have studied this translation have praised his original and lively style; in fact, the numerous picturesque details and colourful notes notably differentiate these texts from the severe prose fables of the Latin model. A.C.M. Robert, one of the first to have rescued this work from oblivion, does not hesitate to compare the fifteenth-century fabulist to La Fontaine, exalting his poetic qualities and underlining the difference between this rearrangement and a simple translation.⁶⁸ P. Ruelle, the modern editor of Tardif's fables, also emphasizes the liberty with which the Latin text has been adapted, as well as the richness of the vocabulary. All the same, the existence of only one edition of this collection suggests that its influence on other French fabulists who undertook the adaptation of Aesopic material after him was rather minimal. It is legitimate to ask ourselves if any of them even knew of this collection, or ever used it in their work. That does not seem to be the case, as we have not been able to detect any direct influence or reminiscence of Tardif on later translators.

Valla's fables were once again translated into French at various intervals during the sixteenth century and were incorporated into the *Aesopus Dorpii*.⁶⁹ Because they were included in this collection, the 33 fables by the Italian humanist became known in all of Europe and met with lasting fame. Three sixteenth-century translations of this set of fables were made in France.

The Latin collection by Rinuccio d'Arezzo met a similar fate: his fables too were incorporated into the Latin collection of the Belgian humanist, which represents a synthesis of the humanistic conception of the Aesopic fable.

The compilation that the Italian humanist Rinuccio d'Arezzo (?–1457) assembled towards the middle of fifteenth century was requested by the then *scriptor* of the Papal Curia Antonio della Cerda, archbishop of Messina, later Cardinal, who had always been interested in the *studia humanitatis*.⁷⁰ The Latin version of these fables was completed in 1448, together with the translation of the *Vita Aesopi*, and it was probably thought of as a homage to Tommaso Parentucelli, who became Pope with the name of Niccolò V in 1447; but in the

⁶⁸ Robert A.C.M. 1825: clxxviii–clxxx, quoted by Mombello G. 1981: 47, note 2.

⁶⁹ See pp. 444–45 and note 74.

⁷⁰ See Pillolla M.P. 1993: 33.

end, the *dédicataire* of his translation was Della Cerda, who became Cardinal that same year. The aim pursued by Rinuccio with this work was first of all to provide a wider choice of Aesopic texts than that which was already available, as Aesop is to be numbered among the classical authors of most interest to humanists. Rinuccio's translation in fact contained one hundred apologues, a considerable number, even if the translator knew that he had not translated all the known pieces. According to modern editors, Rinuccio knew at least three of the seven humanistic translations from Greek mentioned above;⁷¹ in fact, as we have said, he had been the Greek teacher of Valla, while Ermolao Barbaro dedicated his work to him. As for Ognibene da Lonigo, scholars have even accused Rinuccio of plagiarism, although this accusation has since been toned down to simple lexical reminiscence.⁷²

Like the Greek source of Valla, the manuscript on which Rinuccio worked has not been preserved, but its characteristics, reconstructable through the Latin text, align it with the codex Palatinus Gr. 262, belonging to Class II (C) of Greek manuscripts of Aesop described by E. Chambry;⁷³ this class includes the *Recensio Vindobonensis*, a paraphrase of the oldest extant collection (i.e. the *Recensio Augustana*). The preserved manuscript and the one used by Rinuccio both followed the alphabetical order of the first word of the Greek text (conserved also in the Latin translation), but Rinuccio's manuscript had two lacunae, which were not filled in by the translator. The style, however, was completely transformed: the simple, unadorned, linear prose of the Greek text had become rich, in accordance with the Ciceronian style prevailing in Italy during the fifteenth century. The articulated syntax, the tight rhythm and an abundance of narrative detail added to better describe the action and the characters distinguishes this version from others done before as a linguistic exercise, but also from that by Valla, though the latter shared with Rinuccio a literary rather than pedagogical purpose. These characteristics combined with the increased number of fables and the presence of the *Vita Aesopi* made

⁷¹ *Ibid.*: 33–34.

⁷² Filosa C. 1952: 77.

⁷³ Chambry E. 1925–1926 divided the manuscripts of Phaedrus's fables into five classes; the second (pp. 10–12) corresponds to the so-called *Recensio Vindobonensis* (paraphrases of the oldest collection called *Augustana*). Chambry's conclusions have been partially discussed by later scholarship. On the Greek manuscript used by Valla and Ermolao, see Cocco C. 1993: 33–37.

this collection a success. It was soon published in Milan in 1474 by Antonius Zaroto, a first for Aesopian collections. Six years later the Latin version by Rinuccio d'Arezzo was chosen to accompany the first printed edition of the Greek Aesop, even though in 1505 it was replaced by the one by Aldo Manuzio senior, and the doctor from Ulm, Heinrich Steinhöwel, inserted a selection of Rinuccio's fables in his Latin-German *Äsop*. However, during the sixteenth century Rinuccio owed his fame in France principally to his presence in the Parisian and Lyonese editions of the *Aesopus Dorpii*.

As noted previously, this collection was composed for didactic use, in order to provide a Latin text of Aesopic fables that better responded to the humanistic precepts and to provide an alternative to the Aesop by 'Walter of England', which up to then was the text in the curriculum. The *Dorpius* had a long and complicated life that was retraced by P. Thoen in the seventies.⁷⁴ This scholar segregated three groups of editions on the basis of place of origin and the variation in content. Before going on to the French editions and their translations, it seems appropriate to point out some details of the genesis and peculiar features of this collection.

The Dutch Humanist Martin Dorp (1485–1525) was a theologian as well as a famous humanist and a good friend of Erasmus;⁷⁵ he taught Latin at the University of Louvain between 1501 and 1510 and significantly modernised the teaching methods, which he modelled on Italian humanism. Therefore he conceived a collection of fables meant to provide the students with an Aesopic text that brought to light what he considered to be the stylistic features of the original Greek: prose form, brevity and clarity. E. Gonzáles's research, which complements that of P. Thoen, has revealed that the first edition of the Martin Dorp collection was published in Antwerp in 1509.⁷⁶ It contained the 45 fables that Gulielmus Hermannus Goudanus (Willem Hermans of Gouda) had adapted in humanistic Latin prose. Actually, Goudanus had not based his work on a Greek text, as he did not know the language, but had adapted the *Aesopus moralizatus*, that is, the collection by 'Walter of England' enriched with inter-linear glosses and comments. The Dorpian edition of 1509 also

⁷⁴ Thoen P. 1970 and 1973.

⁷⁵ On Martin van Dorp, see *Contemporaries of Erasmus*: I, 398–404 and De Vocht H. 1934.

⁷⁶ Gonzáles Gonzáles E. 1998.

included some stray fables by Aulus Gellius, Politian and Crinitus (P. Ricci).

Three years later, a collection by Hadrianus Barlandus (Adrianus Cornelii Barlandus, 1486–1538) came out in Antwerpen. He too was a Humanist connected to the group at Louvain, a collaborator of Erasmus and Latin teacher at the prestigious Collegium Trilingue in the Belgian city. His adaptations of 24 Aesopic fables and 9 by Avianus were followed by a fable by Giannantonio Campano, one by Raffaele Maffei (here named Volaterranus) and one by Giovanni Battista Spagnoli (Mantuanus); this collection too was meant for a student public.

The following year the compilations by Goudanus and Barlandus were put together in a new edition (Louvain, 1513, by Thierry Martens). This edition was not edited by Dorp, who had in the meantime left the teaching of grammar and rhetoric to dedicate his time to theology, but by his friend Barlandus. This 1513 edition comprised 45 Aesopic fables from Goudanus's adaptation, a brief biography of Aesop, 22 of the 25 Aesop's fables adapted by Barlandus, the Mantuanus's apologue, 13 new Aesopic fables dedicated by Barlandus to his master P. Schot, Barlandus and Goudanus's version of Avianus's fables, five apologues by Erasmus and lastly those by Aulus Gellius, Politian, Crinitus, Campanus and Volaterranus who were already present in the earlier editions by Dorp.

In a second edition, published in 1517, the 33 fables by L. Valla were added, and in 1519 so was the first *Hecatomythium* by Laurentius Abstemius (Lorenzo Bevilacqua). Rinuccio d'Arezzo's fables were inserted in the German editions from 1521.

The *Dorpius* was known in France from 1527; the first Parisian edition of the Dorpius-Barlandus collection was published that year by Robert Estienne.⁷⁷ It included the fable sets by Goudanus, Barlandus and Valla, as well as the stray fables. Those by Rinuccio and Abstemius were added in the 1529 edition.⁷⁸ Another stage in the French history of this collection is represented by the Lyonese edition by Sebastianus Gryphus (1536), which added the second *Hecatomythium* by L. Abstemius and the 78 fables that Aldo Manuzio senior had published together with the Greek text in 1505 (called 'Incerto Interprete' in the *Dorpius*).

⁷⁷ Thoen P. 1970: 257, 283–84.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

I have dealt at length with the Dorpian collection because it exhibits a new way of expressing the formal qualities of fables. The *Dorpius* is equally important in the development of the French fable: the extent of its influence is proved by the fact that of the nine collections published in French during the sixteenth century, seven used it as their unique or at least predominant source.

*Chronological Table of French Aesopic Collections Dating from the Fifteenth
and Sixteenth Centuries*

<p><i>Subtilles fables de Esope</i> de Macho, Lyon, 1480</p>	<p>(Translation of the <i>Vita Aesopi</i> and of <i>Steinhöwels Aesop</i>—except 3 fables—, 16 editions between 1480 and 1572)</p>
<p><i>La Mer des Histoires</i>, Paris, 1488–89</p>	<p>(Translation of <i>Rudimentum Novitorium</i>, adaptation of the <i>Speculum Historiale</i> by V. de Beauvais; 29 fables, 4 editions)</p>
<p><i>Chroniques abrégées</i>, ms. fr. 15.219 et al.</p>	<p>(29 fables by Vincent de Beauvais)</p>
<p>G. Tardif, <i>Les Apologues de Laurens Valle translatees de latin en François</i>, no place or date of publication [Paris, Vêrard, after 1492]</p>	<p>(33 Greek Aesop's fables turned into Latin by L. Valla and in French by Tardif)</p>
<p><i>Isopet III de Paris</i>, ms. fr. 983 end XVth century</p>	<p>(42 fables, paraphrases of the <i>Isopet I</i>: transl. from Anonymus Neveleti)</p>
<p>Pierre Sala, ms. Pierpont Morgan Library, 422 (1522) ms. British Museum, Add. 59.677 (1522–26?)</p>	<p>17 fables in verse; 13 fables in verse (but incomplete; 7 new fables)</p>
<p>Gilles Corrozet, <i>Fables du tres-ancien Esope</i>, Paris, Denis Janot, 1542</p>	<p>(100 verse fables from <i>Dorpius</i>; 10 editions during the sixteenth century)</p>
<p><i>La vie et les fables d'Esope Phrygien, traduites de nouveau en français selon la verité graecque</i>, Paris, E. Groulleau 1547 et Lyon, F. et Ch. Marchant, 1547</p>	<p>(116 fables from <i>Dorpius</i>—in later editions, 123; 17 editions between 1547 and 1651; updated by J. Baudoin, 1631 and by Balesdens in 1645; in 1646 by Emanuele Tesauero)</p>
<p>Guillaume Haudent, <i>Trois cens soixante et six Apologues d'Esope</i>, Rouen, Dugord, 1547, 2 vols</p>	<p>(367 fables from <i>Dorpius</i>; 3 editions)</p>
<p>Gilles Corrozet, <i>Second Livre des Fables</i>, Paris E. Groulleau, 1548</p>	<p>(together with a reissue of the first fable book; 73 fables alternately in prose and in verse; only one edition)</p>

Glaude Luython, <i>La merveilleuse et joyeuse vie de Esope (. . .) avec aucunes fables</i> , Anvers, 1548	(22 fables, from <i>Dorpius</i> and Steinhöwel; 3 editions between 1548 and 1642; school text to learn French and German)
Philibert Guide, <i>La Colombiere et maison rustique</i> , Paris, Robert le Fuzelier, 1583	(22 fables from Plutarch; 3 issues and a reissue in a collective edition of poetry no place or date of publication)
Estienne Valancier, <i>Colloque des vrais amans, fait par sonnets</i> , 1584	(36 fables in sonnets at the end of the volume; redrafted Aesopic tradition)
Estienne Perret, <i>XXV. Fables des animaux</i> , Anvers, Christophe Plantin, 1578	(24 fables from the Flemish translation of <i>Dorpius</i> ; 4 issues)
<i>Esbatement moral des animaux</i> , Anvers, Gerard Smits, 1578	(125 fables in sonnets, then 121 pieces in 1595 edition; 2 issues)
<i>Theatre des animaux</i> , Paris, Simon Douget, 1595	(100 fables identical to those in the <i>Esbatement</i> ; 4 editions.)

The first French fabulist to use the Dorpian collection was the Parisian bookseller Gilles Corrozet (1510–1568), who contributed greatly to the spread of Renaissance culture; his wide-ranging interests extend from history to philosophy, to poetry.⁷⁹ In 1542 he adapted 100 fables taken mainly from Goudanus, Barlandus and Rinuccio using a varied metre and a typographical structure similar to that of the emblem. As this collection was in many ways innovative, it was republished ten times during the century. Its second book of fables, which came out six years later (1548, published by Estienne Groulleau), was less successful but no less innovative. The 73 new fables were in fact alternately in prose and in verse and based essentially on the texts of Lorenzo Valla, Aldo Manuzio and again Rinuccio.

During the same years and with the same editor, an anonymous collection came out in prose. This translation, in an elegant and flowing style, was made with the purpose of closely following the classical models in style; therefore, the translator used as his source 116 texts chosen from the fables of Valla, Rinuccio and Barlandus in the *Dorpius*. The title is of particular importance in clarifying the translator's intentions: *La vie et les fables d'Esope Phrygien, traduites de*

⁷⁹ On Corrozet, see Tiemann B. 1974; the two collections published by Corrozet have been edited by Queux de Saint-Hilaire M. 1882 and by myself (Cifarelli P. 1992a).

nouveau en français selon la vérité grecque.⁸⁰ The fundamental contradiction, which is also shared by the two sets of Latin fables that gave origin to the *Dorpius*, is the absence of any link to the Greek Aesopic text, stylistic features of which could be glimpsed only through the adaptations of the Latin humanists. All the same, the difference between this translation and that by Macho is remarkable. We will take the example of the fable *De Vulpe et Ruvo*, in the Latin version by Rinuccio d'Arezzo and in the French translations, to show that the different results that translators reach is due to two different conceptions of fable goals but also to a divergent way of intending the translation. The greater fidelity to the Latin text and the care taken in lexical, morphological and syntactic choice of the anonymous translation of 1547 mirrors the desire to transpose the original text with its formal characteristics, and not just to translate the Latin text. Just as important is the absence of any moralising addition, which Macho inserts to introduce and conclude the narrative:

De vulpe et ruvo (Rinuccio, X)

Vulpe, cum sepe[m] quandam ascenderet ut periculum vitaret quod sibi eminere videbat, rubum manibus comprehendit atque volam sentibus perfodit et, cum graviter saucia foret, gemens inquit ad rubum: "Ut me iuuares cum ad te confugerim, tu deterius me perdidisti!" Cui rubus: "Errasti vulpes,—ait—que pari dolo me capere putasti quo cetera captare consueuisti!" Fabula significat quod stultum est auxilium implorare ab illis quibus a natura datum est obesse potius quam aliis prodesse.

Du Regnard et du Buisson (Macho, *Subtilles Fables de Esope*, Nouvelle translation, V)

L'on ne doit point demander aide a ceux qui ont plus acoustumé a nuyre que a prouffiter, ainsi qu'il appert par ceste fable d'ung regnard, lequel, pour eviter le peril d'estre prins, monta sur ung buisson d'espine, auquel tres grandement se blessa. Et, en plourant, dist au buisson: "Je suis venu a toy pour moy saulver et tu m'as blessé jusques a la mort." Et le buisson dit: "Tu as erré et tu te abusses bien, car tu me cuidois prendre ainsi que tu as acoustumé de prendre les gelines." Et, pour ce, il ne te fault point aider a celui la qui a acoustumé de mal faire, mais plus tost l'on lui doit nuire.

Du Renard et du Buisson (Anonymous 1547, LXXIII)

Le Renard sautant sur une haye pour eviter le danger qui étoit près de soy, empoigna le buisson à belles pattes, et se perça le creux d'icelles d'épines. Et se voyant ainsi

⁸⁰ This collection has not been re-edited in modern times; for bibliography, see Mombello G. 1981: 54–81, Mombello G. 1980: 14–34 and Tiemann B. 1974: 182–90.

blessé, se complaignoit au Buisson, disant: "Je m'estoye retiré vers toy, affin que tu m'aidasses, et tu m'has nauré plus mal-heureusement. Le Buisson lui répondit: Tu te trompes compagnon, tu me voulois prendre comme tu has accoutumé de prendre toutes autres choses."

Another striking feature of the anonymous translation of 1547 is the internal sequence of the fables: even if their source is the *Dorpius*, the order in this collection is that of the *Steinhöwels Äsop*; this detail illustrates that at about the middle of the sixteenth century the two Latin collections were in competition with each other and were both very popular.

In 1548 a new adaptation in verse of almost all of the *Aesopus Dorpii* (367 fables) was published in Rouen by Guillaume Haudent, a Norman man-of-letters who also translated Erasmus and Politian.⁸¹ However, his collection was republished only three times and so apparently did not enjoy the same success as the anonymous one of 1547 or of Corrozet.

To the group of collections from the middle of the century listed above must be added a brief school text by Glaude Luython, used mostly to improve knowledge of French and of German,⁸² another two translations were published in 1578 in Antwerpen: the twenty-five fables in verse by Estienne Perret and the *Esbatement Moral des Animaux*, which contains 125 fables in sonnets.⁸³ Both collections were based on the *Dorpius* through mediation of the Flemish version by Edewaert De Dene.⁸⁴

From this rapid analysis of the French versions of the *Dorpius*, it is possible to come to a few general considerations on the evolution in taste characterizing the history of the fable genre in France during the humanistic and Renaissance period.

First of all, the line that unites the different French collections of this period is represented by the moralistic weight attributed to the

⁸¹ The text was re-edited at the end of the sixteenth century by Lormier Ch.: 1877; bibliography on this fabulist is listed in Mombello G. 1981: 122.

⁸² This text is entitled *La merveilleuse et joyeuse vie de Esope, en François et bas Allemand, diligemment revue et corrigée, avec aucunes Fables du mesme composées, et moralizees, tres utiles a ung chascun* and was published in Anvers by Gregorius de Bonte in 1548; on this collection, see Mombello G. 1981: 82–96 who also gives bibliography.

⁸³ About these two collections see Mombello G. 1981: 135–38 and 139–48. One hundred pieces coming from the *Esbatement moral* were re-edited in Paris from 1595 under the title *Le Theatre des Animaux* (Scharpé 1900: 41 et passim; Mombello G. 1981: 149–51; Cifarelli P. 1993: 28).

⁸⁴ See Scharpé 1900: 5–63.

fable. From all the prologues at the beginning of the collections it is apparent that the objective of the fabulists was to teach moral principles, both lay and Christian, in a pleasant and amusing form. In this sense, the continuity within the ancient and medieval traditions was unbroken, as the *topos* of the *docere et delectare* appears as a constant in the genre. We quote here once more the prologue to the anonymous translation of 1547, which uses an array of metaphors to illustrate this concept.

Je gage quand tu venois à penser à ce nom d'Esopé que tu ne considerois qu'une personne en toutes sortes contrefaicté, et mise en avant pour faire rire le monde: et quant au mot de fable, tu ne l'as entendu que pour mensonges et absurditez. Maintenant si delaissant l'escorce, tu venois à vivement goûter du fruit interieur, si oubliant la couverture de la bouteille tu venois à tater du vin précieux qui est dedans, si laissant là le corps d'Esopé, tu venois à diligemment contempler la vivacité de son esprit, si ne prenant égard à ce mot de Fable comme tu l'as entendu autrefois, tu viens à contempler l'image de verité: l'espere que tu diras que nous nous n'avons point en vain remis cest oeuvre en sa netteté, et que tu te contenteras de nostre labour. A Dieu sois tu.

The illustrations that adorn all the volumes of fables appearing between the end of the fifteenth century and the sixteenth century contribute to this poetic principle. The engravings were in fact not only ornaments but also didactic tools, and they had an important mnemonic function in representing the truth.

Moreover, it appears that the middle of the century represented a turning point in the choice of sources. Considering the editions of the French translations of the *Steinhöwels Äsop*, we can see that their chronological distribution is very significant. Before 1550 their number was considerably high, (seven before 1499 and another seven before the middle of the century), whereas after this date they lower to two.⁸⁵ Also, the last collection of the sixteenth century that used Steinhöwel as a source (i.e. Luython) dates to the middle of the century. Parallel to the decline of the collection that marked the transition from the Middle Ages to humanism is the rise of the *Dorpius*: after a primary phase in which it faced the lasting success of the more antique collection, the innovative conception on which it is based triumphed.

Even here, however, a common element is to be noted. Both collections, thanks to their translations, emerge from their original sphere

⁸⁵ Mombello G. 1981: 17–29.

and enter popular literature. The translations of the *Steinhöwels Äsop* rapidly take this path, while the *Dorpius* has to wait until a rearranged version of the anonymous version of 1547 finds its way into the Bibliothèque Bleue of Troyes.⁸⁶

Another interesting aspect on the transformations undergone by the genre during the sixteenth century comes from the analysis of the form of narration. In his comparative analysis of the Latin Aesopic collections, P. Thoen has concluded that, compared with the earlier collections, the *Dorpius* represented a more advanced stage on the road to humanism but also showed to what extent the attempt to renew the form and the language of the traditional subject in this collection was the result of a basic ambiguity: the editors of this collection, who had stylistic and literary ambitions, “n’avaient remarqué que dans l’antiquité les fables ‘littéraires’ furent composées en vers, tandis que les fables en prose constituèrent des collections anonymes presque sans valeur”.⁸⁷ This contrast between verse and prose can also be seen in the French versions.⁸⁸ Once again, the middle of the century represents a key moment in which the stylistic tendencies of French fabulists seem to become transformed. In fact before 1542 prose was undoubtedly the most common form used for recounting fables, whether for the predominant interest in the moral significance of the apologue shown by Macho-Steinhöwel or for the desire to imitate the Latin humanistic collections shown by Tardif and the anonymous translator of 1547, the prose form appears to be an essential component of the genre in the first decades of the century. It is significant to note that the only collection in verse composed before 1542 (i.e. Sala’s compilation) remained in manuscript.⁸⁹

Conversely, after the first half of the century, as we have seen, compositions in verse dominate the scene of Aesopic fables. The role played here by Corrozet is quite important, as in sixteenth century he was the first to put Aesopic material into verse, with a metric variety that for many years remained unrivalled. Apart from the

⁸⁶ Mombello G. 1981: 75; the edition of the Bibliothèque Bleue dates from 1714 and is preserved in the British Library.

⁸⁷ Thoen P. 1970: 301.

⁸⁸ On this subject, see Cifarelli P. 1993: 28–30.

⁸⁹ The two hand-written collections of Aesopic fables by Pierre Sala have been studied and edited by Forni-Marmocchi A. 1974–1975: 149–87; Forni-Marmocchi A. 1977–1978: 129–63.

publication of the anonymous collection of 1547 and the mixed collection by Corrozet, no other fabulist ever used prose again. Of course, these data have to be put into the perspective of considering the long-lasting success of the anonymous translation,⁹⁰ but it is all the same remarkable that all those who attempted to adapt Aesopic subjects after 1550 universally preferred verse. This point suggests that, in accordance with the more general developments of literary history in this period, in which the Pléiade is a bright star, fabulists too felt the need to go beyond the discovery and assimilation phase of the humanistic model and to pass on to a phase of formal elaboration of the models. Thus the fable emerges as one of the principal forms in which the classical heritage and the new culture blend together.

The changing process that we have tried to sketch seems to be achieved towards the end of the sixteenth century, when fabulists begin to feel the need to abandon the sources they had traditionally used as inspiration, anticipating a tendency that will dominate in the following century.

The fables of Philibert Guide and of Estienne Valancier represent an important stage down this road. The first of these two fabulists adapted into decasyllables 22 pieces taken from the moral works by Plutarch, through the French version by Amyot.⁹¹ As for Valancier, he included some fables in his *Colloque des vrays Amans* (1584).⁹² The connection between Valancier's fables and the preceding tradition is even weaker than those of Guide. The 30 dizans and the six sonnets that make up his brief collection transform the material not only in form but also in subject.

This further step forward in the process of appropriating the Aesopic heritage by French fabulists will lead to the masterpieces of La Fontaine. Synthesising the vast and multiform traditional heritage with new ideas, the poet will be able to create small jewels, permitting a genre that all too often had been considered of minor value to enter the world of literature through the front door.

⁹⁰ The editions of these collections between 1547 and 1651 number 17; see Mombello G. 1981: 61–73.

⁹¹ See the modern edition by Rovero L. 1987; on Plutarch's diffusion in France see Aulotte R. 1965 and the chapter by Alain Billault in this volume.

⁹² Edition in Longeon Cl. 1973: 298–317; see also Cifarelli P. 1992b: 47–56. R.W. Lamb, *Annales Phaedriani, 1596–1996: A Bibliography of Phaedrus* (Lowestoft: privately printed, 1998), became available after I had written this chapter.

DRAMA

Gillian Jondorf

Quand aux comedies & tragedies, si les roys & les republicques les vouloient restituer en leur ancienne dignité, qu'ont usurpée les farces & moralitez, ie seroy' bien d'opinion que tu t'y employasses, & si tu le veux faire pour l'ornement de ta Langue, tu scais ou tu en doibs trouver les archetypes.¹

This quotation from the manifesto of the Pléiade calls explicitly for a neoclassical vernacular drama.² Du Bellay's wish was fulfilled with the performance of the tragedy *Cléopâtre captive* by Etienne Jodelle a member of the Pléiade, in Paris in the winter of 1552/3. Jodelle's comedy *L'Eugène* must have been written at about the same time, as well as another comedy, *La Rencontre*, which is lost.

I shall discuss tragedy and comedy separately, and comedy more briefly than tragedy, but first a remark about texts which applies to both. Some twentieth-century editions of plays which are likely to be available in libraries have been listed in the bibliography, but the most convenient presentation of sixteenth-century texts will eventually be in the series *Théâtre français de la Renaissance* which is still appearing. Details of the volumes which have appeared so far will be found in the Bibliography under the name of one of the founding editors, Enea Balmas; I have referred in this chapter to texts which are already available in this edition by the abbreviation TFR followed by series number and volume number; thus Jean de La Taille's *Saül le furieux* has the reference TFR I, 4, indicating that it appears in volume 4 of the 'Première série', which covers 'La tragédie à l'époque d'Henri II et de Charles IX'.

Tragedy

Within a few years of the publication in 1549 of Du Bellay's *Deffence et illustration* several kinds of tragedy had been published, but only

¹ Joachim Du Bellay, *La Deffence et illustration de la langue françoise*, published 1549.

² Du Bellay 1970: 125–6.

one kind which really met his requirements. There were Neolatin tragedies like the *Julius Caesar* of Marc-Antoine Muret (published among his *Juvenalia* in 1552) and the biblical play *Jephthes* of George Buchanan (published in 1552 but written in the 1540s). There were edifying Protestant plays published in Switzerland which were called tragedies but bore little resemblance to classical models, for example *Abraham sacrificant* by Théodore de Bèze, performed in Lausanne in 1550 (TFR I, 1), and *La Desconfiture de Goliath* by Joachim de Coignac, published in Geneva in 1551. Both of these resemble mystery plays more than classical tragedies. There were translations of Greek plays into both Latin and French, some of which pre-dated Du Bellay's pamphlet (see below). In 1556, at the demand of Catherine de Médicis, Mellin de Saint-Gelais translated into a mixture of prose and verse (and with several alterations and cuts) the Italian regular tragedy *Sofonisba*, by Trissino, published in Rome in 1524. There were also translations of Seneca, such as Jacques Toutain's *Agamemnon*, published in 1556. But original tragedy of a classical type in French was presumably what Du Bellay had in mind, it is of this that Jodelle's *Cléopâtre captive* was the first example, and it is through this that the classical heritage may be said to flow on into the following century, although not without interruption.

Sixteenth-century humanist tragedy was to be eclipsed for a long time by the reputation of the seventeenth-century tragedians, particularly Corneille and Racine. When critical interest in earlier tragedies revived in this century, they were inevitably compared to the later plays, usually to their disadvantage. An increased interest in rhetoric, and understanding of its place both in education and in literary composition, led to a more positive view (exemplified in Griffiths, 1970) but the numerous studies by Raymond Lebègue (1944, 1977–8) are still worth consulting, while a useful overview is provided by Geoffrey Brereton's *French Tragic Drama in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (1973). The fullest list of French tragedies from 1550 to 1640, in chronological order of publication, can be found in Forsyth 1994: 425–72 (this is an enlarged and revised edition of a work which first appeared in 1962). The essays which accompany the texts in Balmas *et al.* 1986– constitute a useful body of recent critical work on sixteenth-century plays.

The writers of tragedies in sixteenth-century France were all competent in Latin, so Seneca was the obvious choice of 'archetype', and Seneca's influence on the subject matter, structure, and lan-

guage of humanist tragedy is plain. However, even those who knew little or no Greek had access to Greek tragedy, particularly Euripides (and Sophocles to a lesser extent) thanks to numerous translations into Latin or French. For example, Lazare de Baïf (father of Jean-Antoine de Baïf who was a member of the Pléiade) published a translation of Sophocles' *Electra* (into alexandrines) in 1537. Erasmus's Latin versions of Euripides' *Hecuba* and *Iphigenia in Aulis* had appeared in 1506, and other Latin translations of Euripides included *Medea* (1544) and *Alcestis* (1556) by George Buchanan.³

In spite of the awareness of Greek tragedy among the writers of the first humanist tragedies in French, Seneca is clearly the most prominent model, and Horace, rather than Aristotle, the most widely-read ancient theorist. Seneca's plays are useful and congenial models for these writers from various points of view. Just as in Seneca's Rome, education in sixteenth-century France laid great emphasis on rhetorical training. Senecan tragedy (including plays of doubtful authorship such as *Hercules Oetaeus* and *Octavia*) can best be understood as an experiment in declamatory drama, and the focus is on arguments presented in elegantly worked language rather than on action and character development. French writers had learned during their studies to imitate such speeches in exercises of prosopopeia. Seneca's style is rich in antitheses, points, stichomythia, and *sententiae*, and these features were all imitated by the French humanist tragedians. Seneca was a Stoic, and many passages in the tragedies, particularly the *sententiae*, and some choric odes, reflect Stoic teaching; this was another feature which harmonised with French humanist interests, as well as with the views of theorists of tragedy who said that tragedy should be edifying. The *Octavia* is not now thought to have been written by Seneca, but by an unknown writer after the death of Nero in AD 68; however it was accepted as part of the Senecan corpus in the sixteenth century and therefore provides a precedent for writing plays on historical subjects. (Tragedy on serious subjects from Roman history, known as *fabula praetexta*, was probably invented by the playwright Naevius in the 3rd century BC, but the *Octavia* is the only extant example.) The historical subjects chosen could even include very recent events (justified by the *Octavia*, whose action takes place in AD 62; Seneca died in 65), such as plays

³ Other examples are cited by Donald Stone Jr, 1974: 67-8.

on events during the French Wars of Religion. Examples include propagandist plays like François de Chantelouve's *Tragedie de feu Gaspar de Colligni* (TFR II, 1) published in 1575, defending Charles IX's part in the Massacre of Saint Bartholomew (1572). (This and other examples are discussed in Jondorf: 1969, pp. 122–125). Antoine de Montchrestien's play about Mary, Queen of Scots, *L'Escossoise*, appeared in 1601 and in a revised version as *La Reine d'Escosse* in 1604 (Mary was executed in 1587). It is more even-handed than the propagandist plays, showing both the anguish of Elisabeth (Elizabeth I) in yielding to the *raison d'état* and ordering the Scottish queen's death, and the pious resignation with which the latter accepts her sentence and faces death; in this it is very unlike the *Octavia*, which (not surprisingly) sides completely with Nero's neglected wife Octavia.

In the rest of this section I shall concentrate on the plays of a small number of sixteenth-century French dramatists, chosen partly on grounds of personal preference and partly because their works are reasonably accessible.

Etienne Jodelle, whose Cleopatra play has already been mentioned as the first French-language classical play to be performed, wrote another tragedy as well, *Didon se sacrifiant*, published posthumously in 1574 (TFR I, 5), but probably written in the 1550s. All Seneca's tragedies except the *Octavia* are on subjects from Greek tragedy, but while *Cléopâtre captive* can be said to follow the example of *Octavia* by treating a subject from Roman history (and the main source is Plutarch), the Dido play is based on Book 4 of Virgil's *Aeneid*. These two plays exemplify many of the most characteristic features of humanist tragedy. Following Horace's precept (in his *Ars poetica*) that the dramatist should launch the play *in medias res*, both plays start very late in their stories. Mark Antony (Antoine) is already dead before the opening of the Cleopatra play, and appears only as a ghost (like the ghost of Thyestes which opens Seneca's *Agamemnon*); Aeneas (Enee) has already made his decision to leave Carthage at the opening of the Dido play. Both plays contain very long speeches, for example *Cléopâtre captive* opens with a speech by 'L'Ombre d'Antoine' of 106 lines, while Enee's first speech in *Didon se sacrifiant* is 110 lines long. (Senecan speeches are often very long: in his *Agamemnon*, Eurybates narrates the return journey of Agamemnon from Troy in a speech of 158 lines. In Toutain's translation, this grows to 202.) In his use of stichomythia (dialogue in which two characters speak a single line each for a considerable stretch), Jodelle is more sparing than some later sixteenth-century writers, and he varies the Senecan model by,

for example, having three characters engaged in the exchange of lines as in this passage of dialogue between Cléopâtre and her two attendants, Eras and Charmium, from *Cléopâtre captive*:

- CLEOPATRE: Que gagnez-vous, hélas! en la parole vaine?
 ERAS: Que gagnez-vous, hélas! de vous estre inhumaine?
 CLEOPATRE: Mais pourquoy perdez-vous vos peines ocieuses?
 CHARMIUM: Mais pourquoy perdez-vous tant de larmes piteuses?
 CLEOPATRE: Qu'est-ce qui adviendrait plus horrible à la vue?
 ERAS: Qu'est-ce qui pourroit voir une tant despourvüe?
 CLEOPATRE: Permettez mes sanglots mesme aux fiers Dieux se prendre.
 CHARMIUM: Permettez à nous deux de constante vous rendre.
 CLEOPATRE: Il ne faut que ma mort pour bannir ma complainte.
 ERAS: Il ne faut point mourir avant sa vie esteinte.
 CLEOPATRE: Antoine ja m'appelle, Antoine il me faut suivre.
 CHARMIUM: Antoine ne veut pas que vous viviez sans vivre.
 CLEOPATRE: O vision estrange! ô pitoyable songe!
 ERAS: O pitoyable Roine! ô quel tourment te ronge?
 CLEOPATRE: O Dieux! à quel malheur m'avez-vous allechee?
 CHARMIUM: O Dieux! ne sera point vostre plainte estanchee.
 CLEOPATRE: Mais (ô Dieux!) à quel bien, si ce jour je devie!
 ERAS: Mais ne plaiguez donc point, et suivez vostre envie.

In spite of its unusual three-voice structure, this passage has the characteristic patterns of matching and contrast between *répliques* (for example 'Il ne faut que ma mort . . .', 'Il ne faut point mourir . . .') and much use of exclamations and questions. Both plays are rich in sententious lines, sometimes Stoic in colouring ('Une eternelle nuit doit de ceux estre aimee/ Qui souffrent en ce jour une peine eternelle . . .', Cléopâtre in *Cléopâtre captive*, I) and sometimes expressing the poignancy of human love thwarted by higher forces ('De la foy des amans les Dieux ne font que rire', Enee in *Didon se sacrifiant*, II). *Cléopâtre captive* has a chorus of Alexandrian women but *Didon se sacrifiant* follows the example of several Senecan plays in having two choruses, one Trojan and one Carthaginian, so that both main characters are supported by a 'public' voice. The requirement for a tragedy to have five acts (based on an imperfect understanding of the structure of ancient tragedy) combined with the entry *in medias res* means that the 'action' in these plays as in most other humanist tragedies is spread thin, and as in later tragedy most physical activity takes place off-stage and is reported, although there are several striking exceptions to this practice in sixteenth-century tragedy.⁴

⁴ See Jondorf 1990: 136.

One more respect in which Jodelle's pattern holds for later plays is in the models he chooses for his choric passages, including Horace (from whom Seneca had also borrowed).

Jodelle was the first to write an original tragedy in French on the classical model, but the most prolific playwright of the period was Robert Garnier. Like Jodelle and many others, he wrote his first play (*Porcie*, 1568) as a young man, but unlike most others he continued to write plays almost to the end of his life, producing in all seven tragedies and the first French tragicomedy (*Bradamante*, 1582). The tragedies include three on subjects treated by the Greeks and Seneca (*Hippolyte*, 1573; *La Troade*, 1579; *Antigone ou la piété*, 1580), three on Roman history (*Porcie*, 1568; *Cornelie*, 1574; *Marc Antoine*, 1578), and one on a biblical subject, *Les Juifves* (1583). This last follows the example of Seneca's *Phoenissae* and *Troades* in taking its title from its chorus: the Jewish women are part of a group taken captive along with king Zedekiah (Sedecie) by Nebuchadnezzar (Nabuchodonosor) and awaiting their fate in Antioch. Garnier gives his sources as the books of Kings, Chronicles, and Jeremiah, and also the *Antiquities of the Jews* by the first-century Jewish historian Josephus. Senecan influence in this play can be seen not only in the features mentioned in connection with Jodelle, but also in the characters of Nabuchodonosor (whose first speech is adapted from a speech by Atreus in Seneca's *Thyestes*) and of Sedecie's mother Amital, who is clearly reminiscent of the Hecuba both of Seneca's *Troades* and Garnier's own *Troade* (TFR II, 1). *Les Juifves* is the best-known sixteenth-century tragedy and is notable for its fine lyric passages of choric writing (particularly those based on the psalms of exile), its strong modulations of mood and atmosphere, its use of (fairly crude) tragic irony, and the three striking figures of Nabuchodonosor, Amital, and Sedecie.

Garnier was not the first tragedian to use biblical material. As well as the Calvinist plays already mentioned, a more classicising use of biblical material can be found, before Garnier's *Juifves*, in the work of Jean de La Taille. La Taille wrote two plays on biblical subjects, and when he published the first one in 1572 (*Saül le furieux*, TFR I, 4) he provided it with a prefatory essay, 'De l'art de la tragédie'. In this he sets out concisely a recipe for tragedy derived mainly from Horace's *Ars poetica* (including unities of time and place, characters of high rank, movement from good fortune to disaster). He also recommends a process of 'contamination' to help in the

composition of regular tragedies on new subjects. The method consists of exploiting parallels between situations in the new material and those in ancient plays, and combining the new material with Senecan characteristics of form and style. The title of his Saul play indicates that its model is Seneca's *Hercules furens*, and in his other tragedy, *La Famine, ou les Gabaonites* (1573) he imitates the Senecan scene (in *Troades*) where Andromache hides Astyanax in Hector's tomb and Ulysses discovers the hiding-place.

We know very little about performances of sixteenth-century tragedies, except that they usually took place either in an educational institution or in a great house, sometimes a royal one. Performances at court may have been quite lavish⁵ but those in schools and colleges were probably modest. We do not know how the chorus was handled, how many people it contained, whether multiple choruses were on stage at the same time (Garnier's *Antigone* has three choruses), or even whether they spoke or sang. A rather enigmatic clue can be found in the *Brief discours pour l'intelligence de ce théâtre* with which Jacques Grévin accompanied his *César* (1561). This essay states Grévin's claim to have written 'la première tragédie française' (which is true if we understand him to mean that his is the first original French tragedy (i.e. not a translation) to be published, as Jodelle's plays were not published until 1574). He also comments on his choice of a group of Caesar's veteran soldiers for his chorus, saying: 'j'ay faict la troupe interlocutaire de Gensdarmes des vieilles bandes de César, et non de quelques Chantres, ou autres, ainsi qu'on a accoustumé'.⁶ Grévin certainly implies that he has seen choruses of 'Chantres' in other plays (perhaps Jodelle's? perhaps some Latin play like Muret's *Julius Caesar*?) and found them implausible. In times of upheaval, he says, 'le simple peuple n'avoit pas grande occasion de chanter', and tragedy is supposed to be a representation of truth, therefore choruses should not sing. A precarious argument, since presumably the ancient Romans did not speak in verse either. Helen Purkis argued that choruses in humanist tragedy were spoken, not sung⁷ but this view has been contested. Recently, Frank Dobbins found musical

⁵ See Lebègue 1946 for details of expenditure on sumptuous cloth for stage decoration and costumes for a court performance in 1556.

⁶ The *Brief discours* does not accompany the text in TFR I, 2 but may be found in other editions listed in the Bibliography and in Lawton 1949.

⁷ Purkis 1960.

settings for three choric poems from Garnier's *Porcie* in a sixteenth-century collection of music by Charles IX's organist Guillaume Costeley,⁸ this is an interesting discovery but though suggestive it does not prove that choric odes were normally sung, or even that these three were sung in the context of a performance. The texts published by Costeley have been shortened, and Roman references changed to French ones. Dobbins suggests that this was done to make the play more appropriate for performance at court, but there is no evidence that any of Garnier's plays was ever performed at court, indeed the sour tone in the dedicatory letter of his last tragedy, *Les Juifves* of 1583 ('l'ingrat exercice des Muses, où je ne me suis que trop inutilement esbatu') tends to confirm this lack of royal patronage. The question therefore remains open.

Humanist tragedy of the type that originated in the Pléiade circle had a last flowering at the end of the sixteenth century in the plays of Antoine de Montchrestien, whose style is highly rhetorical, who still uses choruses, and whose plays are variously on mythological, biblical, ancient historical, and modern historical subjects. But by this time, and into the early decades of the seventeenth century, plays were already appearing of a type usually referred to as 'tragédie irrégulière', and although subjects were often still taken from classical mythology (for example Alexandre Hardy's *La Gigantomachie*) or from history (Hardy's *Coriolan*), there were also many plays based on Spanish or Italian sources; tragicomedies (pioneered by Garnier with *Bradamante*, 1582) and pastorals became common, and the mould of Senecan form was broken.

Classical tragedy re-emerged in the 1630s, with the genre's rules (much the same as those which had prevailed in the previous century, but no longer requiring a chorus) re-stated by Chapelain⁹ and Jean Mairet.¹⁰ *Vraisemblance* (credibility) and *bienseance* (decorum, both what is appropriate to the character and the situation in the play, and what conforms to the principles and taste of the modern audience) are the overriding principles which justify the rules. The best-known dramatist of this period, Pierre Corneille, always had a somewhat argumentative attitude to the rules and claimed that he

⁸ Dobbins 1997; Costeley 1570.

⁹ 'Lettres sur la règle des vingt-quatre heures', 1630.

¹⁰ Preface to *Silvanire*, 1631, referring particularly to comedy but stating that the same considerations of vraisemblance and taste apply to tragedy.

was ignorant of them when he began to write; but in his abundant use of *sententiae* and other conspicuous rhetorical figures and of debate scenes, he shows some similarities to his sixteenth-century predecessors and thus to Seneca. In the next generation, a notable exposition of classical principles appeared in Boileau's *Art poétique* (1674) and the practice was demonstrated by Jean Racine above all, whose fame has obscured interesting contemporaries such as Philippe Quinault (author of comedies, tragicomedies, tragedies, and in the last part of his career libretti for Lully's operas). Racine was a competent Hellenist¹¹ and his tragedies resemble those of the Greeks in their portrayal of humans doomed by forces, within or without, which they cannot control. Racine has been seen as 'obeying the rules' of classicism effortlessly and meticulously (and defends points of detail in his prefaces) but an interesting recent study argues that in all the tragedies of his mature period he is pushing at the constraints and stretching the boundaries.¹² Four of his tragedies are on Greek subjects, three from Greek or Roman history, one on a subject from the Old Testament, and one on an episode of modern Turkish history, for which there was a sixteenth-century precedent in Gabriel Bounin's *La Soltane* of 1561 (TFR I, 1). Racine's knowledge of classical literature can be detected also in unobtrusive allusions such as the echoes of Virgil in *Bérénice*¹³ and in other examples discussed below.

Although the story of neoclassical tragedy in France from its Pléiade beginnings to its most celebrated moment in the seventeenth century is not an uninterrupted narrative, yet there are continuities. Particularly memorable phrases appear and reappear, reworked by successive dramatists. Two examples will illustrate this. In Seneca's *Medea* there is an exchange between Medea and her nurse:

NUTRIX: Abiere Colchi, coniugis nulla est fides
nihilque superest opibus e tantis tibi.

MEDEA: Medea superest, hic mare et terras uides
ferrumque et ignes et deos et fulmina.

Nurse: *You are far from Colchis, your husband is faithless, and nothing remains to you of your great wealth.* Medea: *Medea remains, and in her you see sea and land and sword and fire and gods and thunderbolts.*

¹¹ See Knight 1950.

¹² Parish 1993.

¹³ Jondorf 1990: 15–20.

In the *Médée* of Jacques de la Péruse (ca. 1553, TFR I, 1), this becomes:

NOURRICE: Ainsi Jason trop ingrat te moleste,
Ainsi des biens un seul bien ne te reste.
MÉDÉE: Je reste encor, Nourrice, et en moy tu peux voir
Assemblés tous les maux que le ciel peut avoir
Pour punir grièvement les énormes injures
Des amants fausse-foi et des maris parjures.

This is rather weaker than Seneca, and the convention (observed in several early humanist tragedies) whereby only the principal characters speak in alexandrines, attendants using decasyllabics or even prose, destroys the symmetry between the nurse's last line and Medea's first. Corneille in 1635 gives the confidant an extra *réplique*, interrupting Medea's words. This version regains Seneca's vigour, though the presence of 'le sceptre des rois' is rather puzzling and is perhaps a line-filler:

NÉRINE: Forcez l'aveuglement dont vous êtes séduite
Pour voir en quel état le sort vous a réduite.
Votre pays vous hait, votre époux est sans foi:
Dans un si grand revers que vous reste-t-il?
MÉDÉE: Moi, dis-je, et c'est assez. Moi.
NÉRINE: Quoi! vous seule, Madame?
MÉDÉE: Oui, tu vois en moi seule et le fer et la flamme,
Et la terre et la mer, et l'enfer et les cieus,
Et le sceptre des rois, et la foudre des Dieux.

Other examples could be quoted from intervening plays, but here is a faint echo, perhaps, in a different context. In Garnier's *Marc Antoine* the hero and his friend Lucile discuss the debilitating and corrupting effects of 'la douce volupté'.¹⁴ Towards the end of the long dialogue come these lines;

LUCILE: Autre exemple il ne faut que du Roy d'Assyrie,
A qui ce monstre [la volupté] osta l'ame et la seigneurie.
M. ANTOINE: Autre exemple il ne faut que de moy malheureux,
Qui pers l'honneur, la vie, et mon empire heureux.

Marc Antoine combines the statement of loss (as uttered by Medea's nurse) and a self-assertion in disaster comparable to Medea's.

¹⁴ 1578: TFR II, 1.

Another very famous Senecan exchange occurs in the *Octavia*, and displays the tyrannical disposition of Nero:

NERO: Ferrum tuetur principem.
 SENECA: Melius fides.
 NERO: Decet timeri Caesarem.
 SENECA: At plus diligi.
 NERO: Metuant necesse est—
 SENECA: Quidquid exprimitur grave est.
 NERO: Iussisque nostris pareant.
 SENECA: Iusta impera—
 NERO: Statuam ipse.
 SENECA: Quae consensus efficiat rata.
 NERO: Respectus ensis faciet.
 SENECA: Hoc absit nefas.

Nero: The sword protects the prince. Seneca: Loyalty does it better. Nero: It is proper for Caesar to be feared. Seneca: But more proper for him to be loved. Nero: But men must fear—Seneca: What is forced is onerous. Nero:—and obey my orders. Seneca: Give equitable orders—Nero: I myself shall decide. Seneca:—which will be ratified by common agreement. Nero: They will be ratified by respect for the sword. Seneca: Heaven forbid!

This is echoed by Robert Garnier in Act III of *Les Juifves* (1583) when Nabuchodonosor (Nebuchadnezzar) and his queen debate ‘douceur’ versus ‘cruauté’.¹⁵ The *guillemets* in the following passage indicate *sententiae*: this typographic practice was widespread, both in editions of modern texts and in those of Seneca:

LA ROYNE: »La douceur est tousjours l’ornement d’un monarque.
 NABUCH.: »La vengeance tousjours un brave cœur remarque.
 LA ROYNE: »Rien ne le souille tant qu’un fait de cruauté.
 NABUCH.: »Qui n’est cruel n’est pas digne de royauté.
 LA ROYNE: »Des peuples vos sujets l’advis est au contraire.
 NABUCH.: »Ce que le prince approuve à son peuple doit plaire.
 LA ROYNE: »Le vice, où qu’il puisse estre, est tousjours odieux.
 NABUCH.: »La haine des sujets nous rend plus glorieux.
 LA ROYNE: »Quelle gloire de n’estre honoré que par feinte?
 NABUCH.: »Mais c’est une grandeur de l’estre par contreinte.
 »La louange et l’amour sont communs à chascun,
 »Mais de contraindre un peuple à tous n’est pas commun,
 »Il n’appartient qu’aux grans. Les Rois sont craints de force
 »Et les petits aimez par une douce amorce.

¹⁵ See DiMauro 1997/8.

LA ROYNE: Vous le serez comme eux n'aimant que la vertu.
 NABUCH.: Cela sentiroit trop son courage abatu.
 »Aux Rois qui peuvent tout, toute chose est licite.
 LA ROYNE: »Un Prince qui peut tout ne doit pas tout vouloir.
 NABUCH.: »La volonté d'un Prince est conforme au pouvoir.
 LA ROYNE: Conformez-vous à Dieu, dont la force est suprême.
 NABUCH.: Dieu fait ce qu'il luy plaist, et moy je fay de mesme.

Garnier has expanded on his model, and also incorporated echoes of other Senecan villains, for example Atreus from *Thyestes*:

Maximum hoc regni bonum est,
 quod facta domini cogitur populus sui
 tam ferre quam laudare.
 [. . .]
 Laus vera et humili saepe contingit viro,
 non nisi potenti falsa. quod nolunt velint.

The greatest advantage of kingship is that the people are compelled to praise their ruler's actions as well as endure them. [. . .] True praise often comes even to the humble man, but false comes only to the powerful. Let men choose what they do not want.

Garnier's tyrant is even more flamboyantly hubristic than Atreus, more enthusiastically cruel than Nero, and almost jaunty in his final comparison of himself to God. There are echoes of these maxims of tyranny when Racine's Néron threatens and teases Britannicus (*Britannicus* III.8):

NÉRON: Vous êtes jeune encore, et l'on peut vous instruire.
 BRITANNICUS: Et qui m'en instruira?
 NÉRON: Tout l'empire à la fois,
 Rome.
 BRITANNICUS: Rome met-elle au nombre de vos droits
 Tout ce qu'a de cruel l'injustice et la force,
 Les emprisonnements, le rapt et le divorce?
 NÉRON: Rome ne porte point ses regards curieux
 Jusque dans des secrets que je cache à ses yeux.
 Imitez son respect.
 BRITANNICUS: On sait ce qu'elle en pense.
 NÉRON: Elle se tait du moins: imitez son silence.
 BRITANNICUS: Ainsi Néron commence à ne plus se forcer.
 NÉRON: Néron de vos discours commence à se lasser.
 BRITANNICUS: Chacun devait bénir le bonheur de son règne.
 NÉRON: Heureux ou malheureux, il suffit qu'on me craigne.

Néron's last line here has echoes not only of Seneca's 'Metuant necesse est' from *Octavia*, but of the phrase 'Oderint, dum metuant' (*Let them hate, provided that they fear*) which Cicero quotes in *Philippic I* from Accius, a tragic poet of the second century BC. These words, often cited by French political writers in the sixteenth century as a tyrant's motto, were no doubt known to Seneca and perhaps are recalled in the words of his Nero, so that Racine's text may contain a double reminiscence of Accius.

One last example will show how a classical text can be transformed even as it is adapted. In Seneca's *Troades* is a scene where Pyrrhus, son of Achilles, demands that Priam's daughter Polyxena be sacrificed to Achilles' spirit because she was promised to him as his prize. Agamemnon is loth to do this, and says (in Seneca):

Equidem fatebor (pace dixisse hoc tua,
Argiva tellus, liceat) affligi Phrygas
vincique volui; ruere et aequari solo
utinam arcuissem! sed regi frenis nequit
et ira et ardens hostis et victoria
commissa nocti. quicquid indignum aut ferum
cuiquam videri potuit, hoc fecit dolor
tenebraeque, per quas ipse se irritat furor
gladiusque felix, cuius infecti semel
vecors libido est. quicquid eversae potest
superesse Troiae maneat: exactum satis
poenarum et ultra est.

It is true, I confess (and may I say this without offending you, land of the Argives!) that I wanted the Trojans to be overthrown and defeated, but I wish that I had been able to prevent the city being knocked down and flattened! But it is impossible to restrain anger and a furious enemy when night covers the victory. Whatever seemed unworthy or ferocious was caused by resentment and darkness, where rage grows of its own accord, and by the victorious sword whose thirst knows no limits. Let whatever can survive from the overthrow of Troy remain: enough punishment has been exacted, and more than enough.

And here in Act I of Racine's *Andromaque* is Pyrrhus, now at home in Epirus, speaking to the son of Agamemnon who is asking for another innocent Trojan to be killed, and speaking as, in the older plays, Agamemnon had spoken to Pyrrhus:

La victoire et la nuit, plus cruelles que nous,
Nous excitaient au meurtre, et confondaient nos coups.
Mon courroux aux vaincus ne fut que trop sévère.

Mais que ma cruauté survive à ma colère,
 Que, malgré la pitié dont je me sens saisir,
 Dans le sang d'un enfant je me baigne à loisir?
 Non, seigneur: que les Grecs cherchent quelque autre proie;
 Qu'ils poursuivent ailleurs ce qui reste de Troie:
 De mes inimitiés le cours est achevé;
 L'Épire sauvera ce que Troie a sauvé.

This is a very elegant play of allusion and reversal of roles, and the irony is only intensified by the fact that both Oreste and Pyrrhus have ulterior motives in speaking as they do. Oreste has been advised to 'demande[r] tout, pour ne rien obtenir' so he makes his request for the death of Astyanax as offensive as possible; and Pyrrhus would be delighted if Oreste left in anger, taking his cousin Hermione with him.

Classical tragedy continued into the eighteenth century, when its most successful practitioner was Voltaire, but Racine was the last exponent whose plays have continued to be highly regarded, and no-one makes more ingenious and subtle use of classical predecessors.

Comedy

Du Bellay, quoted at the beginning of this chapter, called for comedies as well as tragedies to be recreated 'en leur ancienne dignité', and in a sense his call was met, as early as the autumn of 1552 which is the date proposed by a recent editor for the composition and possibly the performance of Etienne Jodelle's comedy *L'Eugène*.¹⁶

However, sixteenth-century comedy is much less clearly stamped by its classical 'archetypes' than tragedy, in fact humanist comedy had a mixed ancestry, and it is not always possible to say whether a play is inspired directly by an ancient work or by a recent Italian one. Good introductions to Renaissance comedy are given in Brian Jeffery, *French Renaissance Comedy 1552–1630* (1969) and Geoffrey Brereton, *French Comic Drama from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (1977). The volumes of the collection *Théâtre français de la Renaissance* devoted to comedy also have useful introductory essays to each play.

Jodelle's *Eugène* did not step, as it were, on to an empty stage. The French farce was still a flourishing genre, the comedies of the

¹⁶ Anna Bettoni in TFR I, 6: 349–51.

Roman playwright Terence were widely read as part of the educational syllabus, Plautus was also well-known although his Latin was more colloquial so he was not considered such a good stylistic model for schoolboys, and some 'erudite' Italian comedies (themselves based on Roman comedy) were also known in France. The masked and unscripted *commedia dell'arte* was also known in France through visits of Italian companies, leading to a more or less permanent presence in Paris from the 1570s.

Terence's comedies are in polished Latin, and his characters, if sketchy, are presented with a kind of sympathy for human follies and weaknesses which can also be found in French comedy. Fathers tend to be grumpy rather than brutal, and the cunning slaves whose machinations often drive the plot are well-intentioned (though siding, like Moliere's servants, with youth against age). The French farces have bawdy subjects involving stereotyped characters, are written in octosyllabic rhyming verse and are usually fairly short.

A brief examination of a selection of comedies from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries will show how entwined is the classical heritage with other ancestral forms in comedy. A quotation from Terence will emphasise this in advance. In his prologue to *Eunuchus*, defending himself against a charge of plagiarism, Terence points out that the same characters appear and re-appear in everyone's comedies:

Colax Menandrist: in east parasitus Colax
 et miles gloriosus est: eas se hic non negat
 personas transtulisse in Eunuchum suam
 ex Graeca: sed ea ex fabula factas prius
 Latinas scisse sese, id vero pernegat.
 quod si personis isdem huic uti non licet:
 qui magis licet currentem servom scribere,
 bonas matronas facere, meretrices malas,
 parasitum edacem, gloriosum militem,
 puerum supponi, falli per servom senem,
 amare, odisse, suspicari? denique
 nullumst iam dictum quod non sit dictum prius.

The Flatterer is a play by Menander; one of the characters, the flatterer, is a parasite, and there is also a boastful soldier. This writer [Terence] does not deny that he has transposed these characters from the Greek play into his Eunuch, but he denies absolutely that he knows of any earlier Latin plays based on this original. But if the playwright is not allowed to use the same characters, why is it more permissible to write about a runaway slave, or virtuous ladies, or wicked

courtesans, or a greedy parasite, or a boastful soldier, or a changeling, or an old man deceived by a slave, or love, or hate, or suspicion? Indeed nothing is said that has not been said before.

As a modern commentator says: 'In [. . .] comedy in particular, one can go back and back for the themes',¹⁷ but the Greek originals from which Terence and Plautus derived their plots were not available to sixteenth-century readers, so just as Seneca provides most of the 'archetypes' for tragedy, so the classical input into comedy is Latin. But many elements of sixteenth-century comedy are either 'native', such as the eight-syllable line which was transferred from the farce to the new comedy, or naturalised: since comedy is defined (in contrast to tragedy) as dealing with ordinary people, the characters are located in French settings and references are made both in prologues and within the plays to contemporary events.

As with tragedy, translation preceded 'original' works, for example Charles Estienne, a noted physician who in 1551 took over the family printing business when his brother Robert had to take refuge in Geneva, had published in 1541 a prose translation of Terence's *Andria* (*L'Andrie*, TFR I, 6), preceded by a lengthy and learned 'Épître du traducteur au lecteur, en laquelle est déclarée la manière que les anciens ont observée en leurs comédies'. In Jodelle's *L'Eugène* the Terentian influence is visible in the form (five acts, observation of the unities), the occasionally serious tone, and the fairly detailed characterisation.¹⁸ From the farces, Jodelle has imitated the octosyllabic verse, the satire of priests (the title character is a lecherous priest), the stupid husband with a sexually enterprising wife, and a kind of jaunty immorality which is not Terentian. The Abbé Eugène has for convenience married off his mistress Alix to Guillaume, a simpleton who regards her as a model of pious chastity. This cosy set-up is threatened by the return of a former lover of Alix. By the end, happiness has been restored with the difference that Guillaume is now aware of his cuckoldry. He is aware of it because Eugène tells him (Act V, sc. 3):

J'aime ta femme et avec elle
Je me couche le plus souvent.
Or je veux que d'oresnavant
J'y puisse sans souci coucher.

¹⁷ Brereton 1977: 4n.

¹⁸ Jodelle 1968; TFR I, 6.

Guillaouame is so grateful to Eugène for dealing with a creditor that his reply is extremely accommodating:

Je ne vous y veux empescher
 Monsieur, je ne suis point jaloux,
 Et principalement de vous:
 Je meure si j'y nuy en rien.

The description of this play as 'essentially a farce elaborated by certain formal elements from Latin comedy' (Jeffery 1969: 13) is surely accurate, and there is nothing that requires us to adduce any Italian influence. At the other extreme, as it were, Pierre de Larivey's *Les Esprits* of 1579¹⁹ is a quite close translation of Lorenzini dei Medici's *L'Aridosio* (published in 1548). Larivey claims in his prologue to have written the play 'à l'imitation et de Plaute et de Terence ensemble', but although there are many elements in *Les Esprits* which have precedents in Latin comedy (two brothers brought up differently, as in Terence's *Adelphoe*, a pregnant mistress as in his *Andria*; a miser as in Plautus' *Aulularia*, a house which tricksters pretend is haunted in order to keep the owner out of it, as in his *Mostellaria*), all these appear in the Italian play rather than having been imitated by Larivey directly from the Latin writers. An early comedy from the Pléiade circle, Jacques Grévin's *Les Esbahis* (performed and published in 1561; TFR I, 7), is harder to diagnose. It has been seen as a free adaptation of Charles Estienne's translation of an Italian play, but also has elements which could have come straight from Roman comedy rather than by way of the Italian 'commedia erudita'.²⁰ It uses the octosyllabic verse of the farces, but within this form it displays considerable stylistic variety, contrasting the crude sexual boasting of the old man Josse (Act I, sc. 2):

J'ai encor' la verte braiette,
 Et nonobstant que je sois blême,
 Si ai-je mon outil de même
 D'un aussi gaillard entretien,
 Que tu saurois avoir le tien

with the more literary and sentimental language of the young lover L'Avocat (Act II, sc. 1):

¹⁹ Larivey 1978.

²⁰ Chasles 1970: 40.

Ma Madelon, que j'aimais mieux
 Ni que mon coeur, ni que mes yeux,
 Qui, pour son amour acquérir,
 M'a fait cent fois le jour mourir,
 A qui, comme un vrai serviteur,
 J'avais du tout voué mon coeur . . .

The characters are the familiar comic types as cited by Terence, but they are rooted in French society and contemporary events and have professions—laundress, lawyer. The *miles gloriosus* (who in Italian comedy at this time would be a Spaniard) is an Italian, Panthaléoné, who is mocked for his boastfulness and his cowardice, his awful serenades, and his nationality. His name comes from the *commedia dell'arte*, where Pantalone is not the boastful soldier (Capitano) but a character like Grévin's Josse. In other words, Grévin has shaken up his ingredients and produced something fresh. French comedies written in the sixteenth century show varying proportions of their ancestral elements: verse form and indecency from the farces (though some comedies are in prose); prologue and five-act structure from Latin comedy, either directly or by way of Italian comedy; some names and situations from the *commedia dell'arte*; characters from any or all of these sources. This can be said to hold in the seventeenth century too. Indecency fades; the pregnant mistress becomes the imaginary wife and child of Dorante in Corneille's *Le Menteur*, the *miles gloriosus* becomes Matamore in Corneille's *L'Illusion comique*; Molière's *L'Avare* draws on Plautus—or perhaps on Larivey? Classical ancestry cannot be identified in comedy with anything like the same certainty as in tragedy.

THE CLASSICAL HERITAGE IN FRENCH ARCHITECTURE

A. Trevor Hodge

It is a truism that the historical heritage of modern France rests largely on the foundations of Greco-Roman civilisation. To the Greeks it owes a debt, in common with other countries, for such concepts as democracy, drama, literacy, and—for it is often forgotten—coined money. The Romans gave it law, the alphabet, its language (for though perhaps only a Roman would describe Parisian French as a late and degraded local dialect of Latin, the derivation is plain and true), and perhaps even a sense of national unity that France never quite lost; one may compare the history of unromanised and balkanised Germany, until the unification under Bismarck.

The Greek civilisation of Provence, long before the Romans, gave the Gauls their first taste of the classical way of life, particularly wine and writing. Yet, despite the Greek influence in the Midi, notably at Marseilles, where the Greek language remained in regular use even during the Roman period, the Greeks left on the ground few tangible remains to influence their modern successors. Usually this is because whatever architectural fragments survived are now buried under a French city on the same site. The best example of this is Antibes (ancient Antipolis), and also a large part of Marseilles (ancient Massalia) itself; the only completely open sites where an ancient Greek city is now exposed to view are Glanum, near St. Remy de Provence, and St. Blaise (ancient name unknown), near Martigues.

Antiquities of Roman date however, are numerous and often well preserved. The most famous, and justly so, are probably the Pont du Gard (celebrated, for example, by a mass fête in 1825 on the occasion of a visit by the Duchesse d'Angoulême) and the Maison Carrée at Nîmes, for the Temple of Augustus and Livia at Vienne has never attracted the same attention. Other Roman structures, such as the amphitheatres at Nîmes, Arles or Fréjus, the theatre at Orange, or the Baths of Cluny, at Paris, though perhaps offering as striking an impression, are less germane to our immediate purpose for they did not offer a model readily corresponding to the architectural

needs of a later age and a different society. In contrast, the Pont du Gard was explicitly imitated in the aqueduct bridge at Roquefavour, built in 1842–1847 by Montricher to carry the water supply of Marseilles. Indeed, he deliberately designed it so as to be one and a half times as big as the Pont du Gard so as to show that he could do what the Romans did, but even better. His success may be measured by the fact that tourists coming across it in the twilight have been known to take it for a genuine Roman antiquity. And an even larger version of this three-tier structure had been attempted in 1684 by Vauban to bring water from the River Eure to the fountains of Versailles, but had to be abandoned as simply too large and ambitious a scheme, also beset by an epidemic of malaria in the work force, after the first tier of arches had been built. They still may be seen spanning the valley at Maintenon, near Chartres. The Maison Carrée, on the other hand, despite a long history of public use, as a town hall, church, even a stable, and now a museum, has not greatly inspired imitation, nor have the amphitheatres, though still a welcome venue for popular concerts and bullfights, begotten any progeny in French theatre architecture. There is no link between Orange and the Paris Opéra, and the well preserved Roman amphitheatre in the heart of Paris, on the rue Monge, remains completely unknown to the tourists, and even many Parisians.

It is not that in the great age of classical, or classicising, architecture, say from 1750 to 1900, these monuments were unknown to French architects. They were perfectly familiar and indeed the *Compagnons Tailleurs*, an eighteenth-century guild of stonemasons, had as part of their training a required circuit of visits to such things as the Pont du Gard, where they have left their names incised onto its piers as proof of their presence as prescribed. The explanation lay elsewhere.

In this period architecture was highly academic, more so than in other countries. It was academic in two senses. One was that the French monarch, and later the French republic, was much given to organising the study of the arts and humanities under established, official academies. The first to be founded, by Richelieu for Louis XIII, was what is still the most famous, the *Académie Française*, responsible for a kind of supervisory study of language and literature. Under Louis XIV, first Mazarin and then Colbert founded a whole series of Royal Academies to study the various arts: Painting and Sculpture (1648); Dance (1661); *Belles Lettres* (1663); Science

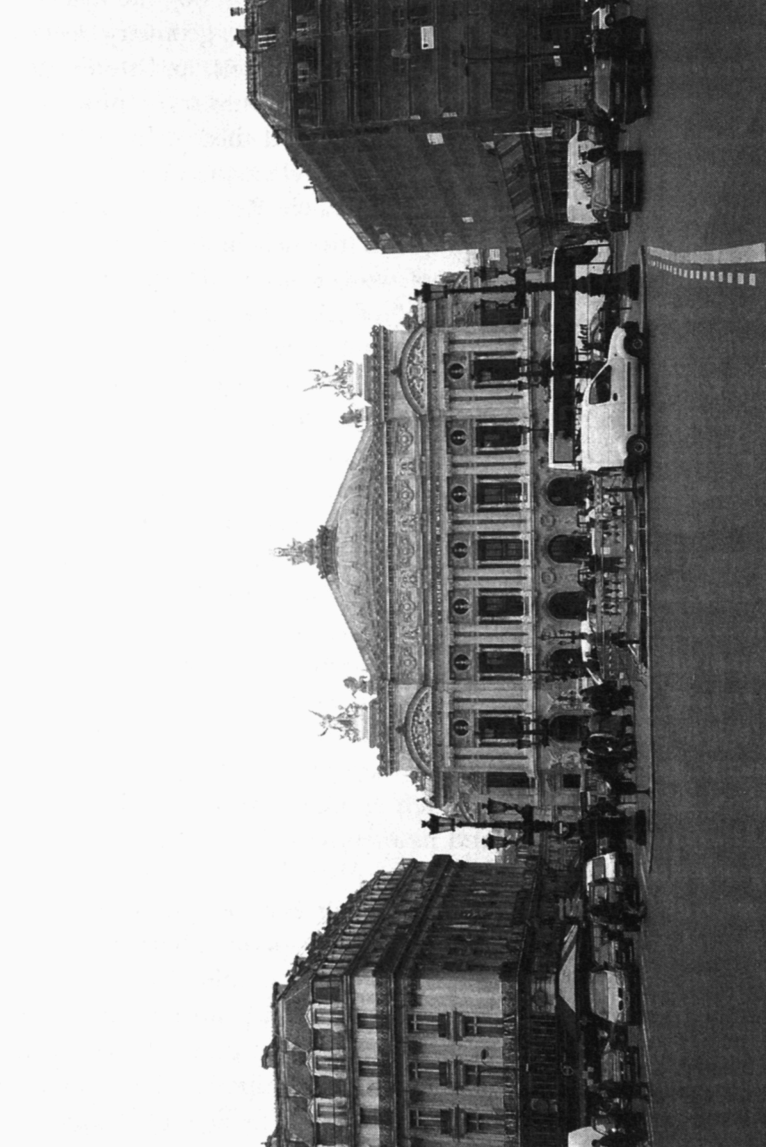


Fig. 1: Garnier's *Opéra*, Paris.

(1666); Music (1669); and finally, Architecture (1671). The purpose was to centralise the power and emphasise the glory of the king, but a secondary role was, naturally, to train upcoming architects in the skills of their profession. François Blondel (1617–1686), the first director of the school, gave them lectures on arithmetic, geometry, mechanics, perspective, military architecture, fortifications, and stonecutting. By 1717 the lectures had become formalised into a set programme of study, with great emphasis on architectural theory. In 1819, after the Revolution, the academy joined with elements of the Academy of Painting and Sculpture to form the *Ecole Royale des Beaux-Arts* (under Louis XVIII), and continued the teaching of architecture. This lasted (with the admission of women around 1900) right down to the Paris riots ('Les Événements') of 1968. In that year the *Ecole's* building on the Quai Malaquais was forcibly occupied by the students on the 8 May. On 26–27 June they were ejected by the police. And on the 6 December Malraux and De Gaulle closed down for good the study of architecture in the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts*.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the great years of classical French architecture, the influence of the Academy and the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts* was all-pervasive and wholly decisive, and not even only in France. From 1846 till 1968 no less than 500 American architects were trained at the *Beaux-Arts* and carried its ideas back to the USA, while 'hundreds of other Americans not accepted by the *Ecole* were in architectural ateliers in Paris. By far the largest number of foreigners in the Section d'Architecture before the First World War were the Americans.'¹ This justifies the first half of our declaration that French architecture was academic. It all came out of the Academy and its members. But it was academic in another sense also.

We have already noted the Academy's early emphasis on theory. Its views may be summarised, risking the perils inherent in generalisation. First, it was axiomatic that such a thing as good, right, proper theory did exist, and that good, right, proper buildings conformed to it and grew out of it. Second, it was generally agreed that the prime source of good architecture was Imperial Rome, and this was an example to be followed, much as Corneille and Racine were content to base their work on stories already established in classical

¹ Arthur Drexler 1977: 464.

history and mythology. The great Gothic cathedrals, such as Reims, Orléans, Notre Dame, above all Chartres, which today are widely seen as the glorious peak of French architecture, were rejected as mere barbarism. In so far as anyone admired them at all (and if you were an architect you'd better not) they were to be admired as feats of engineering, not architecture.² The reasoning behind this remarkable dogma was set out in an 1848 memoir on the subject: 'It was the considered opinion of the Academy that new churches should not be Gothic, because Gothic churches were not the proper expression of Christianity, Gothic architecture never having penetrated Rome.'³ This goes far to explain why there is so little French architecture in the period spanning the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries carrying on the splendid tradition of the great mediaeval cathedrals. One may also surmise that this is why even classically inspired buildings reflect rather the monuments of Rome than genuine Roman buildings actually in France. The Arc de Triomphe at the Etoile, for example, owes a great deal to the Arch of Titus in the Forum at Rome and nothing at all to the equally authentic and closer Roman arch at Orange. The same is true of the Arc du Carrousel at the Tuileries, a fairly close copy of the Arch of Septimius Severus at Rome. A report of the Academy in 1835 put the matter even more clearly: "Only the study of Roman architecture in its full-blown magnificence could 'possibly safeguard the artist's taste against every temporary aberration the innovational mania gives rise to.'"⁴

It will naturally be felt that this emphasis on sometimes slavish copying should have produced a depressingly dull architecture. How then are we to explain the very real high standard of eighteenth and nineteenth century architecture that makes practically every street in Paris a pleasure to walk through? For this the credit must go partly to Napoleon III and Baron Haussmann. Napoleon, who greatly admired what he had seen of town-planning in England and particularly in the new cities of America, was also a fervent admirer of ancient Rome and much of his activities were modelled on the work

² As noted by Summerson 1980: 109, "The French never had quite the nostalgic, parochial reverence for Gothic which the English had; they admired it as engineering".

³ Richard Chafee, "The Teaching of Architecture at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts," in Drexler 1977: 100.

⁴ Neil Levine, "The Romantic Idea of Architectural Legibility: Henri Labrouste and the Neo-Grec," in Drexler 1977: 360.



Fig. 2: Arc du Carrousel, Tuileries; compare with Fig. 3.

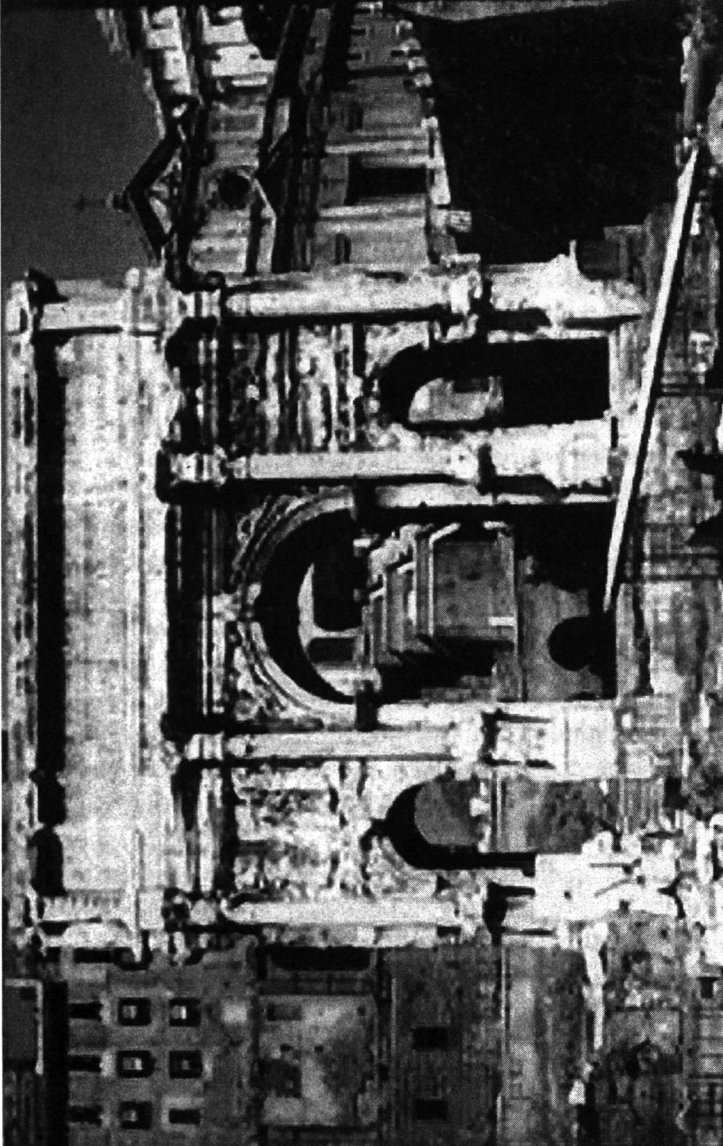


Fig. 3: Arch of Septimius Severus, Rome; compare with Fig. 2.

of Augustus. It was he personally who drew up the new street plan of Paris, implemented by Haussmann. It involved the levelling of large tracts of the narrow, twisted lanes of the mediaeval city. This created a *tabula rasa* upon which new modern buildings could be constructed, a circumstance that in itself goes far to account for the characteristic uniformity of Parisian urban architecture.⁵ Moreover, the actual layout of the new boulevards reflected a certain classical influence. The orientation of the Boulevard de Sebastopol centred axially on the Gare de l'Est, as that of the boulevards converging to present a grand vista of the Opéra and the Madeleine and, of course, the Etoile owed something to ancient Rome. Indeed, they owed it quite independently of Haussmann or any aesthetic considerations (though that was in fact a reflection of Roman principles), for the two arterial axes that he established, N-S along the Boulevards of Sebastopol and Strasbourg and E-W along the rue de Rivoli, actually followed the alignment and location of the main streets, the *cardo* and *decumanus*, of the original Roman city of Lutetia, preserved after all these centuries.⁶ Moreover, quite a lot of the street plan of the city centre of Paris is a Roman bequest. One does not think of the Boulevard St. Michel, the rue St. Jacques, the rue St. Denis, the rue St. Martin, the Boulevard St. Germain, the rue des Ecoles (alongside the Sorbonne), or the rue de la Cité (in front of Notre Dame) as being part of France's Roman heritage, but they all are.

But there are other reasons for the success of French architecture, and the position outlined above on the close link with Rome needs to be modified and explained, for though it is indeed true it is not the whole truth. First, there were certainly buildings that were clearly based on Roman originals but yet were not quite replicas. The church of the Madeleine in Paris⁷ is clearly based on the Hadrianic Temple

⁵ An interesting parallel is the town of Noto, 16km south of Syracuse, in Sicily. Completely flattened by an earthquake on 11 January 1693, it was rebuilt as a new city in the height of the current baroque style, which still reigns throughout its centre with outstanding uniformity.

⁶ Air photograph marking the Roman street plan in Wheeler 1964: 65, fig. 46.

⁷ Originally, in the atheistic 1806 of the Revolution, it was designed by Napoleon as a Temple de la Gloire, to face and complement the Temple de la Concorde—otherwise known as the Palais Bourbon and now housing the National Assembly—across the Place de la Concorde and the Seine. Hautecoeur 1957: VII, 480 remarks that the Madeleine “s’inspire de la Maison Carrée de Nîmes, mais en quadruple les mesures.” In an interesting display of the power of classicism, the design was personally chosen by Napoleon although it had been ranked third in the competi-

of Venus and Rome, though it is not a copy (it is slightly smaller in size, with eight columns on the facade instead of ten). The single most-studied (by French architects) monument in Rome, the Pantheon, bequeathed to its Paris namesake its unique plan, a domed rotunda behind a traditional pedimented porch. And Trajan's Column in the Roman Forum, surviving a proposal to move it bodily to Paris and re-erect it there, found itself reproduced in the Colonne Vendôme, its spiral frieze this time representing in 76 relief panels the various triumphs of Napoleon's armies, paralleling the celebration in Rome of Trajan's Dacian campaign, the whole surmounted on top with a statue of Napoleon dressed as Julius Caesar.⁸

And there were other factors militating against mere slavish reproduction. For one thing, there was sometimes internal resistance against this policy. Here the most celebrated leader of the opposition was the famous architect and critic Viollet-le-Duc (1814–1879), who, after working extensively on repairs and restoration of the cathedrals of Chartres, Amiens, Troyes, Reims, Paris, and the Palais des Papes at Avignon, had come to love Gothic and even proposed the virtues of artistic originality. A protégé of Prosper Mérimé (best known as the author of *Carmen* but also an Inspector of Antiquities in the archaeological service), he also managed to enlist the support of Napoleon III in an attempt to move the Ecole away from its strict classicism. However, the Emperor's edict, of 13 November 1863, reforming the Ecole's policies and curriculum, was ineffective, and Viollet-le-Duc's inaugural lecture was shouted down by the students, enraged by a government attempt to interfere with the running of the school; his resignation on 18 March 1864 marked the end of the reforms, at least for the time being.

Moreover, a study of ancient Roman buildings, however concentrated, was necessarily hampered by one glaring lacuna: all of these buildings were mere ruins, and, in particular, had no insides. The only real exception to this was the Pantheon, which had seen its

tion; he rejected the first two as being "too ecclesiastical," and in general strongly favoured the neo-classical style, 'as befitted his imperial conception of France's role in Europe' (Sutcliffe 1963: 69, with reference [his notes 7 and 9, page 210] to P. Lavedan 1975: 330 and to Hitchcock 1981: 34–35).

⁸ For an account of the various vicissitudes undergone by this column, see MacKendrick 1971: 232. His whole last chapter, Roman-Inspired Architecture in Modern France, 211–246, written from the viewpoint of a classical archaeologist, is well worth reading.

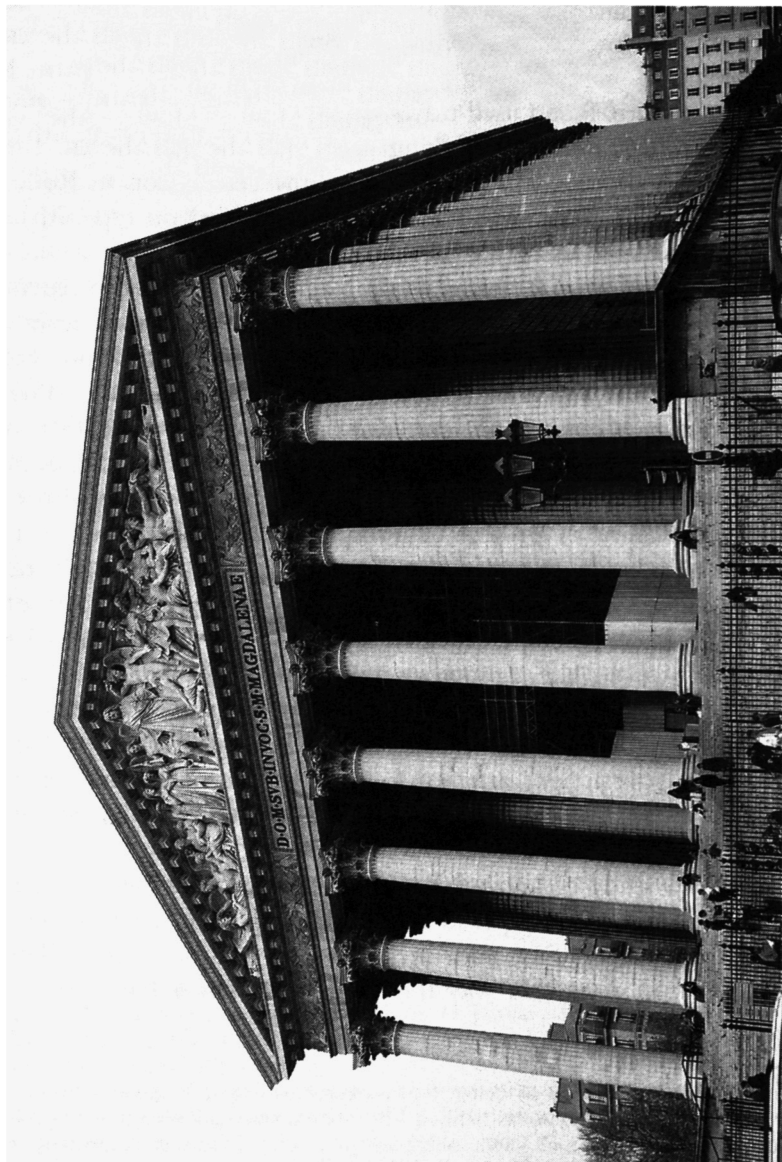


Fig. 4: The Madeleine, Paris; based on the Temple of Venus and Rome (or Maison Carrée?). See n. 7.

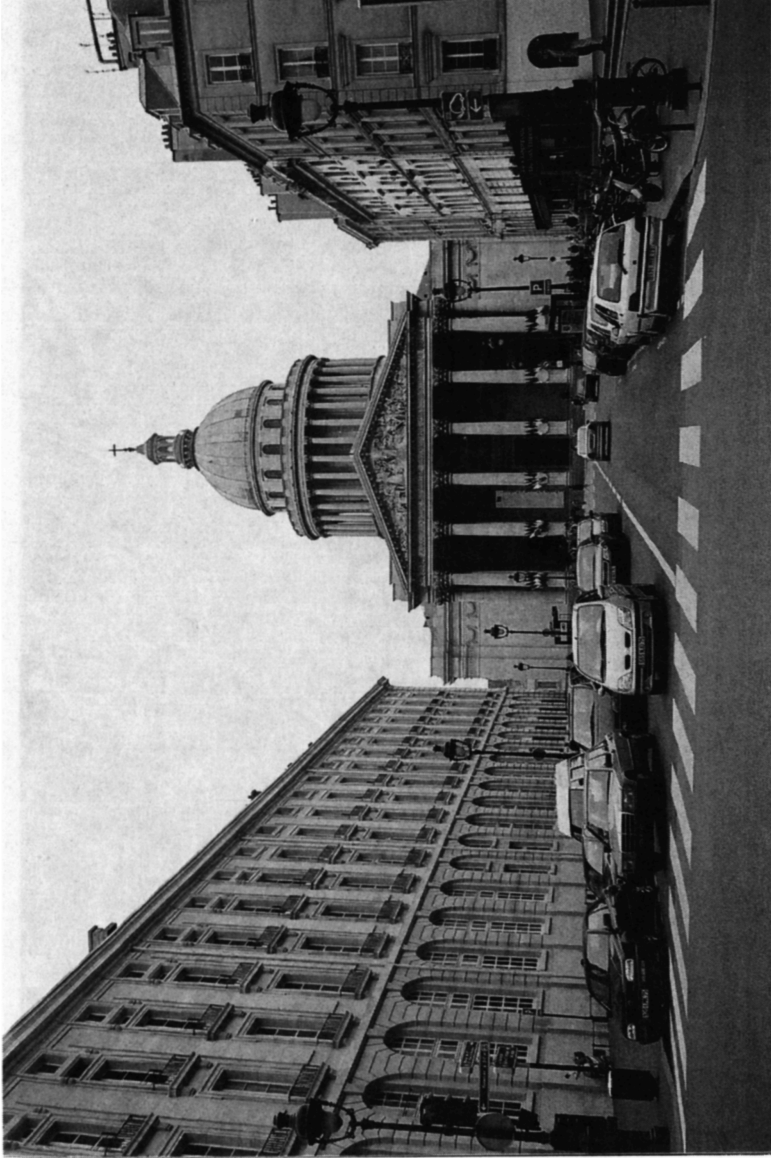


Fig. 5: The Pantheon, Paris. The combination of pediment, rotunda and dome is borrowed from the Pantheon, Rome.

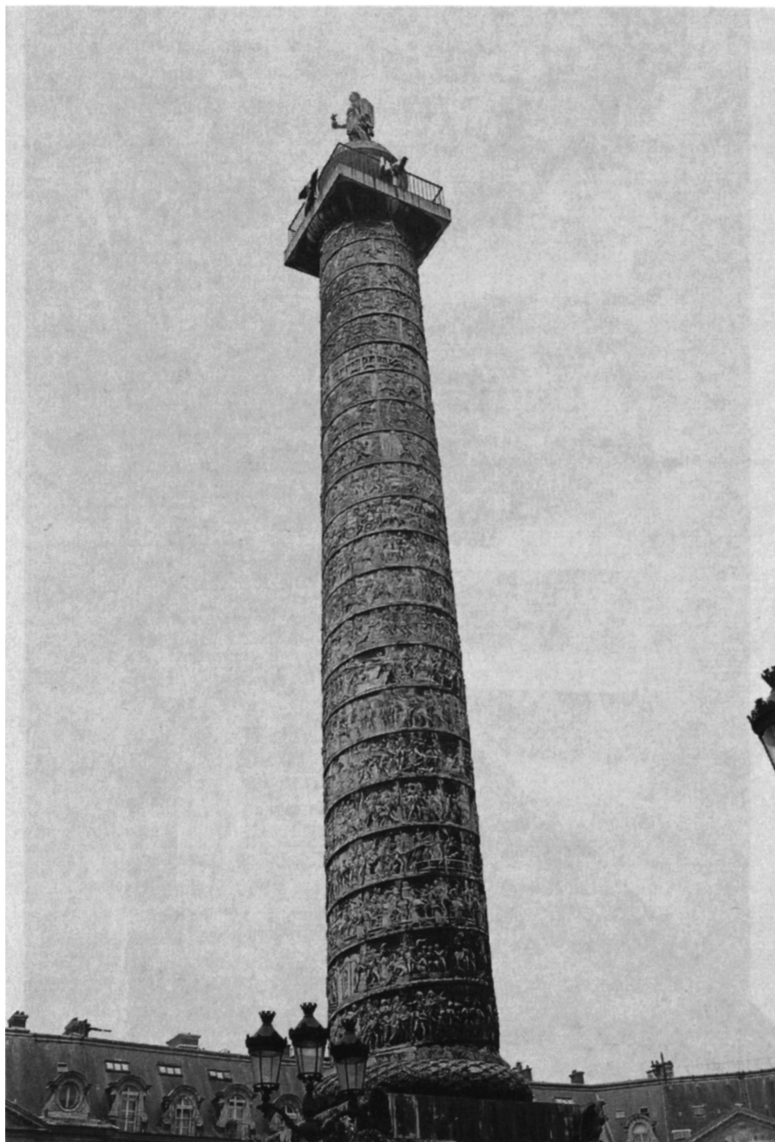


Fig. 6: The Colonne Vendôme, Paris.



Fig. 7: Trajan's Column, Rome, the inspiration for the Colonne Vendôme.

interior preserved by its use as a Christian church. Otherwise, when a French architect sought inspiration from a classical source, it was perforce limited to the exterior of the structure. When he came to the inside there were no classical interiors to inspire him. So the Hall of Mirrors at Versailles did not, could not, owe very much to ancient Rome, and the same is true of the superb marble foyer and stairways of Garnier's Opéra. He was eclectic. In external features, notably details, he followed the classical model, but in the interior the baroque. True, architects might study the painted walls and interiors of private houses at Pompeii, but this was little help for monuments on a much larger scale. Even for domestic architecture the Greek or Roman pastiche, as it has been called, had only limited influence, for it was inhibited by a royal decree of 1783 banning all projections from the facade of buildings facing the street. This was often interpreted to prohibit not only such things as balconies but even such decorative elements as pilasters and pediments, frequently resulting in the typical flat Parisian facade.

Still, there is no denying French architecture's concentration on Rome, and in practical terms it had one particular point of focus. This was the French Academy at Rome. Although a separate foundation from the Beaux-Arts, the two worked in close co-operation. Originally founded in 1666 and in 1803 installed by Napoleon I in its present location at the Villa Medici, near the church of Trinita dei Monti and the Spanish Steps, it was a recognised centre where architects and artists could stay while studying the city's monuments, and, perhaps particularly in the years 1750–1790, was very influential in guiding architectural taste.

Every year at Paris in the Beaux-Arts the best student would be awarded the Prix de Rome, marking him publicly as the leader among the country's up-and-coming architects, and this was then followed by a stay of several years at the Academy at Rome, where he would visit and study the major monuments. While at the Academy the students, the *pensionnaires*, were lodged and supported at the expense of the state. As well as Rome, they visited such nearby centres as Frascati and Tivoli, and also many Renaissance buildings which, of course, were themselves often based on the classical tradition. A further insight was generated by the architectural engravings of Piranesi, whose work (around 1740–1756) was avidly received. Catherine II of Russia bitterly regretted that he had published only

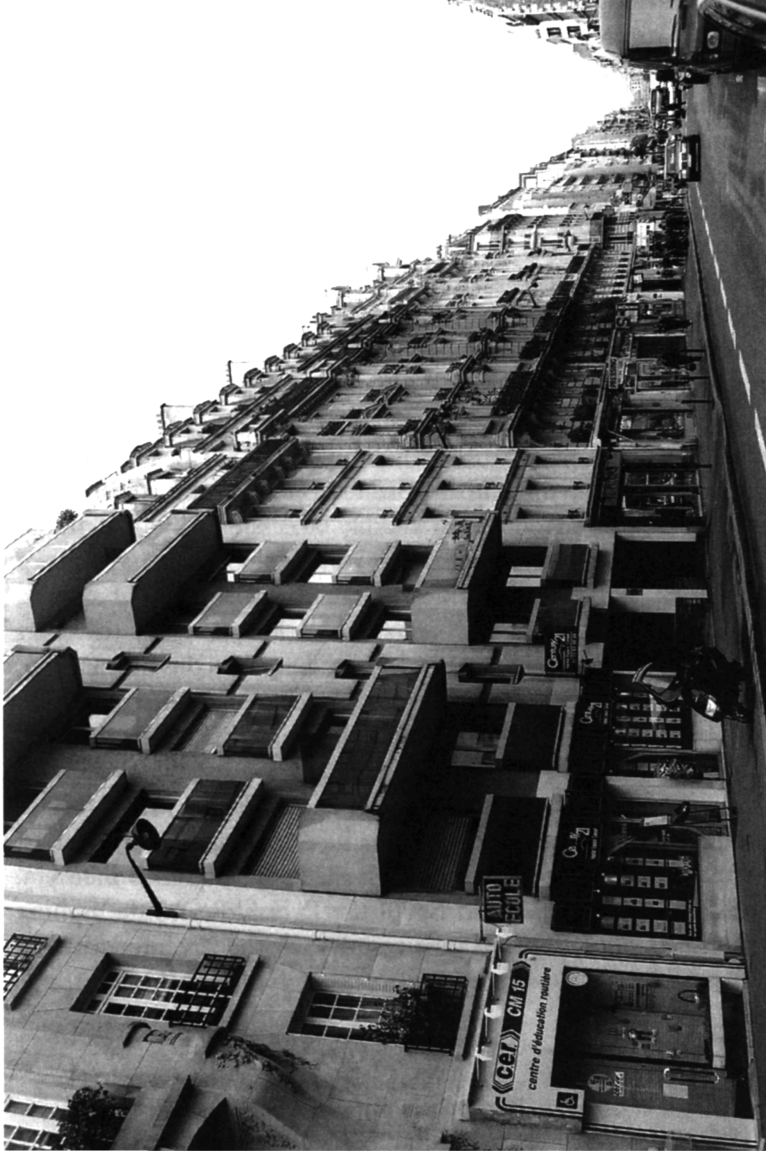


Fig. 8: The “flat Parisian façade” in the rue Lecourbe (15th arrond.). There is a notable contrast between the traditionally restricted overhang of the balconies and the larger modern balconies on the newer building to the left.

fifteen volumes.⁹ By 1778 a fixed curriculum had been laid down, and each architect was assigned one particular monument for intensive study. By 1790 there was a fixed list of such monuments deemed acceptable, and two decades later Quatremère de Quincy, Secrétaire of the Beaux-Arts from 1816 till 1839, even sought to prohibit students at Rome from travelling outside the city before their fourth year there, apparently to ensure that they did not suffer from any incorrect interpretations of good architecture following from any exposure to Greek or Etruscan work. Once back at Paris they would then spend their life in a career working largely on major buildings for the State, the aristocracy, and the rich. Such official architecture was centred on the classical model,¹⁰ and, more particularly, on Paris, France being highly centralised; this explains why the present chapter so concentrates on the buildings of the capital.

The mention of Greek antiquities brings up another point. Given the classical orientation of French architectural theory, why did Greek architecture not form part of it? How could any classically inspired architect ever overlook the Parthenon? The explanation lies in the chronology of history. Rome was readily accessible and its monuments available from the Renaissance on, while Greece remained under Turkish occupation till 1821. That is not to say, of course, that Athens remained wholly *terra incognita*. Various doughty travellers of various nationalities, of whom Lord Elgin is merely the best known, did make the trip, and the first definitive publication, the 1762–1816 four-volume *Antiquities of Athens* by J. Stuart and N. Revett, followed by the 1769 publication of *The Antiquities of Ionia* by the Society of Dilettanti, finally brought before the architectural and artistic world an authoritative vision of Greek architecture. And in 1799 the East was accommodated by Louis-François Cassa's publication of Palmyra, Baalbek, Syria and Phoenicia. In Egypt the Pyramids and the Sphinx had been known since the sixteenth century; in the seventeenth they were measured by M. de Chazelles and a two-volume French trans-

⁹ Hautecoeur 1957: IV, 9.

¹⁰ The winner of the Prix de Rome could expect "an important public appointment or contract almost immediately on his return. Indeed, he could see his way forward, with considerable confidence, to a comfortable dotage as a doyen of the profession—in addition, with a good chance of being elected as one of the eight members of the architectural academy, which would make him in his turn a judge of Rome Prize entries. Competition and continuity thus went together in the Prix de Rome" (Sutcliffe 1993: 80).

lation of the 1741 publication by Norden, in English with drawings, appeared in 1752–1755. But, despite the archaeological and academic components of Napoleon's Egyptian expedition, Egyptian architecture and styles never penetrated France, nor indeed anywhere else. The influence of Rome was already far too well and too firmly established to admit it. One may contrast the effective influence of the discovery of Japanese art upon French painting of the late nineteenth century.

But, of course, one may wonder why an acquaintance with Greek architecture would have to await the accessibility of Greece. Some of the best, and best preserved, Greek temples were in Italy; after all, for excellence of preservation there is nothing in Greece itself, except for the Theseion at Athens, to rival the temples of Poseidon at Paestum and Concord at Agrigento.¹¹ In fact, the same reason applies inaccessibility to both Greece and Italy. In the eighteenth century the Greek temples of Magna Graecia, though indeed in relatively easy reach from Rome, were located within the Kingdom of the Two Sicilies, whose monarch did not readily admit foreign scholars to study them; indeed, serious study of Pompeii and Herculaneum proved just as difficult. Moreover, travel to Paestum, even from Rome, was expensive in the eighteenth century, despite the short distance. Nevertheless, in 1764 engravings by Dumont of the Paestum temples were published in a work by J.G. Soufflot (1713–1780). In 1771 Etienne Giraud published Cumae, Baiae and Pozzuoli, while 1782 saw the appearance of J. Houel's *Voyage pittoresque des Iles de la Sicile*, followed from 1781 onwards by J.Cl. Rich de Saint-Non's five-volume publication of Magna Graecia. And by the end of the century the locals around Paestum were even making terracotta models of the temples for sale to travellers as souvenirs of their visit.¹²

The study of Greek monuments such as those at Paestum also encountered other obstacles. Though Roman architecture, particularly the Orders, was acknowledged to be derived from Greek, yet

¹¹ These are the traditional names though modern archaeology has sometimes identified a different deity as the true cult figure and this is often reflected in the publications, effectively referring to the same monument by two, sometimes even three, names. The reader should therefore be advised that the so-called Theseion is a Temple of Hephaistos, and at Paestum the Basilica, Temple of Ceres, and Temple of Poseidon (or Neptune), and the Temples of Hera I, Hera II, and Athena are in fact the same ones.

¹² Hautecoeur 1957: IV, 14.

the Greek originals, when they turned up, were therefore unfamiliar and sometimes deemed unacceptable. Traditionally oriented architects were accustomed to Roman Doric (which we often call Tuscan) columns, and did not welcome Greek Doric ones, which not only had no base or plinth, but were fluted throughout their height. Thus when Henri Labrouste (1801–1875) submitted as an academic project restorations of the three Paestan temples he encountered opposition also on grounds of engineering. The Temple of Poseidon (Neptune), he claimed, was roofed over, the roof being supported by the two tiers of superimposed columns of the still-extant interior colonnade, which, he argued, were there to cut down the span across the centre of the building and so make a roof possible. This we know to be quite correct, but it ran counter to the conviction of the Beaux-Arts authorities that the temple was hypaethral, that is, unroofed and open to the sky, the central cella being not so much a room as a kind of enclosed courtyard. This insistence they based on the fact that in his ten books on Architecture, Vitruvius spoke of hypaethral temples, and since he was a Roman source he must be right. And in fact hypaethral temples did exist, notably in the case of the Olympieion at Agrigento and Temple G at Selinus, as well as the various colossi in Greek Ionia (the Heraion at Samos, the Artemision at Ephesos, and the Didymaion at Miletos), but Poseidon at Paestum was not one of them. In any case, Labrouste's roofed-over interpretation was powerfully reinforced by the Basilica at Paestum, which he also studied, and which has a central row of columns aligned under the ridge beam, effectively ruling out any roofless hypothesis.

The respect, often undue, for the word of Vitruvius again underlines the theoretical emphasis of French classicism. Palladio (1508–1580), whose studies in Renaissance architecture often saw his name linked to Vitruvius, was similarly influential. Yet we once again must stress that this insistence on Roman-based theory did not have the all-embracing force that one might expect. In fact it concentrated on two things. One was the Orders—Doric, Ionic and Corinthian—as also various classical details in moulded decoration, friezes and such. The other was a general sense of proportions deemed proper. The orders themselves were something of an anomaly in Roman building. Originally in Greek architecture the columns were structural elements. They supported the whole. In Roman architecture usually brick and concrete formed the structural core, with Greek-derived columns added on as a surface decoration, an applied veneer that

could well be removed without affecting the stability of the building. The Colosseum, for example, shows three superimposed tiers of columns, Doric, Ionic and Corinthian (counting upwards), but they are in fact engaged columns, half-columns framing and embellishing the arches that form the real structure. This anomaly, a column that ought to be a structural support but had instead evolved into a decoration which was in engineering terms quite superfluous, caused some disputes in French architectural theory. Classical columns were indeed often used in the form of engaged columns or even pilasters, but was not this illogical? Should not a column be free-standing, a functional support? The call of logic, always strong in French thought, was particularly powerful in the Age of Reason. Rationality, the theoreticians and the philosophers of the eighteenth century claimed, was the key, or at least half of the key. The other half was Nature, for they looked at Reason and Nature and saw no inherent contradiction in this duo;¹³ the real enemy was emotion, Romanticism.

As for proportion, a general feeling for rightness and harmony, there we must tread warily. No one would deny that French classical architecture possesses these qualities, and we should not be reluctant to credit them to the students of the Academy at Rome. Yet a sense of proper proportion can be a subjective thing. Delicacy, magnificence, simplicity, logic, size can all be held to play a part in it, but all this can also be greatly beholden to familiarity. In evaluating, we are liable to think it looks right if it is what we are used to. So the harmony of French classical architecture may not perhaps be a product of an absolute and abstract sense of rightness quite so much as the eighteenth century French architects believed.

There are yet further modifications to be urged. The work of the student, or architect, at the Academy in Rome usually culminated in a drawn restoration of some classical building, normally in elevation rather than perspective. These elevations, executed with great care and detail, necessarily incorporated a good deal of imaginative reconstruction, given the ruinous state of the original. Part of the assignment was to produce a study of the building in its present state so that the evidence for the reconstruction could be seen, but it was

¹³ "La sensibilité, lorsqu'elle n'était pas corrompue par la civilisation, obéissait à l'impulsion de la nature et, par suite, à la Raison" (Hautecoeur 1957: IV, 44). He adds (45), "Une grande partie des erreurs du XVIII^e siècle et de la Révolution vient de cette confusion entre la nature, la sensibilité, et la raison."

the restored drawing that was the real object of the exercise. Again, it is impossible to avoid the conclusion that these imaginative, often imaginary, reconstructions did much to emphasise the theoretical rather than the practical aspect of architectural studies.¹⁴ Indeed, it was well known that Greek buildings often carried on their walls murals, none of which have survived. Knowing this, architects sometimes drew reconstructions of Greek buildings with murals copied from Roman villas, the only ones available—a classic case of *faute de mieux*. Moreover, a further feature of the theoretical approach is the common requirement for a student competing for the Prix de Rome to design a major but purely hypothetical building, embodying and demonstrating all that he had learned in his architectural education. This might be an embassy, a royal palace, a city hall or the like, embellished, naturally, with classical colonnades and pediments. The results were often very grand but not always realistic.¹⁵

Two further modifications remain to be noted. One was polychromy. The earliest observation of traces of colouring on the marble of Greek temples dates to the mid-eighteenth century, confirming passing references to the practice in Vitruvius, Pausanias, and the Elder Pliny. By 1850 it was generally known and accepted that the Greeks regularly painted their temples, as they did their sculpture, the commonest colours being red and blue. Greek architectural polychromy was in general relatively restrained, being usually limited to the frieze course of the entablature and various decorative mouldings. However, once its existence was recognised, academic French architects often went overboard in their use of it in their water-colour restorations, colouring just about everything in sight. In 1881 Charles Garnier, architect of the Paris Opéra, produced a superbly

¹⁴ Describing them as “compositions grandiloquentes,” Marie-Françoise Billot, of the CNRS, sums them up as “admirablement audacieuses et généralement justes dans leur principe” (*Archéologia*, Août 1982: 18).

¹⁵ A selection of these drawings is conveniently assembled and published by David Van Zanten, “Architectural Composition at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, from Charles Percier to Charles Garnier” in Drexler 1977: 111–325. Some of them are pure academic fantasies verging on the bizarre. We may note (pages 304–305) the enormous, multi-storey and towered “Large Trading Post in Alaska,” complete with snow, sledges and dog teams, as also (321, 322) designs for utility poles carrying telephone and telegraph wires, the poles unstintingly bedecked with fluted columns and corbels. Equally of interest are the pyramidal Monument to Illustrious Frenchmen (177), the award-winning bridge over a railway (212) and (306) the incredible design for an elevator so heavily vegetal that one cannot see what it is (fig. 9).

detailed and highly polychromatic—one is tempted to say technicolor—restoration of the entablature of the Temple of Aphaia on Aegina, in which hardly an inch of the stonework is visible beneath its all-encompassing paint. However, the Romans apparently left their buildings uncoloured, including even the Greek elements such as the columns, and the French academicians, for all their polychrome reconstructions on paper, never tried it on actual buildings.

The other modification is represented by a great emphasis on the ground plan, in which, in turn, symmetry was held to be a prime virtue. As a student of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts put it in the 1880s, 'The point on which French architects stand pre-eminent is planning and in the School special attention is given to planning. Each plan is composed with the greatest deference to proportion and symmetry, and the elevations follow as natural consequents'.¹⁶ The basic idea was that the ground plan dictated the essence of the building and both expressed and governed its function, hence an attractive plan would automatically produce an attractive building that worked well. And symmetry was the keystone of Greek thinking, so the plan therefore had to be symmetrical. Of course, it could also be quite complicated. The plan of the Paris Opéra is both, almost resembling a snowflake, and it certainly produced a splendid building. At the other extreme we may observe the designs by Charles Ledoux (1736–1806) for a brothel and 'Oikema,' or Museum of Vice, the ground plan of which more or less faithfully reproduces the testicles and penis of the male genitals—a somewhat idle conceit, since, as has been remarked, the resemblance could be detected only from the air. No doubt Ledoux felt that just knowing it was there was enough.¹⁷ And when Auguste Choisy (1841–1909) brought out his great history of architecture he regularly illustrated his pages with drawings of buildings, including classical monuments, in axonometric projection, a technique that looks like a cutaway representation but shows the ground plan as a true horizontal and true to scale, so that measurements can be taken directly from it;¹⁸ moreover, he drew such reconstructions as viewed not from above but from below, as if the structure were mounted on a sheet of glass and one were

¹⁶ Richard Chafee, in Drexler 1977: 97.

¹⁷ MacKendrick 1971: 229–230.

¹⁸ Auguste Choisy 1987. An engineer, he concentrated especially on construction and techniques.

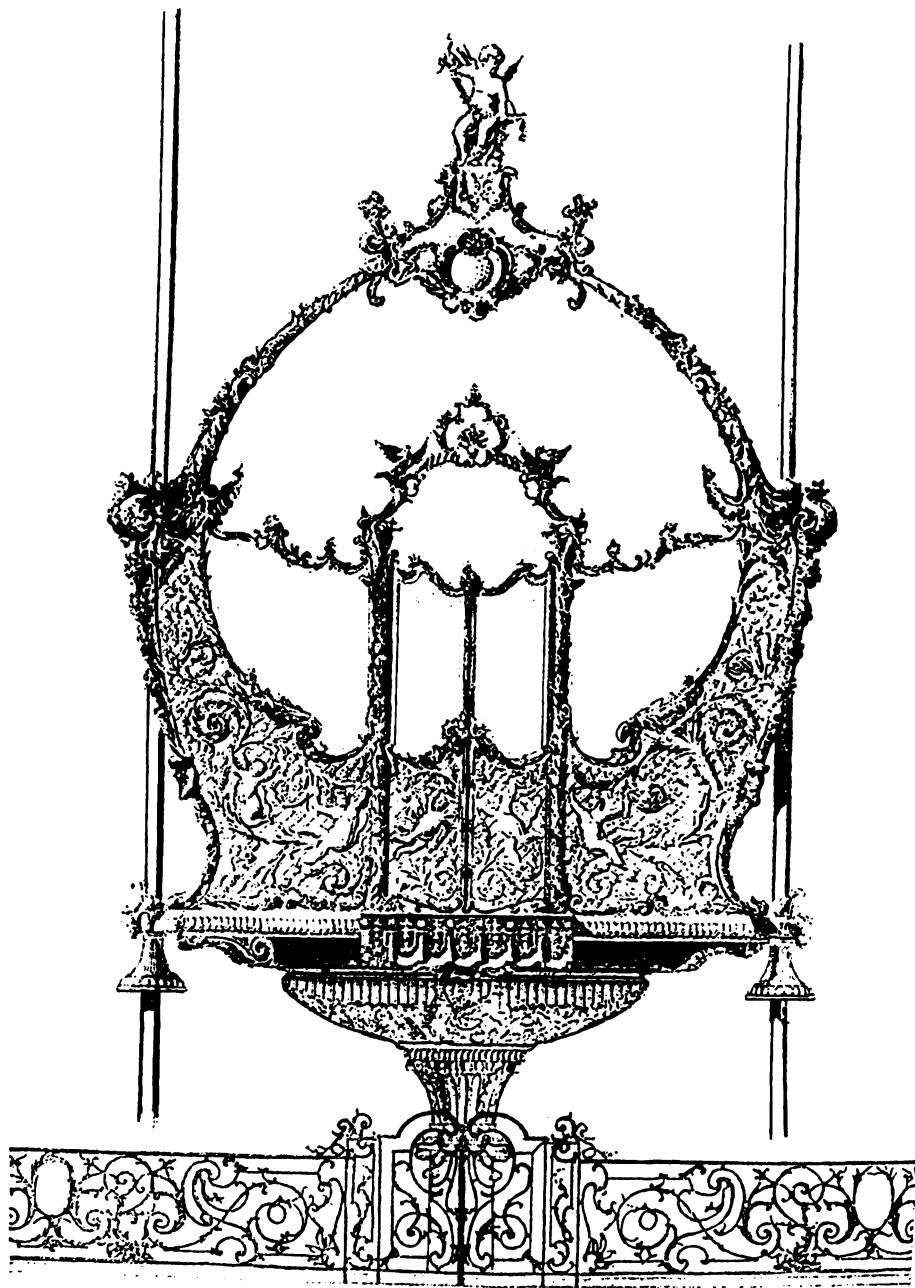


Fig. 9: A drawing of a proposed elevator, as submitted to the Ecole des Beaux Arts (see n. 15).

looking at it from underneath.¹⁹ We may also remark a further departure from strict realism in the common Beaux-Arts practice of omitting from the painstakingly executed cross-sectional drawings all structural elements, concentrating only on surface appearance. This may be seen most clearly in the area between ceiling and roof, which is often left completely blank, with no representation of the trusses or other members that would have to have occupied this space.

But as the nineteenth century progressed, strict classicism came to be increasingly challenged not only by Romanticism but by a third doctrine. This was rationalism, or, in other words, engineering, a child of the industrial revolution. Originally this was sprung from the development of new materials, notably cast iron and glass. Together, these made it possible to cover large public spaces, lit by glass roofs that were supported by iron columns that, though still often carrying ornamental classical capitals, were much more slender and less obtrusive than masonry piers, an architectural revolution no less striking than that achieved at ancient Rome by concrete. This development was accompanied by a rising need for large public buildings capable of accommodating great throngs of people. Previously this need had been pretty well restricted to cathedrals: the other landmarks of large scale architecture had been palaces, chateaux, and hotels de ville. But from around 1840 onwards the architect found himself confronted with a demand for a whole range of new structures. Such were Les Halles, the central market of Paris, department stores, the Bibliothèque Ste. Geneviève,²⁰ but above all the great railway termini that still provide so striking a feature of Paris.

The two most prominent and relevant to our purpose are probably the Gare de l'Est (1847) and the Gare du Nord (1863). They well illustrate one feature of classicism. There did exist an ancient Roman model for the accommodation of large crowds. This was the famous Roman bath complexes, notably the Baths of Caracalla and

¹⁹ "In this system one single image, as lively and animated as the edifice itself, takes the place of abstractfiguration broken into plan, section and elevation. The reader has under his eyes at one time the plan, the exterior of the edifice, its section, and its interior dispositions" (Choisy, quoted by Drexler 1977: 18).

²⁰ Les Halles, originally planned and commissioned by Napoleon I in 1811 but interrupted by the Bourbon restoration, it was eventually opened under Napoleon III. Even that was only a partial opening, for of the 14 pavilions that were to form it only 10 were open when the work was stopped by the war of 1870. The Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève (1851), built by H. Labrousse (1801–1875), features a great reading room covered by twin barrel vaults resting on iron piers.

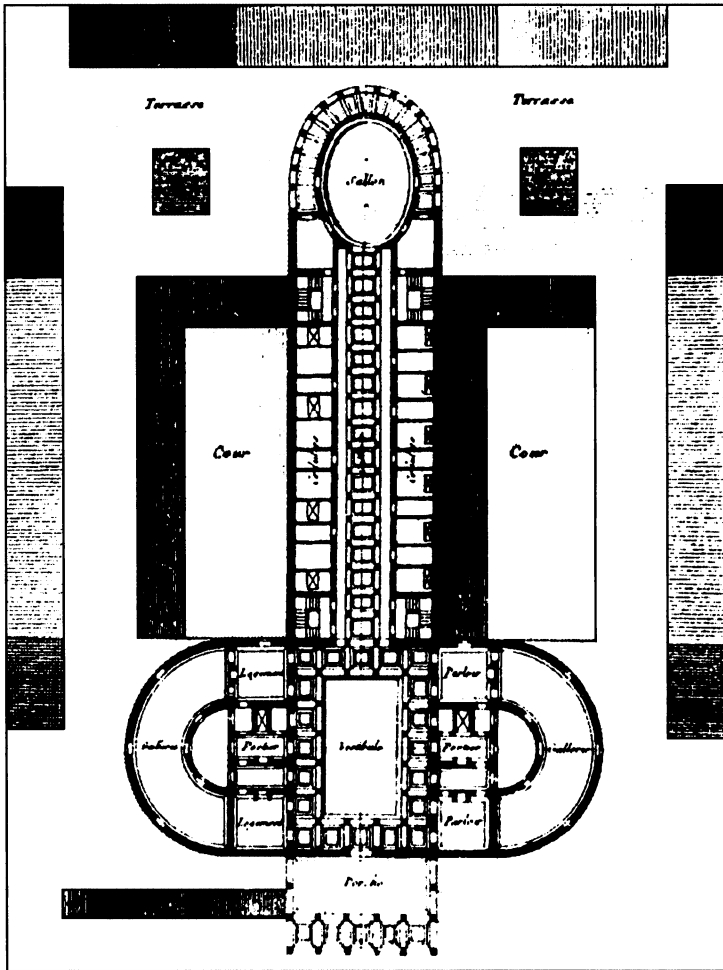


Fig. 10: Plan for a brothel and *Oikema* (Museum of Vice), by Charles Ledoux.
P. MacKendrick.

of Diocletian, where the main hall was formed by a series of connected cross-vaults. This structure has often been noted by architects as a form ideally suited to the concourse of large railway stations, and served as a model for both Grand Central Station and the Pennsylvania Station in New York (as also for the less known Union Station in Ottawa, Canada). J.L. Hittorf (1792–1868), the architect of the Gare du Nord, was thoroughly familiar with the buildings of classical antiquity, his publication of which is still a work very famil-

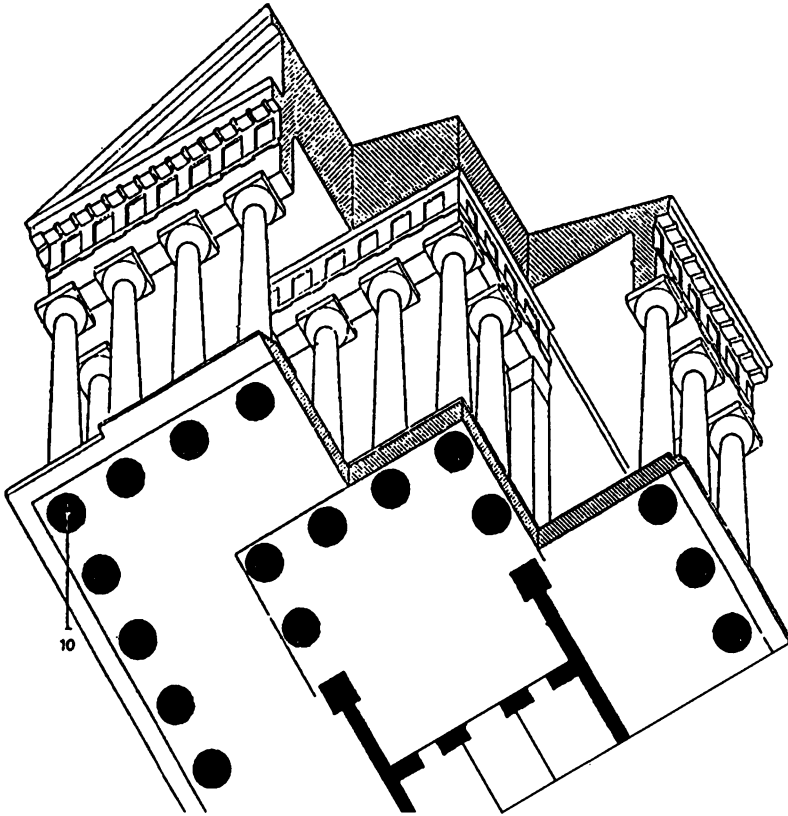


Fig. 11: Axonometric projection of Greek temple at Selinus, Sicily, by Auguste Choisy.

iar to archaeologists,²¹ but the facade of the Gare du Nord shows little trace of it, apart from decorative Ionic and Doric pilasters. Hittorf was certainly not imitating the facade of the Roman baths, for they were incredibly bare and bleak, all the magnificence being reserved for the interior. Indeed, one can stand facing the luxuriant

²¹ J.L. Hittorf and L. Zanth, *Architecture antique de la Sicile* (Paris, 1870). It concentrates mainly on the Greek sites of Segesta and Selinus, offering of this last a restored water-colour elevation in the Beaux Arts tradition. Significantly, most modern commentators on the Gare du Nord write almost exclusively on the appearance and organisation of the facade, passing over the interior in silence. One never hears a word from operating railwaymen on what they think of it (to Hauteceour 1957: VII, 317 it is “efficace et pratique”), evoking thoughts on a possible parallel

exuberance of Garnier's Opéra and wonder what it would have looked like if he had modelled it rather on what is the outstanding example of Roman classical theatre-building in France, the 7,000 seat theatre at Orange (three times the capacity of the 2,200 seat Opéra). Its facade, like the baths, is a blank wall some ten storeys high, praised by Louis XIV as "La plus belle muraille de mon royaume." One wonders if he was perhaps not being a little sarcastic. Be that as it may, Hittorf at least was well acquainted with Roman external bleakness and his station, in spite of the classical ornaments, was very much the opposite, with ornamental emphasis primarily on the exterior, while the train shed, under a lofty pitched roof of glass supported on slender iron columns (with, at the top, diminutive Ionic volutes), was very non-classical. The same general scheme, an impressive stone facade with a utilitarian metal interior, was more or less true of the other great Paris stations, especially the Gare de l'Est, long recognised internationally as the ideal of what a main line terminus ought to be. Had they been built by a Roman architect things would surely have been the other way round.²² As for the Gare d'Orsay (by V. Laloux (1850–1937)), arriving late in the day at 1898–1900, that did accommodate its traffic under a fine vaulted roof (made possible by electric traction, with no smoke and steam to be dispersed). Its structure, coffer-lined crossribs alternating with glass sections, has sometimes occasioned comparison with the vault of the much smaller Temple of Diana at Nîmes, though perhaps its booking hall, strongly recalling the cross-vaulted Roman baths, here substituted by a series of linked domes, each pierced by an opening, or *oculus*, at its peak on the model of the Roman Pantheon and

from the newly rebuilt Euston Station in London, where the destruction of the Doric Arch and Great Hall is roundly condemned by architects as an insane horror of barbaric vandalism, though the old station was grossly unsuited to actually handling trains and the new one has much facilitated passenger traffic. Hittorf's use in the train shed of glass and iron while, attempting to retain "son style grec," did not pass unchallenged by Viollet-le-Duc: "La nouvelle gare du Nord est peut-être l'erreur la plus grossière qu'aient fait commettre les doctrines exclusives professées par l'Académie." Hautecoeur, *ibid.*

²² See J. Richards and J.M. Mackenzie, *The Railway Station* (Oxford, 1936) 21. On the train shed, one is struck by the rarity of any equivalent in Paris to the majestic arched roofs of some of the London stations, such as St. Pancras, Paddington, Cannon Street, or King's Cross, not to mention European stations like Milan Central or Amsterdam; current practice, of course, is to have no train shed at all, just low awnings on the individual platforms, as at Rome Termini and Paris Montparnasse. One wonders what a Beaux-Arts classicist would make of it.

carried, as in the baths, on a series of arches and piers along each side—all this cannot but echo Roman construction, even if the lavishly overflowing decoration of the exterior facade provokes Hautecoeur's definition of it as 'style Louis XIV ferroviaire.'²³

The infiltration, or perhaps invasion, of architecture by engineering, which so led to the downgrading of classicism, was further marked by a great milestone, the Paris Exposition of 1889, the centenary of the taking of the Bastille. To underline the progress made since then the government wished to stress France's place at the cutting edge of technology. Pavilions (or *Palais*) on the site celebrated such topics as Health, Fine Arts, and various foreign countries, but its most striking features were technological rather than aesthetic. In particular, the vast *Galerie des Machines*, 420m long and 115m wide, covered in a single clear span by arched ribs of iron, was an achievement even more spectacular than the machinery exhibited inside it. Finally, the Exposition gave to Paris its quintessential symbol, the Eiffel Tower, an impractical and irrational but splendid glorification of rational architecture inspired, driven, and expressed by engineering, not classicism.

Ahead lay a whole series of reactions, leading to the Bauhaus style (which, aesthetics apart, was much cheaper to build), and in France culminating in "the most extraordinary episode in the entire history of Paris architecture . . ., one of the most daring urban projects in the world, a unique design statement comparable to the Sydney opera house"—the Pompidou Centre of the Arts in the Place Beaubourg.²⁴ This seems to have been motivated, at least partly, by a contemporary conviction that the traditional classicism of the *Beaux-Arts* had stifled, and indeed killed, French architectural creativeness, and that for good architecture and architects one had to go abroad: Rogers and Piano, the two architects chosen out of 681 entries to build Beaubourg, were British and Italian, and few Frenchmen were to be found on their enormous design team for the project.

²³ Hautecoeur 1957: VII, 442; fine illustration of the booking hall in the chapter *Beaux-Arts Buildings in France and America* in Drexler 1977: 463. For a comparison with the Temple of Diana, MacKendrick 1971: 242–243.

²⁴ Sutcliffe 1993: 180. His own views are concisely and forcefully expressed: "the inflated, self-conscious, bombastic, posturing building" (182). French popular opinion seems to be summed up in the widely heard epigram (if not epitaph), "C'est moche mais ça marche."



Fig. 12: The façade of the Roman theatre at Orange; compare with Fig. 13.



Fig. 13: The façade of Garnier's Opéra, plainly not modelled on the Roman original at Orange.



Fig. 14: The Gare du Nord, Paris; a façade very different from the austere exterior of the various Baths at Rome.



Fig. 15: "Style Louis XIV ferroviaire": the Gare d'Orsay (1898-1900), by V. Laloux.

However, Beaubourg was not the end of French classicism. The early 1970s brought a reaction against the reaction. The new, and world-wide, conservation movement, allied to a new stress on social considerations, led to a new, or rather increased, appreciation of the architecture hitherto characteristic of the city, and the importance of retaining and preserving the traditional urban environment that, essentially, made Paris Paris. Classicism was not dead. Even overseas it still commanded respect, and as late as the Second World War the leading firms of British architects were still showing to the young trainees the old water-colour restorations of the nineteenth-century Beaux-Arts as the glory of what once had been, before architects were forced into 'doing modern', as it was so described.²⁵ But in Paris the new spirit of classical conservatism was one of maturity and adaptation rather than a fossilised rigidity. The Beaux-Arts, as a teaching institution, had itself been broken up in 1968 into a series of eight *ateliers* dispersed through the city, and now the watchword was one of a humane harmony based on the existing monuments of a long-standing tradition. The wheel had not exactly turned full circle to the often inflexible, even petrified, classicism of the eighteenth century, but, as a French authority would undoubtedly put it, had managed to retain and resuscitate all that was best in it. It has seldom been better summed up than it was in a 1990 speech by one of the leading proponents of French architectural interests, Jacques Chirac, then Mayor of Paris and later President of France:

Paris has a duty to preserve its essential quality. Paris is the most human of the great capitals, and this is what distinguishes it from the world's other great cities. I hope that for a long time to come the man in the street will be able to say, like George Sand, 'I know no other city where it is more pleasant to stroll about with one's dreams.'²⁶

²⁵ Private communication from Mr. John Leaning, an Ottawa architect who was so trained in London.

²⁶ As quoted in Sutcliffe 1993: 197. For a full consideration of this partial rebirth of the classical spirit, see his pages 184–206.

SIXTEENTH-CENTURY BOOK ILLUSTRATION: THE CLASSICAL HERITAGE

Alison Saunders

Illustrations are included in books for different reasons: sometimes they complement or reinforce by visual means the message conveyed by the written text, or even add information not contained in the written text. At other times their role may be aesthetic rather than meaningful, being inserted at intervals in the text in order to adorn or lighten it, as is still the case in books published for children or reluctant readers. But often book illustration combines these two functions, being both decorative and meaningful.¹

When considering the classical heritage in French illustrated books, an obvious area to discuss is editions of the classics themselves, but classical influences manifest themselves in several other less obvious domains. Let us begin this chapter, therefore, with the apparently rather unlikely category of Books of Hours which are well known for their illustration but not for their classical heritage. Books of Hours—particularly those produced for wealthy patrons with richly ornate illuminations—are normally associated with the manuscript tradition, but late fifteenth- and early sixteenth-century French printers such as Simon Vostre, Gilles Hardouyn, Antoine Vérard or Thielmann Kerver moved early into this lucrative market, publishing luxury copies of Books of Hours printed on vellum and decorated with ornate woodcut figures in imitation of their manuscript predecessors. Indicative of the demand for such printed Books of Hours is the fact that Vérard alone produced some eighty editions between 1485 and 1511.² While the central scenes of their woodcut illustrations depicting episodes from the life of Christ complement the text

¹ The importance of visual imagery as an aid to understanding and retaining a verbal message is frequently cited by sixteenth-century writers and publishers specialising in illustrated literature, but as so often in the Renaissance this idea is not new, but goes back, as Frances Yates has demonstrated, to Aristotle and Cicero via Thomas Aquinas (Yates 1966: 82 et seq.).

² Winn 1997: 221.

they accompany, the same is not true in many cases of the background settings to these scenes, nor yet of their decorative borders, for here we find a striking early manifestation of humanist fascination with classical architecture. Already in 1502 Simon Vostre's edition of the *Heures à l'usage de Rome* introduces classically inspired borders together with more traditional mediaeval borders,³ but six years later in his *Heures à l'usage de Rouen* the classical influence is even more evident, and is even acknowledged in the title: *Ces presentes heures a lusaige de Rouan au long sans requerir, avec les miracles nostre dame & les figures de lapocalypse & de la bible, & des triumphes de Cesar, & plusieurs aultres hystoires faictes a lantique . . .* Architectural borders abound with columns, friezes and pedestals, while others include named Roman emperors such as Nero and Tarquin or the Assyrian king Sardanapalus (c2v–3r). Roman antiquity makes its presence felt even in the central scenes: the Coliseum is instantly recognisable in a woodcut in the section on the *triumphes de Cesar*, while the backdrop to the Nativity scene is more reminiscent of Roman architecture than of the stable at Bethlehem.⁴ (See Fig. 1)

Early humanist interest in classical architecture is evident also in other forms of book illustration. Elaborately organised triumphal entries, often celebrating a coronation or royal marriage, were an important vehicle for royal propaganda in the Renaissance.⁵ As well as firework displays and water spectacles the processional route was habitually transformed by the erection of grandiose triumphal arches, temples, pyramids or fountains, classical in design and often embellished with Latin inscriptions honouring allegorically the royal visitor. Such structures, constructed from wood and canvas, were quickly demolished after the event, but their memory was perpetuated in printed accounts which were produced subsequently, often in lavishly illustrated editions. Particularly in Lyon and Paris the best poets

³ *Ces presentes heures a lusaige de Romme ont este faictes . . .*, Paris P. Pigouchet for S. Vostre, 1502, 8°. As Robert Brun remarks 'On y voit toujours la danse macabre, les sibylles, les vertus et les vices, des scenes familières, des bergers et des chasseurs, mais voici que dans les derniers cahiers apparaissent les rinceaux d'acanthé, les candélabres, les trophées copiés sur les marbres antiques qui connaîtront bientôt une telle fortune' (Brun 1972: 14).

⁴ Paris, S. Vostre, 1508, 8°. For discussion of this work see Brun 1972: 15.

⁵ In the mid 1560s, for example, to mark his accession the youthful Charles IX undertook an 18-month tour of France, accompanied by his mother, Catherine de Medici, involving triumphal entries in over a hundred towns.



Fig. 1: *Ces presentes heures a lusaige de Rouan*, Paris, S. Vostre, 1508, 8°, e5r.

and artists were often commissioned to orchestrate the event, and the same artists called upon to provide the illustrations for the published accounts. Thus when Henri II and Catherine de Medici made their entry into Lyon in 1548, the poets Maurice Scève and Barthélemy Aneau, and the artist Bernard Salomon were involved in designing the event, while Salomon produced the illustrations for the printed account.⁶ Jean Cousin and Philibert Delorme designed the ephemeral architecture for Henri II's equivalent entry into Paris the following year, and Jean Goujon the illustrations for the published account.⁷

The printed description of the triumphal arch erected at the Porte St Denis for the Paris entry indicates the classical inspiration behind the ephemeral architecture of the entire event:

A ladictte porte saint Denis, par laquelle ledict Seigneur entra fut fait un avant portail d'ouvrage Tuscan & Dorique, dédié à la Force, pour faire entendre que dedans Paris consiste la principale force du Royaume . . . Aux deux costez des piles estoient deux stilobates ou pedestalz de proportion diagonée, enrichis de convenables moulures, surquoy estoient posez deuz grans Colosses d'hommes, vestuz à la rustique, portans treze piez en haulteur, mis en lieu de colonnes Persanes ou Cariatides. Leurs bases Doriques entierement couvertes d'or, comme aussi estoient leurs chapiteaux. Iceulx Colosses tenoyent entre leurs mains chacun un grand croissant d'argent, pour le moins de cinq piedz en diametre, dedans lesquels estoit escrit en lettre Romaine noire DONEC TOTUM IMPLEAT ORBEM, qui est la devise du Roy.

Par dessoubs les panneaux de joint de la Rustique, terminans la circumference de l'arc, passoyent l'architrave, la frize, & la cornice, dont les extremitez se pouvoient veoir dessus les chapiteaux. Dedans le plat fons du frontispice estoit un grand escu aux armes de la ville, enrichy de deux branches de Palme, pour emplir le vuyde du tympan: & sur ce frontispice estoit levé un socle, ou bien face quarrée, paincte de pierre de mixture, dedans laquelle y avoit un Cartoche à l'antique, soustenu par deux mannequins assis, & appuyans leurs gauches sur le glacis de la couronne d'iceluy frontispice. Et sur le champ de ce Cartoche couché de noir, estoit escrit en lettre d'or, TRAHIMUR, SEQUIMURQUE VOLENTES.

(*C'est l'ordre qui a este tenu . . .*, a2r)

⁶ *La magnificence de la superbe et triumpante entrée de la noble & antique cité de Lyon faicte au treschrestien Roy de France Henry deuxiesme de ce nom, et à la Roynne Catherine son espouse le XXIII de Septembre M.D.XLVIII*, Lyon, G. Roville, 1549, 4° (facsim. ed. in Cooper 1997).

⁷ *C'est l'ordre qui a este tenu a la nouvelle & joyeuse entrée, que treshault, tresexcellent, & trespuissant Prince, & Roy treschrestien Henry deuxieme de ce nom, a faicte en sa bonne ville & cité de Paris . . . le sezieme jour de Juin M.D.XLIX*, Paris, J. Roffet, 1549, 4°.

The accompanying woodcut illustration of the arch faithfully replicates all the elements of the verbal description other than the Latin inscriptions. (See Fig. 2) No less classical in inspiration was the ephemeral architecture of the Lyon entry, as is again apparent in the woodcut illustrations of the printed account. One of the highlights of the event was a *nautomachia* in which the boats were fashioned to look like Roman galleys, and ornate woodcut illustrations of these also adorn the printed account.⁸ (See Fig. 3)

Moving from the real world of sixteenth-century France to the fantasy italianate world of Francesco Colonna, we find again strong classical influence upon the illustrations, as his hero pursues, in his dream, his beloved Polia through a strange landscape dominated by temples, fountains, arches, pyramids, obelisks and statuary, all inspired from the world of Greco-Roman antiquity, but with the further addition of supposedly Egyptian hieroglyphic material. (See Fig. 4) Originally published in Venice in 1499, Colonna's *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili* was republished in Paris in 1546 in a French translation by Jean Martin,⁹ and in this beautiful edition by Jacques Kerver the woodcut illustrations follow closely those of the original Venice edition, but they are much more elegantly executed. (See Fig. 5) As the translator explains, it is above all in the architecture depicted in the illustrations (which are sometimes attributed to Jean Cousin) that the richness of the fantasy resides.¹⁰ These architectural illustrations are very detailed, and in some cases buildings are exploded to reveal their interior design, while others give full-page plans including notes of measurements and proportions.¹¹ Were it not for the fact that the work also contains illustrations of fantasy triumphal parades, nymphs

⁸ Many other sixteenth- and seventeenth-century accounts of triumphal entries contain such woodcut or copperplate illustrations of classically inspired ephemeral architecture. (For discussion of some of these see Saunders 1988 and Saunders 2000).

⁹ *Hypnerotomachia Poliphili*, Venice, Aldus, 1499, folio; *Hypnerotomachie, ou Discours du songe de Poliphile*, Paris, J. Kerver, 1546, folio.

¹⁰ . . . sachez que Poliphile dict avoir veu en songe des choses admirables, entre lesquelles il en décrit plusieurs antiques dignes de memoire, comme Pyramides, Obelisques, grandes ruines d'edifices, la difference des colonnes, leurs mesures, pedestalz, bazes, & chapiteaux dont elles sont ornees. Puis les architraves, frizes, cornices, & frontispices avec leurs ouvrages. Un grand cheval, un Elephant de merveilleuse grandeur, un Colosse, et une porte magnifique, avec son plant, ordonnance, moulures, & besongne de taille (ã*2v).

¹¹ See ff. 72v and 12v.

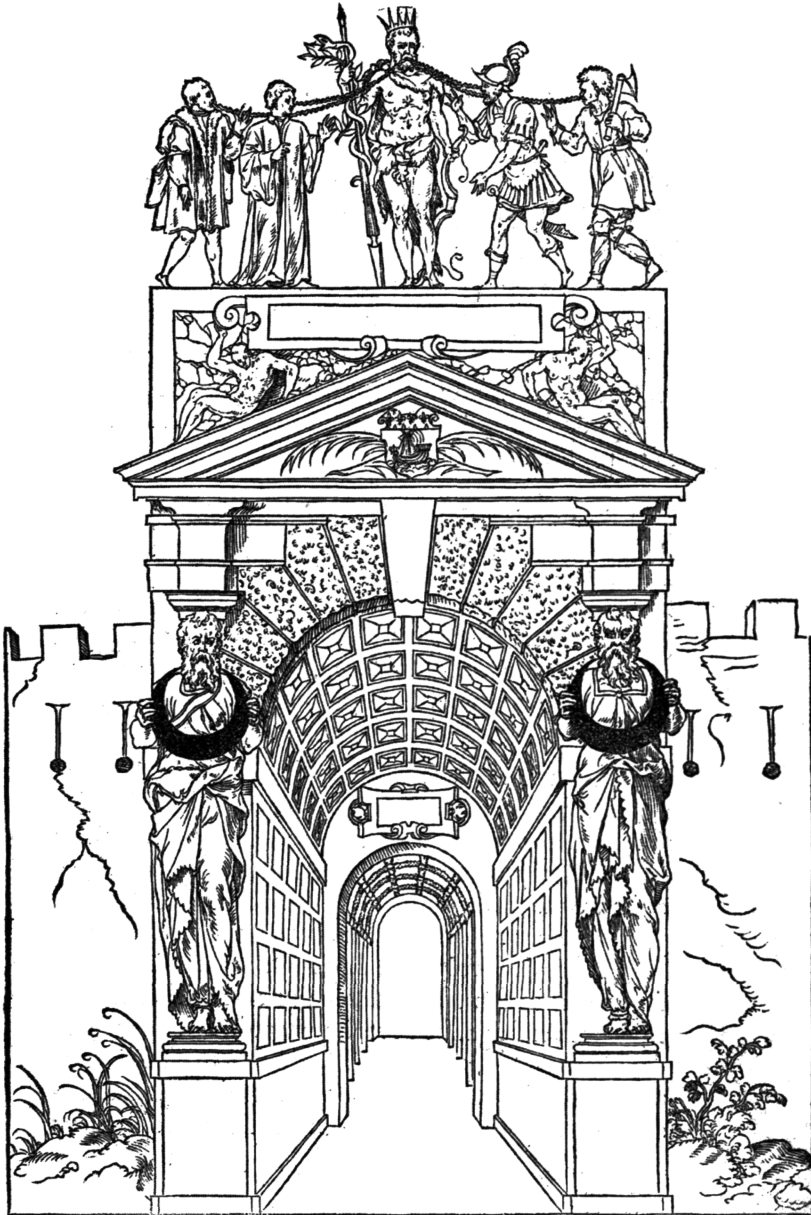
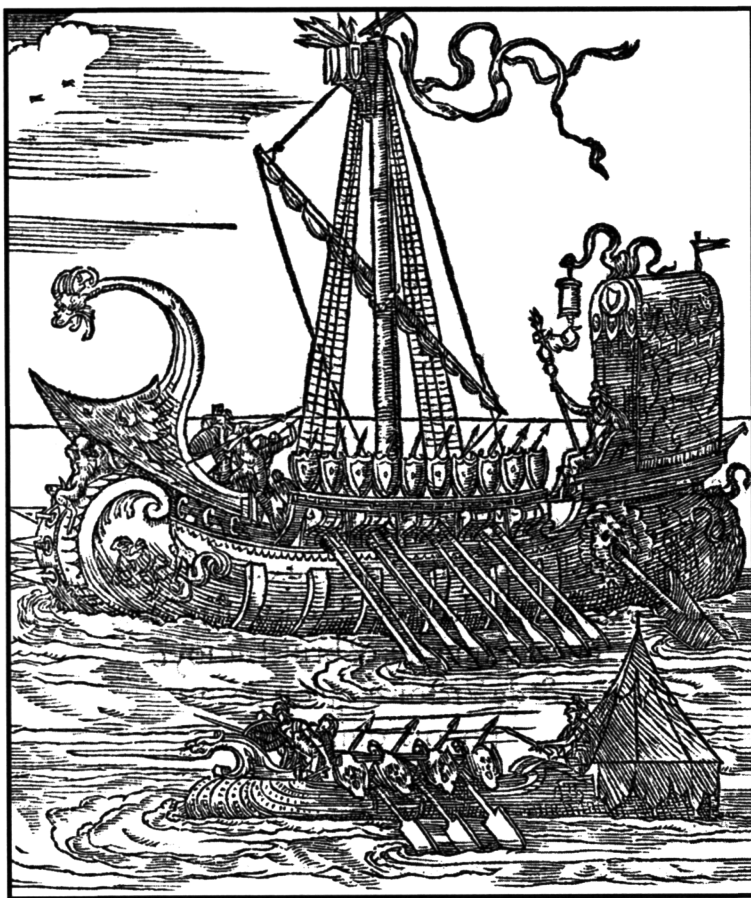


Fig. 2: *C'est l'ordre qui a este tenu a la nouvelle et joyeuse entrée, que treshault . . . Prince . . . a faicte en sa bonne ville & cité de Paris, Paris, J. Roffet, 1549, 4°.*

La Gallere blanche noire & rouge.

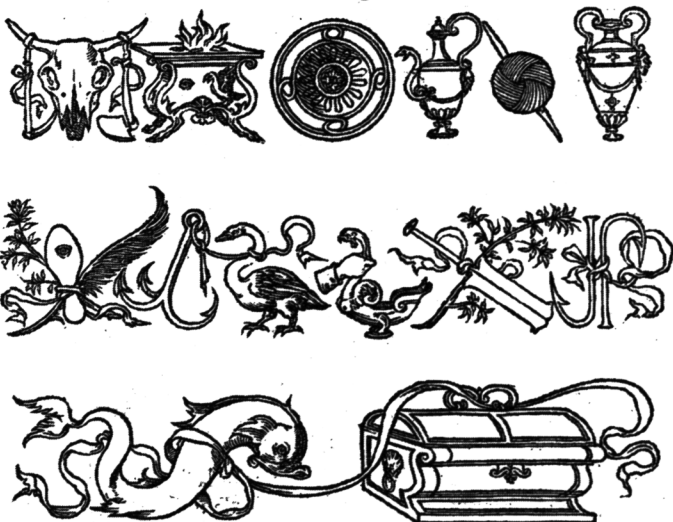


La

Fig. 3: *La magnificence de la superbe et triumpante entrée de la noble & antique cité de Lyon faite au treschrestien Roy de France Henry deuxiesme de ce nom, Lyon, G. Roville, 1549, 4°, Liv.*

LIVRE PREMIER DE

Premierement l'os de la teste d'un beuf, avec instrumentz rustiques, liez aux cornes, vn autel assiz sur deux piedz de cheure, puis vne flamme de feu, en la face du quel y auoit vn oeil, & vn vaultour. apres vn bassin a lauer, vn vase a biberon, vn pelloton de filet trauersé d'un fuzeau, vn vase antique aiant la bouche couuerte, vne semelle avec vn oeil & deux rameaux, l'un d'oliue, & l'autre de palme, vn ancre, vne oye, & vne lampe antique, tenue par vne main, vn timon de nauire aussi antique, auquel estoit attaché vne branche d'oliuier, puis deux hameffons, & vn daulphin, & pour le dernier vn coffre cloz & ferré, le tout entaillé de belle sculpture, en ceste formé.



Lesquelles tresantiques & sainctes escriptures, apres y auoir bien pensé, i'interpretay en ceste sorte:

Ex labore deo natura sacrfica liberaliter, paulatim reduces animú deo subiectum. firmam custodiam vitæ tuæ misericorditer gubernando, tenebit incolumemque seruabit. C'est a dire

Sacrifie liberalement de ton labour au dieu de nature, peu a peu tu reduiras ton esprit en la subiection de dieu, qui par sa misericorde sera seure garde de ta vie, & en la gouvernant la conseruera saine & sauue.

Je laissay a grand difficulté ceste belle figure, tant fort elle me plaisoit, puis retournay a regarder le grand cheual, qui auoit la teste feiche & maigre, proportionnement petite, & tresbien formée pour ressembler inconstat. On luy veoit quasi trebler les muscles, & sembloit mieulx viu que feinct. En son front estoit graué ce mot grec GENE A. De tous ces grás ouurages qui la gisoient en moceaux, le temps auoit seulemēt espargné ces quatre belles & excellentes pieces, a sauoir le cheual, l'elephant, le colosse, & la porte. O nobles ouuriers antiques, quele cruaute assaillit si rigoureusement vostre vertu, q vous auez

PREMIER LIVRE DE

Ayant leu la piteufe auanture des deux poures amans, ie me party de celle place: & n'eu pas beaucoup cheminé, que ie trouuay vne belle table de marbre, quarree, avec son frontispice, & deux petites colonnes, vne de chacun costé, entre lesquelles dedans le quarré, autant qu'il contenoit de large, estoit entaillé vn chapeau de triumphe, plus enleué que la demytaille, gifant a terre, toutesfois l'escriture estoit tournée deuers le hault: qui ne me fut peu de contentement: & disoit en latin,



*Polyoria, songe,
curc.*

Qui se doit ainsi entendre en commun parler,

Qui que tu soys qui viens cy pour me lire, garde toy si tu aymes: et si tu n'aymes, pèfe, (miserable) que sans amour il n'y a rien de doulx. Mais en cherchant ceste douceur, ie me suis inconsidèremment perdu. Aussi amour en fut la cause. l'estoie sur un cheual, et desiroie de tout mon cueur complaire a Dyruionie ieune pucelle de parfaite beaulté. si tumbay par fortune, mon pied demourant en l'estrier: dont fu trainé, et mis a mort.

Mon

Fig. 5: F. Colonna, *Hypnerotomachie, ou Discours du songe de Poliphile*, Paris, J. Kerver, 1546, folio, f. 97v.

and other figures encountered by Poliphile in his dream journey it could almost be seen as a richly illustrated Renaissance treatise on classical architecture, such as those which became fashionable in France in the first half of the sixteenth century.

The earliest edition of Vitruvius's treatise on architecture dating from the first century BC was published in Rome in 1486, but the first illustrated edition in French dates from 1547, the year after the *Songe de Poliphile*.¹² It also was translated by Jean Martin, and—like the *Songe de Poliphile* which was republished throughout the sixteenth century—illustrated editions of Vitruvius were published throughout the sixteenth and even the seventeenth centuries.¹³ As well as the familiar illustrations of Vitruvian man demonstrating his theories on proportion, the 1547 edition also contains several woodcut illustrations of classical architecture, depicting caryatids and appropriate decorations of acanthus, laurel or olive leaves for different styles of capitals.¹⁴ Influenced by Vitruvius, the fifteenth-century Italian humanist polymath Leone Battista Alberti also produced a treatise on architecture in which the woodcut illustrations reflect a strong classical ancestry. First published in Florence in 1485, an unillustrated Latin version of the *De re aedificatoria* appeared in Paris in 1512.¹⁵ But more interesting is the French translation—again by Jean Martin—which was published in Paris by Jacques Kerver, seven years after his edi-

¹² *Architecture ou art de bien bastir, de Marc Vitruve Pollion auteur romain antique: mis de Latin en Francoys par Jan Martin . . . Pour le Roy treschrestien Henry II*, Paris, J. Gazeau, 1547, folio.

¹³ As late as 1673 Charles Perrault produced a new translation, *Les dix livres d'architecture de Vitruve corrigez et traduits nouvellement en françois avec des notes et des figures*, Paris, J.B. Coignard, 1673, folio.

¹⁴ Editions of Vitruvius in the original Latin were also published with classical architectural illustration, as for example that produced five years later by Jean de Tournes, who often worked collaboratively with Jacques Gazeau: *M. Vitruvii Pollionis de architectura libri decem ad Caesarem Augustum, omnibus omnium editionibus longè emendatiores, collatis veteribus exemplis . . .*, Lyon, J. de Tournes, 1552, 4°.

¹⁵ *Leonis Baptistae Alberti Florentini viri clarissimi de re aedificatoria opus elegantissimum et quod maxime utile*, Florence, N. Laurentius, 1485, folio. *Leonis Baptistae Alberti Florentini viri clarissimi libri de re aedificatoria decem. Opus integrum et absolutum: diligenterque recognitum . . .*, Paris, B. Rembolt and L. Hornken, 1512, 4°. This particular version was edited by Geoffroy Tory, famous for his own *Champfleury*, in which his theories of the proportions of the letters of the alphabet are also illustrated by classically inspired figures (*Champfleury. Auquel est contenu lart & science de la deue & vraye proportion des lettres Attiques, quon dit autrement lettres antiques, & vulgairement lettres Romaines proportionnees selon le corps & visage humain*, Paris, G. Tory, 1529, 4°). One of the more famous sets of illustrations in the *Champfleury* is a series of variations on Vitruvian man incorporated into the letters of the alphabet (ff. 17r–19v).

tion of the *Songe de Poliphile*.¹⁶ since here again we find a familiar pattern of illustrations of classical architectural designs such as those of Book 7 showing the correct proportions of Doric, Ionic and Corinthian capitals. Sections headed 'Des portiques devant les temples, de leurs entrées ou acces: ensemble des degrez, ouvertures & intervalles, autrement espaces d'iceulx portiques' (f. 128r) and 'Des principales voyes d'une ville, & pour faire que les portes, & portz, arches, quarrefours & marché, soient ornez comme il appartient' (f. 168v) are similarly accompanied by woodcuts of classical buildings. Such classically inspired architectural illustrations are not confined to works of Latin or Italian origin. Although the first treatise by the French architect Jacques Androuet du Cerceau, the 1559 *Livre d'architecture*, was primarily concerned with domestic architecture, his 1561 *Second livre d'architecture*, which complements the first, shows more obvious classical influence with its abundance of full-page engravings of classically inspired windows, fireplaces, fountains and pavilions designed to adorn the buildings of the first book.¹⁷

In the domain of architectural illustration, therefore, whether real, albeit ephemeral, as depicted in accounts of triumphal entries, or theoretical, as in the treatises of Vitruvius, Alberti or Du Cerceau, or fantastic, as in Colonna's *Songe de Poliphile* figure and text complement each other to convey an accurate and vivid picture. This pattern is very different from that of the Books of Hours discussed earlier, in which, although there was a meaningful relationship between illustration and text in the central scenes, the borders were more often decorative than meaningful. This distinction perhaps reflects the rather specialised nature of architectural illustration, for the use of book illustration for decorative purposes with little correlation between figure and text is characteristic of much early French printing. Often the woodcut figures were not originally designed to accompany the scene they illustrate in a particular text. Since woodblocks

¹⁶ *L'architecture et art de bien bastir du Seigneur Leon Baptiste Albert, gentilhomme Florentin, divisée en dix livres, traduicts de Latin en François par deffunct Jan Martin . . .*, Paris, J. Kerver, 1553, folio.

¹⁷ *Second livre d'architecture par Jaques Androuet du Cerceau. Contenant plusieurs et diverses ordonnances de cheminees, lucarnes, portes, fontaines, puis, & pavillons, pour enrichir tant le dedans que le dehors de tous edifices . . .*, Paris, pour J. Androuet du Cerceau, 1561, folio. Du Cerceau's professional interest in Roman architecture is reflected also in his similarly illustrated *Livre des edifices antiques romains, contenant les ordonnances et desseings des plus signalez et principaux bastiments qui se trouvaient à Rome du temps qu'elle estoit en sa plus grande fleur* (n.p., 1584, folio).

were costly to produce, a printer would seek good return from his stock of woodblocks by reusing these from book to book, often regardless of the relevance of their subject matter.

Although renewed interest in the classics is associated with the Renaissance, many classical works had remained familiar territory throughout the Middle Ages, and when printed editions of these became available in France from the late fifteenth century, in both Latin and the vernacular, their publishers could often find models for these in earlier illuminated manuscript versions.¹⁸ In her study of illustrated editions of Virgil, although Bernadette Pasquier identifies Virgil as a particularly good example of a classical author whose early illustrated printed editions reflect their ancestry in fifteenth-century illustrated manuscript versions, she stresses also the strong manuscript influence more generally at play in the production of early printed illustrated books:

Ce n'est que progressivement en effet que l'illustration du livre imprimé se distinguera dans sa conception de celle du manuscrit. Les graveurs du début du XVI^e siècle sont en quelque sorte des miniaturistes contraints de changer de métier par l'invention de l'imprimerie.¹⁹

Echoing this, Mary Beth Winn points to the way in which Antoine Vérard, one of the major early Paris publishers of both classical and non-classical works, blurred the frontiers between manuscript and printed book by including miniatures in luxury copies of his printed books, or by overpainting woodcut figures to make them look like miniatures.²⁰

The lack of concern about the appropriateness to the text of the woodcut figures is very evident in early illustrated editions of the

¹⁸ French versions of Virgil's *Aeneid* and of Aesop were published in Lyon in 1483 and 1484, and a French version of Caesar's *Commentaires* in Paris in 1485. A Latin edition of Terence's comedies was published in Lyon by Trechsel in 1493, and a Latin edition of Juvenal's satires in Lyon in 1498. (For details of fifteenth-century illustrated editions of the classics see Martin 1931, and for those published by Vérard see Winn 1997).

¹⁹ Pasquier 1992: 23.

²⁰ She describes Vérard as a transitional producer of books: 'A Janus-type figure, Verard applied the medieval art of illumination to the modern technique of printed books' . . . 'If Verard's editorial program included new works along with proven "classics", his typographical design was decidedly traditional . . . Imitating in format, layout and typeface the literary manuscripts popular in aristocratic circles, these books could be mistaken for their models, particularly when printed on vellum and hand-illuminated' (Winn 1997: 9 and 31).

classics. In 1483 Guillaume le Roy used for his Lyon edition of the *Aeneid* a set of woodblocks designed for his popular *romans de chevalerie*, while nearly fifty years later Galiot du Pré in Paris used for his 1531 *Commentaires de Jules Cesar* woodblocks designed for his 1529 Virgil, in which the names of the *Aeneid* characters are actually included. A woodcut battle scene illustrating the opening chapter of Caesar's *Commentaires* depicts soldiers anachronistically clad in sixteenth-century attire and neatly labelled *Priamus*, *Ascanius*, *Eneas* and *Erities*, while the illustration heading the opening chapter of Book 2 depicts Aeneas at the Temple of Apollo, and the characters are labelled *Eneas*, *Achates* and *Sibilla*.²¹ In a heavily illustrated vernacular edition of Ovid's *Metamorphoses* published by Romain Morin in Lyon in 1532, the death of Phaeton is illustrated by an *Aeneid* woodcut depicting (and identifying) Aeneas, Neptune, Aeolus and Juno.²² In the *Eclogues* section of Galiot du Pré's 1529 *Oeuvres de Virgille* some attempt is made to relate the illustrations to the text that they accompany while still retaining the flexibility of multiple use: individual characters are again identified by name, but these names are added typographically, rather than being part of the woodblock, thereby enabling the printer to put names and figures together in different combinations. Thus a character sitting under a tree with his flageolet appropriately identified as Tytirus in the opening section (A1r) is identified as Phalemon a few pages later (B2r) and at the end of the text as Virgil himself (F6r), while his original companion Melibeus becomes successively Menalcas (B2r) and Mopsus (C4r).

It is particularly in the more 'popular' vernacular versions of the classics where illustration was important to lighten the text that the lack of preoccupation with matching illustration to text is most marked. In Gaguin's translation of Caesar's *Gallic Wars* or his *Gestes romaines* (translated from Livy's third *Decade*), or Octovien de Saint-Gelais's translation of Virgil's *Aeneid* or his *Therence en françois*, and in

²¹ *Les commentaires de Jules Cesar. De la guerre civile. De la guerre Alexandrine. De la guerre d'afrique. De la guerre despaigne . . . Translatez par feu de bonne memoire Robert Gaguin. . . Avec les portraictz & descriptions des lieux, fortz, pontz, machines, & aultres choses dont est faict mention es presens commentaires. Ensemble les noms des lieux, villes, & peuples du pays de Gaule*, Paris, G. du Pré, 1531, folio, A2r and C4r; *Les oeuvres de Virgille translatees de latin en francoys: et nouvellement imprimees a Paris*, Paris, G. du Pré, 1529, folio.

²² *Le grand Olympe des histoires poetiques du prince de poesie Ovide Naso en sa Metamorphose . . . Traduyct de Latin en Francoys, & imprime nouvellement*, Lyon, R. Morin, 1532, 8°, C7r.

similarly popular historical works like the *Mer des hystoires* or the *Recueil des hystoires romaines*²³ unspecific battle scenes or illustrations of a lover and his lady abound, and even where woodcut figures are relevant to the particular scene that they illustrate, there is often little attempt to indicate that these are figures from antiquity rather than from contemporary, or near-contemporary society. In François Regnault's 1528 *Recueil des hystoires romaines*, whose full title reflects the range of its material, one woodcut battle scene is used throughout, regardless of which actual battle is being described, while even ten years later archaic woodcut battle scenes reminiscent of the late fifteenth century are used by Denis Janot in Paris for his *Oeuvres de Justin vray hystoriographe, sur les faictz & gestes de Troge Pompée, contenant xliiii livres traduictz de Latin en Francoys*.²⁴ Insofar as they do show battles, albeit unspecific ones, these are appropriate to the text, unlike many of the other woodcuts used here, but beyond that they contribute little to understanding. In Galiot du Pré's vernacular version of Ovid's *Heroides* of the same year, each epistle, although penned by a different character, is accompanied by the same woodcut figure of a lady and gentleman, with the sole exceptions being those of Dido to Aeneas, in which she is appropriately depicted stabbing herself, and of Medea to Jason for which he uses, equally appropriately, his own printer's mark of a galley with the motto 'Vogue la galee'.²⁵

While this is the predominant pattern, there are inevitably exceptions. Despite the overall archaic appearance of Philippe le Noir's 1531 *Bible des poetes de Ovide methamorphose* with its two-column layout and gothic typography the woodcuts, although archaic (being, if not those used by Vérard nearly forty years earlier in his *Bible des poetes methamorphosez*, very close copies of them) are nevertheless appropriate to the scenes they accompany. A verbal description of Minerva,

²³ *Le premier volume de la mer des hystoires augmentee a la fin du dernier volume de plusieurs belles hystoires. Et premierement des faitz gestes & victoires du roy Charles viii. Et daulcunes vaillances triumphantes conquestes et oeuvres chevaleresques, faictes au temps du roy Louys xii.* Lyon, C. Davost for J. Dyamontier, 1506, folio. *Le recueil des hystoires romaines. Extraict de plusieurs historiographes: cestassavoir Tite Live, Valere, Orose, Justin, Saluste, Cesar, Lucan, Suetone, Eutrope & aultres. Avec la destruction de Thebes et de Troye la grant, mise au commencement du volume. Selon les vrayz aucteurs d'icelle: cestassavoir Dictys Cretensis, et Dares Frygius: en ensuyvant Virgille en aucuns lieux.* Paris, F. Regnault, 1528, folio.

²⁴ Paris, A. and C. l'Angelier, 1538, folio.

²⁵ *Les XXI epistres dovide translatees de latin en francoys, par Reverend pere en Dieu Monseigneur Levesque Dangoulesme, nouvellement reveues, & corrigees oultre les precedentes impressions.* Paris, G. du Pré, 1528, 8°, F1v and i6r.

with her various attributes, is faithfully replicated in the accompanying illustration of the goddess (b5r), while a section entitled 'Comment la deesse Dyane doibt estre figuree, & de ses inclinations' notes her associations with the moon and with hunting, both of which figure in the accompanying woodcut showing her carrying a bow and arrow and shooting a stag, while the moon shines above her head (b4v). In various editions of the very popular *Therence en francoys* also we find more relevance of illustration to text. In, for example, that published in Paris in 1539 by Guillaume de Bossozel with half-page illustrations on almost every page, the characters are not only identified by their names, but also depicted as characters on stage, reflecting the fact that these are plays.²⁶ Again demonstrating the long working life of woodblocks this edition uses if not the actual set created for Trechsel's 1493 Latin edition, then very close copies, including his famous illustration of a classical theatre. (See Fig. 6)

While this popular style of printing continued well into the early decades of the sixteenth century, adopting for French translations and adaptations of classical texts the illustrative style of popular native French works such as the *romans de chevalerie* or the *Mer des hystoires*, at the same time a more Renaissance-oriented approach was adopted by other publishers intent on producing scholarly editions in which visual illustration had little role to play. The pioneer in this domain was Josse Badius, a publisher working principally in Latin, first in Lyon and then in Paris, between 1499 and 1535, who offers a remarkable contrast to the popularising Antoine Vérard, with whom he was partly contemporary. As Mary Beth Winn remarks:

Bade viewed printing as a means to expand knowledge . . . Bade announces the Renaissance. Verard on the other hand retains the medieval habit . . . Bade published almost no books on vellum; Verard preferred this deluxe support. Bade made almost no use of illustrations; Verard made illustrations his trademark. It would not be unfair to say that while Bade's editions were to be read, Verard's were to be looked at and admired. (*Anthoine Verard*, p. 45)

²⁶ *Le grant Therence en francoys tant en rime que en prose. Nouvellement imprimé a Paris*, Paris, G. de Bossozel for G. le Bret, 1539, folio; *Therence en francois prose et rime, avecques le latin*, Paris, A. Verard, n.d. (c. 1500), folio; *Terentii comoediae sex, a Guidone Juvenale explanatae, et a Jodoco Badio cum annotationibus suis recognitae*, Lyon, J. Trechsel, 1493, folio.

Le theatre

¶ Therenii.ii.

La premiere epique largument. La
seconde desire mener les choses cōmen-
cees a fin. La tierce amaine la pertur-
bation/les empeschemens & la desespe-
rance de la chose desiree. La.iiii.amal-
ne le remede au mal. Et la.v.cōdūye a
l'issue q̄ a este desiree. Et ainsi different
tragedie & comedie/ car la fin de come-
die est ioyeuse & celle de tragedie est la-
mentable & piteuse.

¶ Therenii epitaphium.

Natus in excelsis tectis carthagenis alic
Romanis ducibus bellica preda sui
Descripti mores hoim iuuenūq; senūq;
Qualiter & serui decipiant dominos
Quid meretrix qd leno doliscōsigat atar⁹
Hec quicumq; legit, sic puto cautus erit,



a.ii.

Fig. 6: *Le grant Therence en francoys tant en rime que en prose. Nouuellement imprime a Paris, Paris, G. de Bossozel for G. le Bret, 1539, folio, f. 2r.*

A humanist scholar himself, Badius's vast output (nearly eight hundred editions) ranges from theology, philosophy, grammar and dictionaries to classical and humanist texts. Only in his very early work was gothic type used, after which he favoured roman type. Typical of his production are his 1519 editions of Aulus Gellius and Macrobius, both of which are still folio volumes, but gone is the two-column gothic text, replaced by full-page roman, and—above all—gone are all illustrations other than initial letters. For Badius the text could convey its message alone, without need of woodcut illustration, however decorative these might be. Yet where Badius's humanist scholarship did allow for visual decoration is in his elegant title pages which are characterised by ornate classically inspired woodcut borders embellished with Roman trophies and medallions as well as grotesques. (See Fig. 7)

The same humanist approach is adopted by another of the great French publishers of the early sixteenth century, Henri I Estienne, founder of a publishing dynasty that flourished throughout the century, albeit latterly in Geneva rather than Paris. Henri I Estienne began printing elegant scholarly editions of the classics in 1502, and continued to do so until 1521. Catering for an educated readership, these were exclusively in Latin, in roman type and—like those of Badius—unillustrated. Reflecting his period, they were still produced in large format, and only under his son, Robert I Estienne, did the Estienne press begin publishing easily portable octavo editions of the classics in roman or italic type, in the style pioneered as early as 1501 by Aldus in Venice. Typical of this style is his 1540 octavo edition of Terence, entitled simply *Terentius*, in which the elegantly printed, but wholly unillustrated text contrasts strikingly with the style of earlier editions of Terence that we have seen.

The Estienne press did not entirely eliminate illustration, but retained it for editions of specialised or technical works for which woodcut figures could provide a visual aid to understanding. By and large the classics do not fall into this category, although Robert Estienne's 1544 edition of Caesar's *Commentarii*—one of the earliest works to use his new italic type—is an exception.²⁷ Not surprisingly

²⁷ *C. Julii Caesaris rerum ab se gestarum commentarii*, Paris, R. Estienne, 1544, 8°. Estienne based this edition on the 1513 Aldine edition, and the illustrations follow closely those of that edition. Included are detailed maps of Spain and France and annotated diagrams whose role is clearly functional.



Fig. 7: *Auli Gellii noctium atticarum librum undeviginti*, Paris, J. Badius, 1524, folio, title page.

the woodcuts do correspond closely to the text that they illustrate, as do also those in his other editions of technical works such as Lazare de Baif's monograph on ancient ships in which full-page illustrations of ships observed in Roman statuary complement the textual description of these, including one from Trajan's Column (See Fig. 8),²⁸ or that on ancient Roman costume, the *De re vestiaria*, published together with the *De re navali*.

Other scholarly publishers besides the Estiennes also continued the tradition begun by Badius of producing elegant editions of the classics for an educated public, in which woodcut illustration had little part to play. Notable among these in the first half of the century were the royal printer Michel Vascosan in Paris, who was Badius's son-in-law, and Sebastian Gryphius in Lyon, while Vascosan's grandson, Federic II Morel, continued the tradition into the latter decades of the century. Like his grandfather and father before him, Morel was also appointed *Imprimeur du Roi*, in 1581, and—indicative of his scholarly background—*Lecteur du Roi en lettres grecques* also. For these publishers, as for the Estiennes, there was a clear distinction between literature appropriate for illustration and literature inappropriate for illustration, and while technical works could helpfully be illustrated, the classics did not need this adjunct. But two important mid-century Lyon publishers, Jean de Tournes and Guillaume Roville, offer an interesting variant on this attitude. Both conform to the extent that they published elegant non-illustrated editions of the classics, as well as more technical, historical or archaeological studies of the ancient world, which were accompanied by illustrations to complement and reinforce visually the information conveyed by the text. Typical of these are Gabriele Simeoni's *Illustratione de gli epitaffi et medaglie antiche* published by De Tournes in 1558,²⁹ or Guillaume du Choul's study of Roman military tactics and religious practices published three years earlier by Roville,³⁰ in which—like Baif's treatises on ancient naval architecture and costume—illustrations are based on actual statues described in the text. (See Fig. 9) But while De Tournes and Roville conformed to this pattern of scholarly printing

²⁸ *Annotations in L.II de captivis et postliminio reversis, in quibus tractantur de re navali*, Paris, R. Estienne, 1536, 4°, H3v.

²⁹ Lyon, J. de Tournes, 1558, 4°.

³⁰ *Discours sur la castrametation et discipline militaire des Romains . . . Des bains & antiques exercitations Grecques & Romaines. De la religion des Romains*, Lyon, G. Roville, 1555, folio.

Pontem nauibus fluuiatilibus conformatum hac forma vidimus Romæ in columna Traiani.

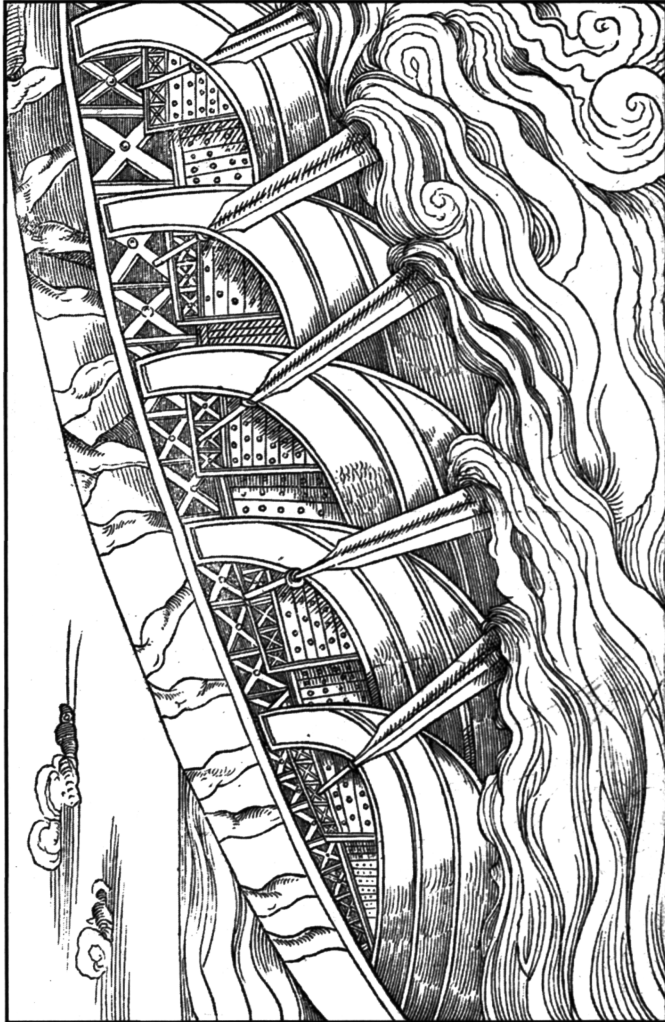


Fig. 8: *Lazari Bayfii annotationes in L.11 de captivis et postliminio reversis, in quibus tractantur de re navali*, Paris, R. Estienne, 1536, 4^o, H3v.

DES ANCIENS ROMAINS. 287

Et sans commandement il n'estoit point permis aux ministres de maecter la victime.

Et pource que l'habit du ministre au Victimaire estoit different, à y cōsideré que la figure du sacrifice, que à y fait paindre cy dessous, en monstera la difference, & seruira nostre paincture pour oster le doute, qui pouuoit sortir entre les amateurs des Antiquitez & des bonnes lettres.

*Habit du
ministre
au Victi-
maire dif-
ferent.*

FIGVRE RETIRÉE DV
marbre antique, qui est à Rome.



Toutesfois il fault entendre, que ceux qui seruoient aux mysteres antiques des choses sacrées, & qui precedoyent les victimes aux grandes maectations de cent beufs

Fig. 9: Guillaume du Choul, *Discours sur la castrametation et discipline militaire des Romains . . . Des bains & antiques exercitations Grecques & Romaines. De la religion des Romains*, Lyon, G. Roville, 1555, folio, p. 287.

for an educated readership,³¹ both were also aware of the existence of another sector of the market. For literate but less educated readers, generously illustrated small-format editions of popular classical works in the vernacular had considerable appeal, and to supply high quality woodblocks for such editions both publishers employed outstanding artists—Bernard Salomon for De Tournes and Pierre Eskreich for Roville.

But—as ever aware of the need to make their stocks of woodblocks work for them—both De Tournes and Roville adopted the strategy of publishing, in addition, quite different, much simplified picture-book versions based on the same sets of illustrations, thus tapping into yet another market. When, having invested in a set of woodblocks for a new French translation of Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, Jean de Tournes then found production of this edition delayed by the inopportune death of his translator,³² he nevertheless put the woodblocks to good use in a simplified picture-book version, following the pattern already established in his picture-book versions of the Old and New Testament, the *Quadrins historiques de la Bible* and *Figures du Nouveau Testament*,³³ both produced on a basis of woodblocks designed for editions of the Bible. In his 1557 *Metamorphose d'Ovide figuree* not only is the text reduced to a mere eight-line verse printed in subordinate position to the illustration, but further emphasis is given to the visual aspect of the volume by the ornate decorative border encasing figure and text, giving the work the appearance of an emblem book such as that of Alciato, of which De Tournes had actually published several editions from 1547. (See Fig. 10) While De Tournes's *Metamorphoses* woodblocks were used to create something resembling an emblem book, Roville's equivalent set was actually used to create an emblem book, Barthélemy Aneau's bilingual *Picta poesis/Imagination poetique*, published by Roville's associate Macé Bonhomme.³⁴ In this emblem book they are interpreted afresh, with each woodcut figure accom-

³¹ An analysis by Natalie Zemon Davis of the various categories of work published by De Tournes shows that nearly 20% of his very large output comes into the category of classics (literature, philosophy and history), and of the 96 editions that this represents, over 60% were printed in the original Latin or Greek. (See 'Le monde de l'imprimerie humaniste: Lyon' in Martin and Chartier 1982: 255–78.)

³² Not until 1584 did De Tournes's son, Jean II, publish the planned edition under the title *Olympe ou Metamorphose d'Ovide*. (See Cartier 1937: 1, 11).

³³ Lyon, J. de Tournes, 1553 and 1554, 8°.

³⁴ Both Lyon, M. Bonhomme, 1552, 8°.



Fig. 10: *La metamorphose d'Ovide figuree*, Lyon, J. de Tournes, 1557, 8°, C4v.

panied by a verse interpretation which owes nothing to the Ovidian tale it was originally designed to illustrate, and no acknowledgement is given of the source of the illustrations.³⁵

But Ovid was not the only popular classical writer whose illustrations could be exploited thus, and De Tournes and Roville were not the first publishers to do so. That honour goes to the Paris printer Denis Janot, who operated exclusively in the vernacular and specialised in generously illustrated editions of native French works or popular classics such as his 1539 Ovid.³⁶ When De Tournes published a picture-book Aesop in French, similar to his Ovid, he was simply producing a Lyonnese edition of that published five years earlier in Paris by Janot.³⁷ Here again we see the emblematic connection in that the visually dominant format of Janot's Aesop replicates that of his very successful editions from 1540 of France's second native emblem books, Gilles Corrozet's *Hecatomgraphie*.³⁸ Although Janot's death in 1544 brought an end to further such publications under his own imprint, his widow, Jeanne de Marnef, continued the tradition with an equivalent picture-book version of Apuleius's legend of Cupid and Psyche.³⁹ (See Fig. 11)

³⁵ Aneau explains rather speciously in his preface how having found the set of woodblocks lying useless in the workshop of Macé Bonhomme, since they had no text to illustrate, he undertook to breathe life into them by creating a new set of verses. (For discussion of his use of the material see Saunders 1977: 1–18.) The actual ovidian text was published in 1556 by Roville and Bonhomme under the title *Trois premiers livres de la Metamorphose d'Ovide. Traducitz en vers François. Le premier et second par Cl. Marot. Le tiers par B. Aneau. Mythologisez par allegories historiques, naturelles et morales, recueillies des bons auteurs Grecz et Latins, sur toutes les fables et sentences. Illustrez de figures et images convenantes. Avec une preparation de voye à la lecture et intelligence des poëtes fabuleux*, but the woodcuts had also been used earlier for Clément Marot's translation of the first two books of the *Metamorphoses* in Roville's edition of his *Oeuvres* in 1550–1551: *Traductions de Clement Marot, vallet de chambre du Roy*, Lyon, G. Roville, 1550, 16° (containing Book 1), and *Les oeuvres de Clement Marot, de Cahors, vallet de chambre du Roy. Reveues et augmentées de nouveau*, Lyon, G. Roville, 1551, 16° (containing Book 2).

³⁶ *Les xv. livres de la Metamorphose d'Ovide (poëte treselgant) contenans l'olymp des histoires poëtiques traducitz de Latin en Francoys, le tout figuré de nouvelles figures et hystoires*, Paris, D. Janot, 1539, 8°.

³⁷ *Les fables d'Esopie phrygien, mises en rime françoise*, Lyon, J. de Tournes and G. Gazeau, 1547, 16°; *ibid.*, Paris, D. Janot, 1542, 8°.

³⁸ *Hecatomgraphie. C'est à dire les descriptions de cent figures et hystoires, contenant plusieurs appophlegmes, proverbes, sentences et dictz tant des anciens que des modernes*, Paris, D. Janot, 1540, 8°. It was also Corrozet who produced the French verses for Janot's picture-book Aesop.

³⁹ *L'amour de Cupido et de Psyché mere de Volupté, prinse des cinq & sixiesme livres de la Metamorphose de Lucius Apuleius philosophe. Nouvellement historée, & exposée tant en vers Italiens, que François*, Paris, J. de Marnef, 1546, 8°.

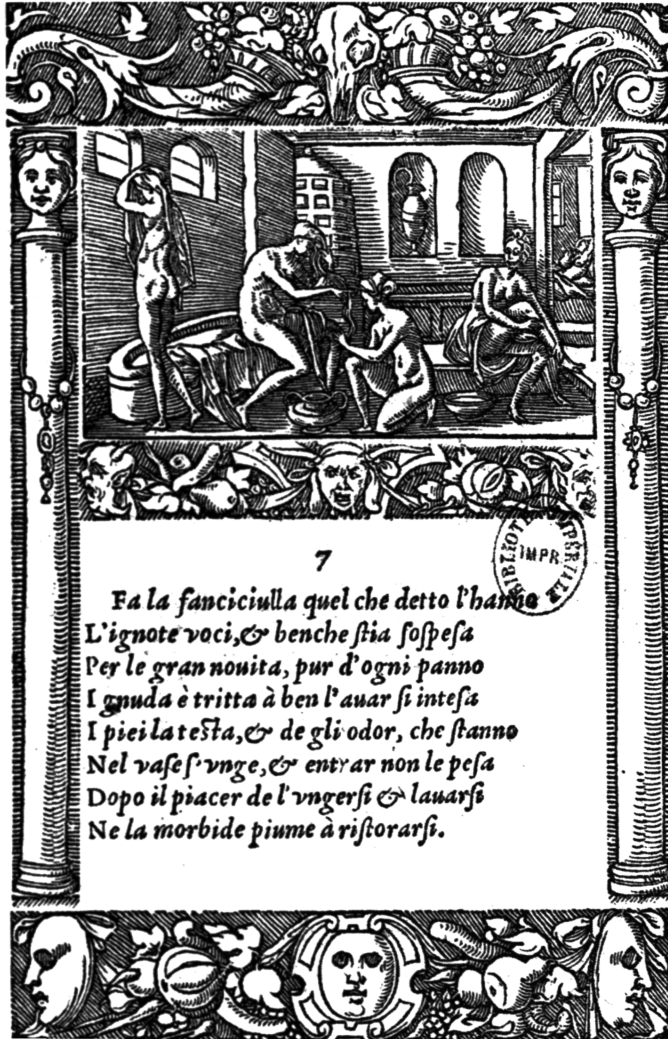


Fig. 11: *L'amour de Cupido et de Psiché mere de Volupté, prinse des cinq & sixiesme liures de la Metamorphose de Lucius Apuleius philosophe, Paris, J. de Marnef, 1546, 8°, plate 7.*

The classical heritage in French Renaissance book illustration is thus a complex one. In the early days illustrations incorporated into printed editions of classical texts (often in imitation of an earlier manuscript tradition) were undoubtedly important, but their function was often more decorative than informative, lightening the impact of dense two-column gothic typography. Although publishing styles gradually evolved away from large folio volumes in gothic print towards smaller format volumes with roman or italic type, many popularising printers continued to lessen the density of the text, particularly in editions of the classics, by the insertion of woodcuts, while in contrast scholarly publishers such as Badius rejected visual illustration, giving primacy to the printed word rather than the printed image. But even here the decorative title pages are included, in which the classical heritage manifests itself in the motifs of the borders, as it does also in the decorative borders of certain Books of Hours. For scholarly publishers only in historical, technical, architectural or archaeological treatises where illustration could helpfully complement the printed word did it continue to be used. But perhaps the most interesting aspect of the classical heritage in Renaissance printed books is the way in which publishers like De Tournes or Roville capitalised on their stocks of woodblocks not only by producing both Latin and vernacular editions of classical texts for different readerships, but also by using them yet again for simplified picture-book versions of those texts, or even on occasion for emblem books, with a completely new text created to accompany them, often quite unrelated to the original tale for which they were designed.

Little mention has been made here of the last decades of the sixteenth century, since at this period illustrated printing in France began to lose much of the impetus it had earlier enjoyed. As the religious and civil problems besetting France grew ever more serious, Lyon in particular ceased to be such a flourishing centre of printing, but Paris also felt the decline. Many printers moved from France to Geneva, including De Tournes's son, Jean II in 1585, and Robert I Estienne even earlier, in 1551. With the decline of France as a centre for illustrated printing, the mantle was quickly taken over by Christopher Plantin in Antwerp, who published many polyglot editions of texts suitable for sale in France, as also elsewhere in Europe. The French publishing industry did not really re-establish itself again strongly after the religious and civil wars until the 1620s, by which time both printing techniques and aesthetic tastes had completely

changed with the advent of copperplate engraving as opposed to old-style woodblock. Once again grandiose folio editions of many of the familiar classics already discussed make their presence felt, but these are now adorned with large and highly decorative engravings which are a far cry from the large woodcuts or manuscript illuminations characteristic of late fifteenth-century editions.⁴⁰ But magnificent and extremely interesting though such works are, the classical heritage in seventeenth-century book illustration must remain another story.

⁴⁰ An outstanding example of such an edition is the magnificently produced translation by Perrin of Virgil's *Aeneid*, in which each book is prefaced by a dramatically baroque half-page representation of the scene: *L'Eneide traduite en vers François dédiée a Monseigneur l'eminentissime Cardinal Mazarin*, Paris, P. Moreau, 1648, folio. See also the folio editions of the *Metamorphoses d'Ovide* published from 1619 onwards by the Veuve l'Angelier, similarly adorned by ornate engravings.

Appendix

Primary Sources

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- 1542, *Les fables du tresancien Esope phrigien premierement escriptes en Graec, et depuis mises en rithme François* (Paris: D. Janot).
- 1547, *Les fables d'Esope phrygien, mises en rime française* . . . (Lyon: J. de Tournes and G. Gazeau).
- Alberti, Leone Battista 1485, *Leonis Baptistae Alberti Florentini viri clarissimi de re aedificatoria opus elegantissimum et quod maxime utile* (Florence: N. Laurentius).
- 1512, *Leonis Baptistae Alberti Florentini viri clarissimi libri de re aedificatoria decem. Opus integrum et absolutum: diligentissime recognitum* . . . (Paris: B. Rembolt and L. Hornken).
- 1533, *L'architecture et art de bien bastir du Seigneur Leon Baptiste Albert, gentilhomme Florentin, divisée en dix livres, traduits de Latin en François par deffunct Jan Martin* . . . (Paris: J. Kerver).
- Alciato, Andrea 1547, *Clarissimi viri D. Andreae Alciati emblematum libri duo* (Lyon: J. de Tournes).
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INDEX OF NAMES

- Absternius, Laurentius, 445
 Académie Française, 278, 472
 Accursius (Francesco Accorso), 89, 90,
 94, 95, 96, 101, 102, 103, 106, 107,
 300, 301, 303
 Achates, 515
 Acheloos, 14
 Achilles, 381
 Achilles Tatius
 Leucippe and Clitophon, 237, 251
 Acropolis, 16, 18, 18
 Ademar of Chabannes, 431
 Adonis, 358, 359, 385, 388
 Adrian VI, Pope, 125
 Aegean, 14
 Aeneas, 360, 376, 515, 516
 Aeolus, 515
 Aesop, 6, 112, 115, 425, 426, 431,
 437, 439, 440, 443, 444, 445, 446,
 514, 526
Aesopus Dorpii, 430, 442, 444, 449
Aesopus moralizatus, 444
Aesopus Dorpii, 430, 444, 445, 446, 447,
 448, 449, 450, 451
 Agricola, Rudolf, 1, 111, 112, 118
 Agrigento, 487, 488
 Agrippa, 180
 Alamanni, Luigi, 354, 383
 Alberti, Leo Battista, 92, 99, 512, 513
 Albon, Antoine d', 43
 Alcaeus, 399, 401
 Alciato, Andrea, 90, 192, 300, 301,
 303, 312, 524
 Annotationes, 300
 Encomium Historiae, 300
 Oratio in Laudem Iuris Civilis, 300
 Paradoxa, 300
 Parerga, 300
 De Verborum Significatione, 300
 Alcibiades, 281
 Aldo, Manuzio, see Manutius, Aldus
 Aldus, Manutius, see Manutius, Aldus
 Aleandro, Girolamo, 30, 48, 49, 52,
 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 63,
 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 75, 76,
 78, 125
 Aleandro, Girolamo, il Giovane
 De Domo Mocenica, 34
 Aleandro, Pietro Marino, 30
 Alexander the Great, 172
 Allegretti, Antonio, 251
 Alviano, Bartolommeo, see Liviano,
 Bartholomeo
Amadis, 238, 239, 243, 260
 Amerbach, Bruno, 56
 Amycus, 363, 372, 373, 374, 375
 Amymone, 358
 Amyot, Jacques, 2, 3, 4, 5, 61, 62,
 72, 74, 219, 221, 222, 223, 224,
 225, 226, 227, 228, 231, 232, 234,
 235
Amours pastorales de Daphnis et Chloé
 Les, 240, 242, 245, 246, 247, 249,
 254, 257, 258, 259, 260, 273,
 277, 278, 279
 In Bourges, 242, 249, 250, 257, 269
 In Italy, 241, 242, 250, 251, 252,
 256
Hecuba, 260
Histoire aethiopique de Heliodorus L',
 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243,
 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249,
 250, 251, 254, 256, 258, 260,
 262, 264, 268, 272, 273, 274,
 275, 279
Histoire de Diodore Sicilien, 245, 247,
 248, 252, 254, 258
Iphigénie en Aulis, 260, 261
Oeuvres morales et meslées, Les, 239,
 240, 242, 246, 247, 258, 262,
 266
Projet d'une éloquence royale, 268, 273,
 274, 275, 277, 278
 "Proesme" to *L'Histoire aethiopique de*
 Heliodorus, 241, 244, 245, 246,
 247, 248, 250, 251, 254, 256,
 258, 261, 263, 264, 267, 268,
 271, 275, 279
Sophonisbe, 261
Troades, Les, 260, 261
Vies des hommes illustres, 239, 240,
 241, 242, 246, 247, 248, 256,
 257, 258, 260, 266, 267, 268,
 270, 272, 273, 274
 Anacreon and the *Anacreonitea*, 393,
 394, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401,

- 402, 403, 404, 406, 407, 409, 411,
425, 427, 428, 429, 430
Anacreonitea, authenticity of, 397
Anchises, 359
André, Elie, 401
Andrelini, Fausto, 113, 114, 115, 133
Andromache, 377, 378, 380, 381
Aneau, Barthélemy, 506, 524, 526
 Alector, 275
 Imagination poetique, 524
 Picta poesis, 524
Angeliers, les, Arnoul and Charles,
139, 163, 164
Angeliers, les, Charles, 139, 163, 164
Anna, 379
*Annotationes Natalis Bedae in Fabrum et
Erasmum*, 116
Anonymous translation of 1547, 447,
450, 451
Anthemius, emperor
 Constitutiones or *Novellae*, 41
Antiavianus, 428
Antibarbari, 114, 117
Antibes, 471
Antiquities of Athens, The, 486
Antiquities of Ionia, The, 486
Antonines, emperors, 37, 38
Apharidae, 374
Apollo, 354, 515
Apuleius, 139, 526
Aquinas, Saint Thomas, 503
Aratus, 406
Arc de Triomphe, 475
Arc du Carrousel, 475
Arcas, 363
Ares, 346
Argonauts, 363, 364, 365, 366, 368,
369, 370, 371, 372, 382
Ariadne, 378
Arion, 361, 388
Ariosto, Lodovico, 371, 380, 383
Aristophanes, 429
Aristotle, 13, 182, 193, 194, 197, 198,
210, 212, 264, 277, 301, 308, 311,
352, 376, 503
Ascanius, 515
Asia, 13
Astyanax-Scamandrius, 378
Athenaeus, 409
Athens, 15, 17, 18
Attica, 14
Aubignac, François Hédelin, abbot of
 Macarise, 239
Aubigné, Agrippa d', 348
Augustus, Emperor, 37, 38
Ausonius, D. Magnus, 42, 44, 46
Auvray, G., 160
Avanzi, Girolamo, 30, 31
Avellino, 39
Avianus, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 435,
437, 438, 445
Avionnet, 428
Babin, Jacques Paul, 16, 18, 19
Babrius, 6, 425, 426, 427
Bacchus, 354, 358, 361
Bachet, Claude Gaspar de Mézirac,
231
Bade, Josse, 7, 113, 115, 121, 124,
125, 127, 517, 519, 521, 528
Badius, Josse, see Bade, Josse
Baduellus, Claudius, 1, 80
Baiae, 487
Baif, Jean-Antoine de, 6, 261, 345,
346, 354, 355, 357, 358, 359, 360,
364, 369, 383, 394, 455
Baif, Lazare de, 455
 De Re Navali, 521
 De Re Vestitaria, 521
Baissey, Chrestienne de, 360
Balbi, Girolamo, 114
Baldus de Ubaldis, 301
Balzac, Guez de, 317
Barbaro, Ermolao, 99, 100, 103, 108,
439, 440, 443
Barbaro, Ermolao *senior*, 439
Barlandus, Adrianus Cornelii, 430, 445,
447
Baron, Eguinaire, 301, 305
 Pandectarum Iuris Ciuilis Oeconomia, 305
Bartolus de Sassoferrato, 90, 298, 301
Basle, 116, 126, 127, 251
Baths of Caracalla, 493
Baths of Diocletian, 494
Batt, Jacob, 113, 120
Baudoin, Jean, 269
Baudouin, François, 301, 304, 305
 Catechesis Iuris Ciuilis, 304
 Iustinianus siue de Iure Nouo, 304
 *De Institutione Uniuersae Historiae et Eius
cum Iurisprudencia Coniunctione*, 305
Beda, Noël, 125
Belleau, Remy, 357, 359, 361, 383,
384, 394, 405, 406, 407, 409, 410,
411, 413, 414, 416, 418, 420, 421,
422, 423, 424, 425
Belleforest, François de, 141, 354, 384
 Pyrenée amoureuse, La, 237

- Belliard, Guillaume, 355, 384
 Bellèvre, Claude, 28
 Bembo, Pietro, 35, 36
 Prose della volgar lingua, 275
 Bembo, Torquato, 35, 36
 Bérault, Nicolas, 1, 54, 68, 69, 70, 298
 Bereau, Jacques, 354, 365, 384
 Beroaldo, Filippo, 30, 99, 112, 115,
 118
 Berquin, L., 138
 Bessarion, Cardinal John, 72, 74, 99
 Bèze, Théodore de, 454
 Bibliotheca Corviniana, 244
 Bibliotheca Vaticana, 251, 252
 Bibliotheca Vaticana, see also Pontifical
 Library
 Bibliothèque nationale de France, 26,
 38, 44, 65, 69, 75
 Bibliothèque du Roi, see Royal Library
 Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève, 493
 Bion, 253, 358, 359
 Blois, 29
 Blondel, François, 474
 Boccaccio, Giovanni
 Decameron, 238
 Bochetel, Guillaume, 241, 260
 Bodin, Jean, 301, 307, 308, 309
 Iuris Universi Distributio, 308, 309
 Methodus ad Facilem Historiae
 Cognitionem, 308
 Discours adressé au sénat et au peuple de
 Toulouse, 308
 La république, 310
 Bodleian Library, 30, 34
 Boece, Hector, 113
 Boerio, Baptista, 136
 Boileau, Gilles, 319
 Boileau, Nicolas (Nicolas
 Boileau-Despréaux), 5, 5, 318, 320,
 321, 322, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328,
 329, 330, 461
 Boisrobert, François de
 L'Histoire indienne d'Anaxandre et
 d'Orazie, 239
 Bologna, 124, 125, 132, 133, 136
 Bombasio, Paolo, 125
 Bonhomme, Macé, 524, 526
 Boreas, 357, 370, 372
 Bossozel, Guillaume de, 517
 Botero, 190
 Bougainville, Jean-Pierre, 16
 Bouhier, family, 26
 Bounin, Gabriel, 461
 Bourdel, Jean, 354, 384, 386, 390
 Bourges, 300, 301, 303
 Rabelais' and Pantagruel's studies in,
 167, 168
 Bourges, University of, 337
 Bourriquant, Fleury, 163
 Briarée, 381
 Briçonnet, Guillaume, 113, 115
 Brie, Germain de, 57
 Brinon, Jean, 358
 Brussels, 127
 Buchanan, George, 394, 454, 455
 Jephthes, 454
 Alcestis, 455
 Budé, Guillaume, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 31, 34,
 48, 49, 50, 51, 53, 55, 58, 59, 60,
 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 70, 71,
 72, 73, 74, 76, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84,
 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93,
 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101,
 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108,
 113, 127, 128, 147, 166, 167, 172,
 175, 176, 181, 297, 298, 299, 300,
 301, 303, 312, 336, 337, 338, 339,
 344
 Adversaria, 84, 85, 91
 And Italian humanists, 87, 88, 99,
 100, 105, 108
 Annotiones . . . in Pandectas, 31, 80,
 81, 82, 83, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90,
 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99,
 100, 101, 102, 106, 297
 Annotations by, 83, 84, 85, 87
 De Asse, 297
 Discursive writing style, 102, 103,
 104, 105
 Family name, 83
 Greek lexicography, 80, 84, 90, 91,
 106
 Interest in architecture, 84, 93, 98,
 103
 Studies, 81, 82, 88
 Textual criticism, 87, 90, 91, 94, 97,
 98, 99, 100, 101
 Translations by, 83, 86, 88
 Travel in Italy, 82, 97
C'est l'ordre qui a este tenu a la nouvelle &
joyeuse entrée . . . Paris, 506
 Caesar, Caius Julius, 141, 149, 163
 Commentaria, 31, 32, 514, 515
 Gallic Wars, 516
 Calais, 363, 367, 370, 371, 374
 Calisto, 363
 Callimachus, 370

- Calliope, 370
 Caluarinus, P., 163
 Calvin, Jean, 48, 68, 143
 Calvino, 18
 Calypso, 345
 Cambrai, Bishop of (Hendrik van Bergen), 113, 114, 117, 120, 132
 Cambridge, 126
 Caminade, Augustin, 133
 Camus, Jean-Pierre, bishop of Belley, 269
 Canter, Guillaume, 338
 Caro, Annibale
 Gli Amori pastorali di Dafni e Cloe, 252, 253, 259
 Caron, Antoine, 339
 Carpi, Rodolfo Pio, 35, 36
 Castiglione, Baldassare
 Cortegiano, 275
 Castor, 363, 370, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 380, 382
 Cato, M. Porcius
 De Re Rustica, 31
 Celsus, 299
 Ceres, 354
 Cervantes, Miguel de
 Don Quixote, 238, 266
 Galatea, 237
 Trabajos de Persiles a Sigismunda Los, 238
 Chalcondyla, Demetrius, 68, 69
 Chalcondyles, Demetrius, 56, 70, 72
 Chalon-sur-Saône, 343
 Champier, Symphorien, 334
 Chantelouve, François de, 456
 Chapelain, Jean, 460
 Charbonnier, François, 354
 Charlemagne, 43
 Charles V, King, 363
 Charles VIII, 43, 115
 Charles IX, King, 241, 376, 382, 388, 504
 Charnes, Jacques-Antoine, abbot of
 Conversations sur la critique de la princesse de Clèves, 262
 Charpentier, François, 293
 Charpin, Étienne, 41, 42, 44
 Charpinus, Stephanus, see Charpin, Étienne
 Chartres, 472, 475, 479
 Chateaubriand, François-René, 12
 Chéradame, Jean, 54, 64, 65, 70, 80
 Chesneau, Nicolas, 163
 Chilpéric, 380
 Chirac, Jacques, 502
 Chiron, 369, 370
 Choisy, Auguste, 491
 Christ, 281, 332, 340, 341, 343
 Chrysippus, 219
 Chrysoloras, Manuel, 67, 68, 69, 71
 Cicero, 26, 28, 111, 126, 139, 140, 141, 149, 161, 163, 164, 166, 172, 174, 187, 189, 190, 192, 195, 196, 197, 205, 206, 210, 212, 213, 215, 216, 217, 265, 278, 288, 299, 300, 301, 306, 309, 310, 311, 313, 466, 503
 De Finibus, 345
 De Legibus, 300, 306, 309, 311
 De Officiis, 300, 306
 De Oratore, 299, 306, 308
 Rhetorica ad Herennium, 325
Ciceronianus, 127
 Clement VII, Pope, 125
 Clerc, David le, 160, 164
 Clymene, 377, 379, 380
Codex Theodosianus, 303
 Coignac, Joachim de
 La Desconfiture de Goliath, 454
 Colbert, Jean-Baptiste, 472
 Colet, John, 116, 118, 119, 121
 Colet, Claude, 242, 243
 Coligny, Gaspard de, 372, 374
 Coligny, Odet de, 372
 Colin, Jacques, 261, 274, 275
 Coliseum, 504
 Collège de Boncour, 52, 53, 394
 Collège de Coqueret, 403
 Collège du cardinal Lemoine, 54, 61
 Collège de France, 2, 54, 58, 61, 78, 175, 393
 Collège de Montaigu, 112
 Collin, J., 147, 163
 Colombet, 311
 Colonna, Francesco, 507, 513
 Hypnerotomachia Poliphili, 507
 Colonne Vendôme, 479
 Colosseum, 489
 Columella, 111
 Columella
 De Re Rustica, 31
 Comes, Natalis, 333
 Comes, see Conti
 Compagnons Tailleurs, 472
Compendium (R. Gaguin), 114, 115
 Connan, François, 306, 307
 Commentarii Iuris Civilis, 306
 Constantinople, 15, 48, 69
 Sack of, 336

- Conti, Natale, or Noël Conti, or
Natales Comes, 359, 385, 391
- Cop, Guillaume, 58, 70, 72, 123, 128
- Coquille, Guy, 311, 312
- Coras, Jean de, 307, 308, 309
De Iuris Arte Liber, 308
- Corbie, Abbey of, 27, 39, 40
- Cordier, Mathurin, 143, 163
- Cordoue, Gonzalve de, 31
- Corneille, Pierre, 326, 454, 460, 462, 470
Le menteur, 470
Médée, 462
Corpus Hermeticum, 173
Corpus Iuris Civilis, 307, 312
- Correr, Gregorio, 440
- Corrozet, Gilles, 428, 438, 446, 447, 449, 451, 452, 526
Hecatographie, 526
- Costeley, Guillaume, 460
- Cotel, Antoine de, 360, 385
- Council of Trent, 253, 265, 348
- Courier, Paul-Louis, 242, 253
- Courthardy, Pierre de, 115
- Courtoys, Jean, 27
- Cousin, Jean, 506, 507
- Crastone, Giovanni, 63, 65, 66, 67, 70, 76
- Crenne, Hélisenne de, 148
- Crinito, Pietro (Ricci), 97
- Croke, Richard, 70
- Croton, 363
- Cujas, Jacques, 41, 42, 44, 301, 303, 304, 312
Paratitla in Libros Digestorum, 303
Tractatus ad Africanum, 303
- Cumac, 487
- Cupid, 526
- Curtius, Quintus, 145
- Cyclops, 360
- D *scholia* on the *Odyssey*, 334
- D'Arx, Ildefonse, 37
- D'Avanson, Jean, 355
- Dacier, Mme., 421
- Danès, Pierre, 49, 50, 54, 59, 60, 61, 62, 68, 69, 70, 71, 75
- Daniel, Pierre, 29
- Dante, 333
- Daphne, 354
- De Formando Studio* (Agricola), 118
- De Moralibus et Intellectualibus Virtutibus* (Fausto), 115
- De Dene, Edewaert, 449
- Del Gaddi, Monsignore, 252
- Della Casa, Giovanni
Galateo, 275
- Delboulle, A., 403, 410, 411, 413, 416, 418, 420, 421, 422, 424, 425, 426, 427
- Delorme, Philibert, 506
- Demetrius, 195, 198, 204, 214, 215
- Demosthenes, 59, 60, 149, 164, 197, 198, 203, 204, 213
- Des Masures, L., 151, 152, 153, 156, 157, 158, 159, 163
- Deshayes, Louis baron de Courmenin, 17, 18
- Deutsche Staatsbibliothek (Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin—Preussischer Kulturbesitz), 36
- Deventer, 111, 112, 129, 130, 131
- Diana, 337, 356
- Dicée, 377, 379, 380, 381
- Dido, 516
- Digest (Pandectae)*, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 303, 304, 305, 306, 310, 311, 313
1.1.1. pr., 299
1.1.1. 1, 299
1.2.2, 304
- Diodorus Siculus, 62, 74, 139
- Dionysius of Halicarnassus, 195, 198
- Dioscuri, 372, 373, 374, 375
- Dolet, Etienne, 1, 2, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 144, 145, 146, 149, 163
La Maniere de bien traduire d'une langue en autre, 260
- Domat, Jean
Les lois civiles dans leur ordre naturel, 310
- Doneau, Hugues, 301, 310
- Dorat, Jean, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 358, 376, 385, 394, 405
- Dorp, Martin, 430, 444, 445
- Dryope, 365
- Du Bellay, Guillaume, 185
- Du Bellay, Jean, 178
- Du Bellay, Joachim, 62, 144, 145, 146, 148, 149, 152, 157, 158, 163, 261, 344, 345, 346, 353, 354, 360, 385, 406, 407, 453, 454, 467
Allusions, 344
Anagrams, 344
La Deffence et illustration de la langue françoise, 453
- Du Moulin, Charles, 302
- Du Guillet, Pernette, 359, 385

- Du Cerceau, Jacques, 513
 Dupuy, Claude, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41
 Dupuy, family, 26
 Bequest of, 40
 Dupuy, Jacques, 40
 Dupuy, Pierre, 40
 Durant, Gilles., 410, 426
- Echo, 354
 École des Beaux-Arts, L', 474, 484, 486, 488, 491, 493, 497, 502, 503
 Egger, Émile, 393
 Eiffel Tower, 497
 Elgin, Lord, 486
Enchiridion (Militis Christiani), 126
 England, 116, 117, 118, 123, 124, 126, 134, 136
 Ennius, 334
 Epictetus, 180
 Epictetus, 219
Epistulae Morales (Fausto), 115
 Eppendorff, 126
 Erasmus, 1, 4, 33, 34, 51, 53, 56, 58, 64, 66, 70, 80, 84, 93, 97, 100, 104, 105, 108, 138, 165, 166, 169, 170, 172, 176, 179, 181, 185, 189, 281, 282, 291, 299, 429, 430, 444, 445, 449, 455
 Adages, 109, 114, 115, 117, 121, 122, 126
 Adagia, 33
 Adagiorum Chiliades, 118, 122
 Adagiorum Collectanea, 115, 116, 117, 118, 120, 121
 Familiarium colloquiorum formulae, 127
 Erities, 515
Esbatement Moral des Animaux, 449
 Eskreich, Pierre, 524
 Estienne, Charles, 468, 469
 Estienne, Henri, 6, 7, 61, 242, 243, 253, 254, 393, 394, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 403, 405, 407, 409, 410, 425, 429
 Estienne, publishing house of, 522, 521
 Estienne Robert, 67, 75, 76, 77, 143, 163, 397
 Estienne, Robert I, 519, 528
 Estissac, Bishop Geoffroy d', 166
 Eucherus
 Formulae Spiritales, 44, 45
 Eumolpus, 343
 Euripides, 122, 124, 260, 455
 Europe, 10, 16
- Eurydice, 368, 369, 370
 Eustathios Macrembolites
 Hysmine and Hysminias, 237, 238
- Farnese, Alessandro, Cardinal, 253
 Fauchet, Claude, 26, 147, 163
 Faye, Antoine de la, 141
 Ferrière, Claude, 311
 Ficino, Marsilio, 333
Figures du Nouveau Testament, 524
 Fischer, Johann, 404
 Flaccus, Valerius, 364, 365, 366, 370, 371, 373, 374
 Flaminio, Marco Antonio, 365, 366, 386
 Fleury, 29
 Fleury, see also Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire
 Florence, 124, 125
 Florus, Deacon of Lyons, 44
 Fondulo, Girolamo, 251
 Fontainebleau
 Palace of, 331
 Royal Library in, 246, 250, 251
 Fontenay-le-Comte, 166
 Forcadel, Étienne, 361, 364, 386
 Fornovo, battle of (poem by Fausto), 115
 François I, King, 2, 21, 48, 49, 62, 65, 66, 73, 74, 75, 77, 87, 127, 128, 141, 142, 175, 177, 185, 241, 248, 249, 251, 253, 331, 336
Francus, 373, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382
 Frédégonde, 380
 French Academy in Rome, 484, 489
 Froben, Johannes, 116, 126
 Frontinus
 De Aqueductibus Urbis Romae, 31
 Fumée, Martin
 Du vray et parfait amour, 275, 278
 Furetière, Antoine
 Connaissance des bons livres, De la, 262
- Gagny, Jean de, 25, 44
 Gaguin, Robert, 49, 112, 113, 114, 115, 117, 118, 515
 Gaius, 306
 Galatea, 360
 Galen, 169, 170
 Galerie des Machines, 497
 Galsonde, 380
 Gambara, Lorenzo
 Expositi, 253
 Ganay, Germain de, 86, 87, 98

- Ganymede, 377
 Gare d'Orsay, 496
 Gare de l'Est, 7, 478, 493, 496
 Gare du Nord, 7, 493, 494
 Garnier, Charles, 490
 Garnier, Robert, 225, 458, 459, 460, 462, 463, 465
 Antigone, 458, 459
 Bradamante, 458, 460
 Hippolyte, 458
 La Troade, 458
 Les Juives, 458, 460, 463
 Marc Antoine, 458, 462
 Porcie, 458, 460
 Gaza, Theodore, 64, 67, 68, 92, 99
 Gellius, Aulus, 28, 394, 409, 519
 Gazeau, Jacques, 512, 526
Genesis, 326
 Georgius Cedrenus, 263
 Gerard (father of Erasmus), 111
 Gerard, Cornelis, 112, 133
 Gesner, Conrad, 334, 335, 348
Gestes romaines, 515
 Gideon, 362
 Giocondo, Fra (Giovanni da Verona), 7, 29, 30, 31, 32, 84, 85, 98, 99
 Silloge Epigrafica, 30
 Giralaldi Cinzio, Giovanni Battista, 386
 Discorso ovvero Lettera intorno al comporre delle comedie e delle tragedie, 261
 Glanum, 471
 Glareanus (Heinrich Loriti), 64, 66, 68, 70
 Goliath, 373
 Gomberville, Marin Le Roy de
 Polexandre, 275
 Gouda, 430
 Gouda, William Hermansz of, 430, 444, 445, 447
 Goudanus, 430
 Goujon, Jean, 506
 Gourmont, Gilles de, 52, 55, 64, 66, 68, 69, 70, 72, 75, 76
 Gournay, Marie de, 143, 144, 161, 162, 163
 Gracchus, 174
 Graces, 354
 Grand Central Railway Station, 494
 Grandrue, Claude de, 41
 Greece, 10, 14, 16, 18, 20, 23
 Post-classical, 14
 Region of Europe, 14
 Gregorius Tifernas, 1, 49, 50
 Grévin, Jacques, 459, 470
 Bref discours pour l'intelligence de ce théâtre, 459
 César, 459
 Les Esbahis, 469
 Grocyn, William, 116
 Gronovius, Johannis Fredericus, 40
 Groulleau, Estienne, 243, 246
 Gryphius, Sebastien, 521
 Guarino da Verona, 69, 70, 439, 441
 Guarino, Battista, 111
 Guez De Balzac, Jean-Louis, 239
 Guide, Philibert, 452
 Guillart, André, 305
 Guillon, René
 Heliodori Aethiopicarum Historiarum Liber Primus, 250
 Guise, François duc de Guise, 363, 372
 Habert, François, 354, 355, 359, 386
 Hadrian, Emperor, 37
 Hapsburgs, 363
 Hardouyn, Gilles, 503
 Hardy, Alexandre, 460
 Coriolan, 460
 La Gigantomachie, 460
 Harpies, 370, 371
 Harsy, Denys de, 163
 Haudent, Guillaume, 446, 449
 Haussmann, Georges Eugène, Baron, 475, 478
 Hebe, 342
 Hecate, 337
 Hector, 376, 377, 378, 380, 381
Hecuba, 124
 Hegius, Alexander, 111, 112, 130, 131
 Helen, 377, 378, 379
 Helenin, 377, 381
 Heliodorus, 2, 5, 62, 222, 226
 Ethiopian Story, 237, 238, 239, 240, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 248, 249, 251, 254, 256, 257, 258, 261, 262, 263, 264, 273, 275, 278, 279
 Heliodorus The Arab, 263
 Henri II, King, 185, 249, 252, 257, 258, 268, 363, 371, 376, 506
 Henri III, King, 257
 Heracles, see Hercules
 Herberay Des Essarts, Nicolas
 Dom Florès, 238
 Primaleon, 238
 Herculaneum, 487
 Hercules, 336, 341, 342, 354, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 382

- Hermans, Willem, 115, 134
Hermes Trismegistus, 173
 Hermonymus, George of Sparta, 50,
 51, 52, 58, 63, 65, 67, 72, 73, 82,
 83, 87, 118
 Hesiod, 265, 333, 343, 344
 Hésione, 380
 Hesteau, Clovis, 364, 387
Heures à l'usage de Rouen, 504
Heures à l'usage de Rome, 504
 Hippocrates, 169, 170, 171
 Hittorf, J.L., 494, 495, 496
 Holland, 112, 114, 135
 Homer, 120, 170, 184, 217, 270, 271,
 272, 318, 325, 328, 333, 334, 335,
 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342,
 343, 344, 347, 348, 352, 354, 373,
 377, 378, 406, 410
Iliad, 10, 246
Odyssey, 10, 123
 Horace, 26, 112, 135, 312, 406, 407,
 409, 455, 456, 458
Ars Poetica, 270, 272
 Hospital, Michel de L', 1, 307, 360
 Hotman, François, 304, 307
Partitiones Iuris Civilis Elementariae, 307
Antitribonian, 307
 Huet, Pierre-Daniel, 326
Lettre-Traité sur l'origine des romans,
 239, 262, 276
 Hugo, Victor, 403
 Hummelberger, Michael, 52, 55, 56
 Hutton, J., 393, 394
 Hyante, 378, 379, 381
 Hyginus, 26
 Hylas, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 371,
 382
 Idas, 373, 374
 Idoménée, 380
 Ignatius of Loyola, 48
 Ignorance, 360
 Île-Barbe, Monastery of l', 30, 42, 43,
 44
Index Librorum Prohibitorum, 259
 Institutes (Justinian), 305, 306
Iphigenia at Aulis, 124
 Iris, 358, 361
 Isocrates, 170
 Isopets, 427, 429, 434, 435
Isopet de Chartres
 Isopets, 434, 435, 437
Isopet de Lyon
 Isopets, 434, 435, 436
Isopet I
 Isopets, 434, 435, 436, 446
Isopet II de Paris
 Isopets, 434, 435
Isopet III
 Isopets, 435, 436
 Italy, 111, 115, 117, 118, 124, 125,
 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136
 Rabelais' travels to, 178
 Ithaca, 338, 339, 348
 Ixion, 361
 Janot, Denys, 139, 140, 154, 163, 164,
 516, 526
 Jason, 355, 362, 363, 364, 368, 369,
 370, 372, 375, 515
 Jehan de Vignay, 433
 Jodelle, Étienne, 346, 363, 387, 394,
 453, 454, 456, 458, 459, 467, 469
Cléopâtre captive, 261, 453, 454, 456,
 457
Didon se sacrifiant, 456, 457
La Rencontre, 453
L'Eugène, 453
 Josephus, 139, 458
Antiquities of the Jews, 458
 Julianus, Emperor, 42
Julius Exklusus, 115
 Julius II, Pope, 28, 115, 124
 Juno, 361, 365, 515
 Jupiter, 357, 361, 367, 373, 374, 377,
 378, 381
 Justin, 139
 Justinian, Emperor, 298, 304, 305,
 306, 307, 310
Constitutiones or *Novellae*, 42
 Justinianus, see Justinian, Emperor
 Justinus, 26
 Juvenal, 28, 514
 Kerver, Jacques, 507, 512
 Kerver, Thielmann, 503
 La Boétie, Estienne de, 199, 200, 214
 La Bruyère, Jean de, 232
 La Fontaine, Jean de, 318, 330
 La Fontaine, 426, 442, 452
 La Jessée, Jean de, 354, 387
 La Péruse, J. de, 357
 La Roque, Siméon Guillaume de, 355,
 387
 La Taille, Jean de, 453, 458
La Famine, ou les Gabaonites, 459
Saül le furieux, 453, 458

- La magnificence de la superbe et triomphante entrée*, 506
 Laborde, comte de Laurenberg, 17, 18
 Labrouste, Henri, 488, 503
 Laloux, V., 496
 Lambin, Denis, 394
 Lamy, Bernard
 Nouvelles Reflexions sur l'art poétique, 239
 Lamy, Pierre, 166, 181
 l'Angelier, Abel, 163
 Lapo da Castiglionchio, 99
 Larivey, Pierre de, 469, 470
 Les Esprits, 469
 Lascaris, Constantine, 55, 67, 69, 70
 Lascaris, Janus, 1, 29, 31, 32, 48, 49,
 52, 53, 56, 57, 58, 62, 72, 73, 74,
 78, 82, 83, 86, 87, 118
 Latomus, 3
 Latona, 354
 Laumonier, P., 393, 397, 401, 405,
 407, 409, 410, 411, 413, 414, 416,
 419, 420, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426,
 427, 428, 429
 Le Caron, Louis (Charondas), 304,
 311, 312
 Pandectes ou Digestes du droit français,
 311
 Le Chevalier d'Agneaux, Antoine, 160
 Le Douaren, François, 301, 304, 305,
 306
 De Ratione Docendi Discendique Iuris, 305
 Le Roy, Guillaume, 153
 Le Mangnier, Robert, 243
 Le Roy, Louis, 260
 Le Duchat, or Ducatius,
 Louis-François, 358, 387
 Leander, Petrus
 Leblanc, Richard, 144
 Leda, 367, 373
 Ledoux, Charles, 491
 Lefèvre d'Étaples, Jacques, 1, 51, 54,
 57, 72, 113, 115, 116, 139, 334,
 336
 Leidrad, 43
 Lemaire de Belges, Jean, 336, 353,
 354, 387
 Leo X, Pope, 28, 125
 Les Halles, 493, 503
 Lestringant, Frank, 16
 Leto, Pomponio, 114
Lex XII Tabularum, 304
 Libanius, 121
 Libri-Carrucci, Guillaume-Brutus-
 Timoléon, 25, 26
 Limborch, van, auction, 36, 37
 Linacre, Thomas, 1, 116, 117
 Lindsay, W.M., 43, 45
 Linus, 343
 Lipsius, Justus, 147
 Liviano, Bartholomeo, 31
 Livy, 27, 28, 187, 300, 515
 Edition of 1644-45, 40
 Ab Urbe Condita, Book 21, 39
 Books 26 and 27, 40
 Book 21 or 30, 39
 Third Decade, 27, 34, 38, 40
 Loir, Sieur du, 18
 Loisel, Antoine, 312
 London, 119, 124
 Longinus, 195, 197, 198, 207, 315,
 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322,
 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330
 Longueil, Christophe, 1
 Longus, 62, 222
 Daphnis and Chloe, 237, 239, 240,
 245, 248, 249, 251, 252, 254,
 258, 259, 261, 279
 Lorraine, J., cardinal de, 372
 Louis XII, King, 115
 Louis XIV, King, 36, 331, 472, 496,
 497
 Louise de Lorraine, 340
 Louvain, 118, 120, 121, 123, 124, 128
 Lowe, E.A., 45
 Lucan, 26, 28, 172
 Lucian, 124, 125, 179, 261, 266
 True Story, 265
 Lucretius, 151
 Lugdunum, see Lyon
 Lutetia, 478
 Luther, Martin, 126, 137, 138
 Luython, Glaude, 449, 450
 Lycophron, 332, 406
 Lynceus, 373, 374, 375
 Lyon, 25, 42, 44, 45, 46, 169, 170,
 333, 334, 337
 scriptorium, 43, 44, 45
 Macault, Anthoine, 139, 141, 164
 Macho, Julien, 429, 433, 438, 446,
 448, 451
 Macrin, Jean Salmon, 359, 388
 Macrobius, 264, 519
 Madeleine, 478, 503
 Magny, Olivier de, 357, 360, 388, 425
 Maillezais, 178
 Maine, Guillaume du, 64, 65, 66, 80
 Maintenon, 472

- Mairet, Jean, 460
 Maison Carrée, 6, 471, 472, 503
 Majorianus, Emperor
 Constitutiones or *Novellae*, 41
 Malherbe, François de, 161, 347, 348
 Manardi, Giovanni, 169, 171
Manuel d'Histoire de Philippe VI, 433
 Manutius, Aldus, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33,
 34, 53, 61, 63, 67, 68, 72, 76, 122,
 123, 437, 444, 447, 509, 521
 Manuscripts, named
 Carte di Nautica MSS e Mimate, 34
 Codex Bambergensis, 39
 Codex Bellouacensis or *Riccardianus*
 (Ashburnhamensis R. 98), 26, 29
 Codex Bembinus, 36
 Codex Bezae, 43, 44
 Codex Carpensis (Laurentianus
 XXXIX, 1), 36
 Codex Dionysianus or *Augusteus*, 34, 38
 See also *Schedae Vergilianae*
 Codex Florentinus, 29
 Codex Lateranensis, 39
 Codex Leidensis Vossianus Latinus III, 46
 Codex Mediceus, 28, 36
 Codex Palatinus (Vat. Palat. lat. 24), 39
 Codex Parisinus, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33,
 34
 Codex Parisinus 2895, 251, 252, 254
 Codex Parisinus 2903, 252
 Codex Puteanus, 34, 39, 40
 Codex Romanus, 27, 28, 29
 Codex Sangallensis (Bibliothèque du
 Chapitre no. 1394), 37
 Codex Secundus, 90
 Codex Theodosianus, 41, 44, 45
 Codex Vaticanus, 28, 36
 Codex Vindobonensis, 39
 Schedae Vergilianae, 26, 34, 35, 36, 37
 Codex Vossianus Graecus in Quatro
 No. 2, 87
 Florentine *Pandectae (Littera Florentina)*,
 100, 297
 "Pisan *Pandectae*," 82, 87, 97, 98
 Codex Antiavianus, 428
 Codex Novus Avianus Vindobonensis-
 Monacensis, 428
 Avionnet, 436, 437
 Manzini, Giovanni-Battista
 Gli amori innocenti di Dafni e Cloe.
 Favola greca descritta in italiano, 253
 Manzuzio, Aldo, see Manutius, Aldus
 Marcellus, Nonius
 Compendia, 32
 Marcomire, 378
 Marguerite de Navarre, 356, 388
 Marie de France, 425, 426, 429, 434
 Marnef, Jeanne de, 526
 Marot, Clément, 526
 Mars, 359, 363, 388
 Marseilles, 471
 Martens, Dierk, 121
 Martial
 Epigrammata, 31
 Martin, Jean, 363, 383, 390, 507, 512,
 513, 514, 524
 Songe de Poliphile, 507, 512, 513
 Marullus, Michael, 371, 388
 Maternus, 189, 206, 208
 Maximus, Valerius, 139
 Mazarin, Cardinal Jules, 472
 Meaux, 29
 Medea, 363, 364, 516
 Medici, Catherine de, 261, 380, 504,
 506
 Mediterranean, 13
 Meigret, Lois
 Traité touchant le commun usage de
 l'écriture françoise, 243, 260
 Melanchton, Philippe, 259
 Melibeus, 515
 Memmius, Claudius, 40
 Ménager, Daniel, 377, 381
 Menalcas, 515
Mer des hystoires, 516, 517
 Michel, Guillaume de Tours, 139, 140,
 142, 163, 164
 Michel, Anselme le, 39
 Minerva, 516
 Mire, Louis le, 42
 Mirepoix, Claude de la Guiche, bishop
 of, 253
 Mocenigo, Alvise, 29, 32, 33, 34
 Mocenigo, family, 33, 34
 Molière, Jean-Baptiste, 232, 470
 L'Avare, 470
 Montaigne, Michel de, 5, 138, 151,
 161, 185, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230,
 231, 232, 233, 282, 285, 286, 287,
 290, 292, 293, 301, 302, 316
 Essays, 238, 239, 261
 Copia, 195, 196
 Curiositas, 198
 Deinos, 197, 213
 Deinotes, 196
 Genera dicendi, 193, 195
 Genus grande, 191, 195
 Genus humile, 192, 196

- Gravitas*, 202
Interpretatio scripti, 209
Obscura brevitatis, 203, 204
Oeconomia, 200, 216
Sola scriptura, 209
Varietas, 191, 217
 Montchrestien, Antoine de, 226, 456, 460
 Montemayor, Jorge de
 Diana, 237
 Montesquieu, 310
 Montmorency, Antoine de, 142
 Montpellier, 169, 175
 Montreux, Nicolas de
 L'Oeuvre de la chasteté, 239, 275
 Mopsus, 515
 More, Thomas, 1, 2, 3
 Morel, Frédéric, 163, 241, 242, 257, 260
 Morel, Frédéric II, 521
 Morel, Jean de, 398
 Morgan, J. Pierpont, 33
 Morin, Romain, 515
 Morosini, Francesco, 19
 Morosini, Antonio, 33
 Moschopoulos, Manuel, 68
 Moschos, 253, 357
 Moulin, Antoine du, 358, 385
 Mount Athos, 20
 Mount Olympus, 14
 Mountjoy, Lord (William Blount), 116, 122, 126, 132, 133, 134
 Muret, Marc-Antoine, 191, 203, 204, 394, 409, 454, 459
 Julius Caesar, 454, 459
 Muretus, Marcus Antonius, see Muret, Marc-Antoine
 Myre, Louis le, 44
 Myre, Louis le, see also Mire, Louis le

 Napoleon I, 479, 484, 487
 Napoleon III, 475, 479
 Narcissus, 354, 384
 Neckam, Alexander, 428, 432, 435, 436
 Némond, François de, 311
 Neo-Latins, 364, 365
 Neptune, 515
 Nero, 504
 New World, 13, 18
 New Testament, 116, 117, 121, 124, 126, 127
 Nicander, 406
 Nicephorus Callistus, 263

 Nicholas of Lyra, 99, 100
 Nîmes, 471, 496, 503
 Nointel, Charles-François Olier, marquis de, 15, 21
 Nordenfalk, Carl, 38
Novus Avianus, 428, 435

 Obsequens, Julius
 Liber Prodigiorum, 30
 Obsopoeus, Vincentius, 241, 244, 249, 334
 Octovien de Saint-Gelais, 153
 Odo of Cheriton, 432
 Odysseus, 338, 339, 341, 342, 346
 Oenone, 354, 379
 Ognibene da Lonigo, 439, 443
 Opéra, 472, 478, 484, 490, 491, 496
 Oporinus, Johannes, 259
 Orange, 471, 472, 475, 496
 Orée, 380
 Oribasius, 26
 Orithyia, 357
 Orléans, 25, 120
 Orosius, 191
 Orpheus, 184, 333, 341, 343, 344, 361, 363, 366, 368, 369
 Orsini, Fulvio, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 252
 Ouy, Gilbert, 32
 Ovid, 5, 7, 26, 110, 111, 147, 161, 346, 349, 353, 354, 355, 357, 359, 360, 364, 379, 380, 400, 423, 515, 516, 524, 526
 Heroides, 516
 Metamorphoses, 515, 524, 526, 529

 Paestum, 487, 488
 Palace Academy, 273, 278
Palatine Anthology, 394, 397, 398, 401, 409
 Palladio, Andrea, 488
 Palladius, Rutilius Taurus
 De Re Rustica, 31
 Pan, 358, 359
 Pandarus, 363
Pandectae, Pisan, 87, 97, 98, 100
Panegyrici Latini, 35
 Pantheon, in Paris, 479, 496
 Pantheon, Roman, 496
 Papinianus, 298, 303
 Papon, Jean, 149, 164
 Parc, Abbey of, 121
 Paris Exposition of 1889, 497
 Paris, University of, 52, 53, 55, 56, 57, 64

- Paris, 354, 363, 367, 376, 378, 383,
 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390,
 391
 Rabelais' studies in, 175
 And scholasticism, 165
 Parthenon, 15, 17, 18, 20
 Pascal, Blaise, 294, 310
 Passerat, Jean, 388
 Patisson, Mamert, 163
 Paulus, Lucius Aemilius, 174
 Pausanias, 13
 Pauw, Johannes Cornelius, 403, 404
 Peletier du Mans, Jacques, 316, 354,
 388
 Peletier, Jacques, 146, 164
 Pelletier, Claude le, 36, 37
 Peloponnesus, 14
 Penelope, 338
 Pennsylvania Railway Station, 494
 Perotti, Niccolò, 430
 Cornucopiae, 32
 Perrault, Charles, 329, 330, 512
 Perret, Estienne, 449
 Perrin, François, 163
 Perrin, Pierre, 529
 Perseus, 361, 380
 Pertz, G.H., 36, 37, 38
 Pesnot, L., 164
 Petau, family, 26
 Petit, Nicolas, de Bellozanac, 361, 387,
 388
 Petrarch, Francesco, 10, 212
 Petrus Alphonsus, 438
 Phaedrus, 426, 427, 429, 430, 431,
 436
 Phaeton, 515
 Phalemon, 515
 Pharamond, 376, 386
 Philipp, Johann, 116
 Philippe le Bon, 362
 Philomela, 355
 Philostratus, 263
 Phineus, 363, 370, 371
 Phovere, 373, 380
 Phryxus, 363
 Pichone, Antoine, 80
 Pierpont Morgan Library, 29, 33
 Pigouchet, Philippe, 504
 Pilatus, Leo, 10
 Pinciano, Leo
 Philosophia Antiqua Poetica, 276
 Pindar, 394, 398, 401, 403, 406, 407,
 409, 414, 430
 Pinelli, Gianvincenzo, 35, 36, 37, 38
 Pins, Jean de, 74
 Piranesi, Giovanni Battista, 484
 Pirckheimer, Willibald, 51, 63
 Pirithous, 363
 Pithou, Antoine, 41
 Pithou, François, 26, 41
 Pithou, Pierre, 26, 36, 41, 42, 430
 Pithou, Pierre I, 41
 Pithou, Pierre II, 41
 Pithou, Pierre III, 41
 Place Beaubourg, 497, 502
 Planche, Etienne de la, 147
 Plantin, Christopher, 528
 Planude, Maximo, 437
 Plato, 137, 173, 174, 198, 201, 207,
 211, 217, 261, 263, 265, 281, 283,
 287, 288, 292, 295, 301, 309, 311,
 406
 Plautus, 28, 300, 468, 469, 470
 Aulularia, 469
 Mostellaria, 469
 Pléiade, 6, 246, 311, 337, 338, 343,
 344, 346, 347, 394, 403, 405, 407,
 410, 453, 455, 459, 460, 461
 Pliny the Elder, 13, 345, 358
 Pliny the Younger
 Epistles, 26, 27, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33,
 34, 38
 Plutarch, 4, 5, 57, 60, 61, 73, 74, 180,
 194, 201, 207, 211, 216, 217, 218,
 219, 220, 222, 223, 226, 227, 228,
 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235,
 239, 242, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249,
 254, 257, 260, 273, 279, 294, 456
 Pluto, 357, 370
 Poggio Bracciolini, 438
 Poitiers
 Pantagrue's studies in, 168
 Rabelais' studies in, 167
 Poliphile, 507, 512
 Politian, 1, 28, 97, 98, 100, 102, 106,
 108, 297, 244, 255
 Poliziano, Angelo, see Politian
 Pollux, 363, 370, 372, 373, 374, 375,
 376, 380, 382
 Polybius, 271, 272
 Polydeuces, 372, 373
 Polyphemus, 360
 Pompeii, 484, 487
 Pompidou Centre of the Arts, 497
 Pomponius
 Enchiridion, 304
 Poncher, François, 64, 66
 Poncher, Bishop Étienne, 127

- Pont du Gard, 6, 471, 472
 Pontano, Giovanni Gioviano, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 389
 Pontifical Library, 27, 29, 35, 36, 37, 48, 72, 101, 102
 Pontifical Library, see also Bibliotheca Vaticana
 Porphyry, 339, 348
 Porte Saint-Denis, 506
 Pozzuoli, 487
Praise of Folly, 125, 126, 127
 Priam, 380, 381
Prière sur l'Acropole, 24
 Primasius of Utica, 44
 Prix de Rome, 484, 490, 503
 Proclus, 335
 Procne, 354
 Prometheus, 361, 362
 Propertius, 366, 367
 Proserpine, 357
Proverbiolum Liber (P. Vergil), 117
 Pseudo-Orpheus, 358
 Pseudo-Theocritus, 359
 Psyche, 526
 Ptolemy, 13
 Puteanus, Claudius, see Dupuy, Claude
 Pygmalion, 362
 Pyramids, 486
 Pyramus, 355
 Pyrrhus, 378
 Pythagoras, 173

Quadrins historiques de la Bible, 524
 Quatremère de Quincy, 486
 Quinault, Philippe, 461
 Quintilian, 265

 Rabel, Jean, 340
 Rabelais, François, 1, 4, 48, 268, 283, 287, 288, 301, 429
 Racine, Jean, 232, 237, 238, 330, 379, 454, 461, 465, 466, 467
 Andromaque, 466
 Britannicus, 465
 Ramée (Ramus), Pierre de la, 60, 61, 283, 287, 288, 308
 Ranieri (Rinieri or Reineri), Daniel, 33
Recueil des histoires romaines, 516
 Regnault, François, 516
 Renan, 24
 Renvoisy, Richard, 410, 416, 418
 Reuchlin, Johannes, 51, 63
 Reynolds, L.D., 32, 33, 34, 45
 Rhenanus, Beatus, 51, 52, 55, 56

 Ribbeck, Otto, 37, 38
 Richelieu, Armand Emmanuel du Plessis, duc de, 278, 472
 Rinuccio d'Arezzo, 437, 440, 442, 443, 444, 445, 447, 448
 Rivail, Aymar du, 304
 Rivery, Abel, 159, 163, 164
 Roches, Catherine des, 151, 163
Roman de la Rose, 336
Roman de Renart, 435
Romulus Nilantii, 433, 435
Romulus Ordinarius, 432, 437
 Romulus, 426, 431, 432, 433, 435, 436
 Ronsard, Pierre de, 225, 259, 288, 332, 336, 338, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 352, 353, 354, 357, 359, 360, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 382, 386, 389, 393, 394, 398, 399, 401, 403, 405, 406, 407, 409, 410, 411, 413, 414, 416, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430
 Roquefavour, 472
 Rosny de Rosambo, 41
 Rosso, Giovanni Battista, 359
 Rouillard, Sébastien, 257, 258, 260
 Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 233, 234, 235
 Roville, Guillaume, 144, 163, 506, 521, 524, 526, 528
 Roy, M., 153, 164
 Royal Library, 40
 Collection Dupuy, 40
 Catalogus Regius, 40
Rudimentum novitiorum, 433, 446
 Rufinus, Tyrannius, of Aquileia, 43, 44
 Rufinus, Licinius, 42
 Rus, Jean, 354, 390

 Sabbadini, Remigio, 38
 Saint Irenaeus, 43, 44
 Saint Jerome, 126
 Saint Paul, 17, 342
 Epistles, 40
 Saint-Bénigne of Dijon, cathedral, 25
 Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, 25
 Saint-Benoît-sur-Loire, see also Fleury
 Saint-Chef, Abbey of, 44
 Saint-Denis, Abbey of, 25, 27, 34, 36
 Sainte-Beuve, C.A., 411, 421, 427, 428
 Sainte-Marthe, Scévole de, 151, 362, 390
 Sainte-More, Benoît de, 364

- Saint-Gall, Monastery of, 37
 Saint-Gelais, Melin de, 358, 364, 390
 Saint-Gellais, Mellin de
 Sophonisba, 261, 262
 Saint-Gelais, Octovien de, 515
 Saint-Germain-des-Près, 39
 Saint-Jean of Lyon, Cathedral of, 43, 44
 Saint-Maur, congregation of, 39
 Saint-Oyan, Abbey of, 45
 Saint-Victor, Abbey of, 27, 29, 30, 32, 34, 40
 Library catalogue, 41
 Sala, Pierre, 451
 Salel, Hugues, 246
 Sales, François, 269
 Saliat, Pierre, 260
 Sallust, 144, 161
 Sallust
 De Coniuratione Catilinae, 31
 De Bello Jugurtino, 31
 Historiae, 28
 Salomon, Bernard, 506, 524
 Salviati, Cassandre, 414
 Sandys, George, 13
 Sannazaro, Jacopo, 42, 356, 390
 Arcadia, 237
 Santeramo, Pietro, 113
 Sardanapalus, 504
 Saturn, 381
 Savary, Claude Etienne, 9
 Scaliger, Julius Caesar, 347, 348, 352, 390
 Poetics, 276
 Scaliger, Justus Joseph, 42
 Scarron, Paul
 Le Roman comique, 273
 Scève, Maurice, 337, 356, 361, 390, 506
 Schriesheimer, Peter, 79
 Scudéry, Georges and Madeleine
 Clélie, 239, 275
 Ibrahim, 239
 Scylla, 345
 Sebillet, Thomas, 146, 164, 334, 354, 363, 390
 Second, Jean, 239
 Selve, George de, 74, 75
 Seneca the Younger, 166, 192, 203, 215, 216, 265, 288, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 465, 466, 469
 Agamemnon, 454, 456, 466
 Hercules furens, 459
 Hercules Oetaeus, 455
 Octavia, 455, 456, 463, 466
 Phoenissae, 458
 Thyestes, 456, 458, 465
 Troades, 458, 459, 465
 Sercus, Francoys de, 142
 Servin, Michel
 "Discours sur les Livres d'Amadis," 238
 Servius, Sulpicius Rufus, 298
 Sévigné, Marie de Rabutin-Chantal, countess of, 262
 Seyssel, Claude de, 73, 74, 260
 Shakespeare, William, 237
 Sibilla, 515
 Siena, cathedral of, 339
 Sileni Alcibiadis (adage), 118
 Simeoni, Gabriele
 Illustratione de gli epitaffi et medaglie antiche, 521
 Sistine Chapel, 339
 Sixtus IV, Pope, 27
 Smyrna, 15
 Socrates, 5, 208, 211, 281, 282, 283, 285, 286, 288, 289, 292, 293
 Socrates
 Ecclesiastic History, 263
 Solinus, C. Julius, 26
 Sophocles, 455
 Sorbonne, 124, 127, 165
 Sorel, Charles
 Le Berger Extravagant, 239
 La Bibliothèque française, 239
 Le Roman bourgeois, 262
 Speroni, Sperone, 261
 Spon, Jacob 15, 16, 18, 19, 20
 Spongia, 126
 St. Blaise, 471
 Standonck, Jan, 113
 Statius, 26, 40
 Steinhöwel, Heinrich, 432, 437, 444, 446, 450
 Steinhöwels Äsop, 429, 432, 449, 450
 Steyn, Prior of, 110, 125
 Steyn, priory of, 112, 114, 119
 Stoa, Giovanni Francesco Conti, known as Quinziano Stoa, 368, 391
 Strabo, 261, 263, 270, 271, 273
 Suetonius, 139
 Summaria ad Pandectas, 306
 Taccone, Francesco, 33
 Tacitus, 141, 144, 147, 149, 163, 187, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195,

- 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204,
205, 206, 207, 209, 211, 212, 213,
214, 215, 216, 217
- Tafel, Sigmund, 43, 45
- Tagault, Barthélemy, 357, 391
- Tahureau, Jacques, 288, 289, 291,
292, 360, 391
- Talon, Omer, 288
- Tardif, Guillaume, 425, 441, 442, 446,
451
- Tarquin, 504
- Tasso, Torquato
Discorsi del poema eroico, 276
- Temple of Aphaia, 491
- Temple of Diana at Nîmes, 496
- Terence, 28, 36, 111, 112, 468, 469,
469, 470, 514, 519
Adelphoe, 469
Andria, 468, 469
Eunuchus, 467
- Tertullian, 191
- Themis, 340
- Theocritus, 253, 360, 364, 365, 366,
367, 372, 373, 374, 375
- Theodosius, Emperor
Constitutiones or *Novellae*, 41
- Theseus, 363, 378
- Thessaly, 14
- Thevet, André, 12, 14, 15
- Thisbe, 355
- Thucydides, 192
- Timante, 372
- Tiraqueau, André, 166, 167, 168, 169,
302
- Tissard, François, 52, 53, 54, 55, 57,
59, 68, 71, 75, 78, 87, 125
- Tory, Geoffroy
Champfleury, 512
- Tournefort, Joseph Pitton de, 19
- Tournes, 354, 356, 385, 386, 388, 390
- Tournes, Jean de, 163, 512, 521, 524,
526, 528
- Tournes, Jean II de, 61, 72, 252, 253,
524, 528
- Tours, Pierre de, 139, 163, 164
- Tours, 25, 39
- Toussain, Jacques, 2, 49, 50, 54, 62,
67, 69, 70, 71
- Toutain, Jacques, 454, 456
*Traité touchant le commun usage de l'écriture
françoise*
- Trajan's Column, 479
- Traube, Ludwig, 43
- Trechsel, Johannes, 514, 517
- Tredehan, Pierre, 152, 158, 159, 164
- Tribonian, 298, 304, 307
- Trissino, Giangiorgio, 454
Sophonisba, 261, 262
- Troïle, 381
- Troy, 340
- Tunstall, Cuthbert, 50, 88, 89, 104
- Turin, 124, 125
- Turkey, 17
- Turrin, Claude, 360, 391
- Tyard, Pontus de, 343, 354, 391
- Typhis, 363
- Tytirus, 515
- Ulpian, 298, 299, 303, 304, 306, 311
- Ulpianus, see Ulpian
- Union Railway Station, 494
- Urfé, Honoré l'
L'Astrée, 237, 269, 274
- Vair, Guillaume du, 316
- Valancier, Estienne, 452
- Valentinianus, Emperor
Constitutiones or *Novellae*, 41
- Valerianus, Iohannis Pierius, 28
- Valerius Maximus, 346
- Valla, Lorenzo, 1, 92, 93, 95, 97, 114,
118, 119, 121, 124, 297, 300, 336,
439, 440, 441, 443, 445, 446, 447
- Valois, court of, 331, 346
- Varro
De Re Rustica, 31
- Vascosan, Michel, 163, 164, 247, 521
- Vatable, François, 2
- Vatel, Jean, 70, 71, 72
- Vauquelin de la Fresnaie, Jean, 355,
359
- Veere, the Lady of, 132, 133, 134,
135
- Venus, 354, 358, 359, 360, 381, 385
- Vérard, Antoine, 503, 514, 516, 517
- Vergara, Francisco de, 251
- Vergecio, Angelo, 75, 77
- Vergil, 5, 7, 26, 28, 29, 34, 35, 36,
37, 38, 111, 139, 147, 151, 152,
153, 155, 156, 157, 161, 162, 179,
333, 342, 346, 347, 348, 352, 354,
366, 367, 370, 373, 377, 378, 379,
456, 461, 514, 515, 529
Aeneid, 28, 514, 515, 529
Aeneid 4. 302–305, 36
Eclogues, 37, 515
Georgics, 28, 37
- Vergil, Polydore, 117

- Verona, cathedral of, 43
 Vesalius, 170
 Victor, Claudius Marius, 44
 Vida, Marco Girolamo
 Ars Poetica, 261
 Vigenère, Blaise de, 141, 149, 150,
 163
 Villey, 187, 189, 202, 207
 Villoison, D'Ansse de, 20
 Vincent de Beauvais, 432, 433, 446
 Vinet, Elias, 42
 Viollet-le-Duc, Eugène Emmanuel, 479
 Virgil, see Vergil
 Visconti, Galeazzo, 300
 Vitel, Jean de, 359, 361, 391
 Vitelli, Cornelio, 115
 Vitruvius, 7, 488, 490, 512, 513
 Vitruvius
 De Architectura, 31
 Vittorino da Feltre, 431, 439
 Vivès, Juan Luis, 1, 172
 De Disciplinis, 264
 De Institutione Feminae Christianae, 264
 Volaterranus, Raphael, 336
 Volmar, Melchior, 58, 68, 69, 70, 71,
 72
 Voltaire, 145, 235, 467
 Vostre, Simon, 503, 504
 Vulcan, 354, 381
 Walter of England, 432, 435, 436,
 437
 Warham, William, 122
 Wars of Religion, 456
 Warschewiczki, Stanislas, 250, 251
 West, the, 13, 14
 Wheler, George, 15
 Wilson, N.G., 32, 45
 Winckelmann, Johann Joachim, 21
 Würzburg, cathedral of, 43
 Xenophon of Athens, 283
 Yphis, 370
 Zazius, Ulrich, 90
 Zetes, 363, 365, 367, 369, 370, 371,
 372, 374, 375

GENERAL INDEX

- Academies of arts, French, 472
Adages, early interest in, 110, 116
 Amphitheatres, Roman in France, 471, 472
 Anacreotics, discovery of, 6
Antinomiae, 298
 Antiquity and antiquities, 11, 16, 19, 20, 21
 Aesthetic contemplation of, 21
 Of Athens, 17
 Removal of, 21
 Architecture, 502, 506, 507, 512, 513, 521
 Astrology, 174, 176
Ataraxia, 183
 Attic landscape, 17, 18
 Axonometric projection in French architectural drawings, 491

 Bartolists, 297, 298, 299, 303
 Battle of the Ancients and the Moderns, 5
 Battle scenes, 515, 516
 Beroaldo, Erasmus' debt to, 118
 Birth, date of Erasmus', 110, 129, 130, 131, 132
 Book illustrations, French, 7
 Brothel, 491
 Byzantine scholars, 10

 Cabala, 176, 185
 Capitals, rustic (*capitalis rustica*), 28, 36, 39
 Capitals, square (*capitalis quadrata*), 36, 37
 Caroline minuscules, 39
Carpe diem, 405, 410
 Chauvinism
 French, 80, 105, 108
 Italian, 49, 52, 55, 75, 76, 87, 88
 Christianity, 332, 333, 340, 341, 343
 Classical myths, 5
 Classical, 12, 13, 14, 15
 Classicising and classicism in French architecture, 472, 479, 488, 493, 497, 502, 503
 Classicism, 10, 11
 Classicism, French, 347

 Collegium trilingue, 128
Commedia dell'arte, 467, 469, 470
 Commentaries, Homeric, 339
Constitutio Tanta, 298
 Copperplate engraving, 507, 529
 Counter-reformation, 182
 Customs, 302, 312

 Decorum, 348
 Degrees, Erasmus', 124, 131
 Dialectics, 174, 188, 299
 Divine inspiration, 343
 Drama, French, 6

 Education, 169, 171, 174, 177, 178, 180, 181, 183, 186, 194
 Engineering, replaces classicism in French architecture, 493, 497
 England, Erasmus teaches at Cambridge, 126
 England, Erasmus visits, 116
 Epic poems, French, 5
 Epicureanism, 343
 Equity (*aequum et bonum*), 299, 300, 302, 309, 311
 Erasmianism in Paris after 1516, 126, 127
 Erasmus and French nationalism, 127
 Erasmus and his printers, 113, 117, 121, 122, 123
 Erasmus and the empire, 127
 Erasmus and the French court, 127
 Erasmus' New Testament attacked, 127
 Euhemerism, 345

 Fables, 6
Fabula praetexta, 455
 Father's background, of Erasmus', 111
 French, becomes language of law, 310, 311

 Gaguin, Erasmus' attitude to, 114
 Geography, 9, 11, 13, 17
 Hellenization of, 23, 24
 Glossators, 297, 298, 299, 300
 Greek
 Space, 11, 13, 15, 18, 21, 24
 Studies in the Middle Ages, 10

- Greek books, 10, 11
 Availability of, 54, 57, 63, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 83
 High cost of, 53, 57, 63
 Printing of, 48, 51, 52, 53, 57, 61, 62, 69, 72, 75, 76
- Greek dictionaries, 57, 63, 64, 65
 Format of, 65, 66, 67
 Improvements in, 66, 67
- Greek grammar books
 Availability of, 55, 57, 67, 68
 Difficult for beginners, 68, 69, 70
- Greek, study of in France, 3
- Greek, study of, 52
- Greek, teachers of, 49, 50, 51, 52, 56
 Private, 53, 57
 Public, 53, 57, 58, 59
- Greek, teaching of, 58
- Greek, teaching, 56, 58, 59
 Popularity of, 53, 55, 56
 Private, 49, 52, 54, 55
 Public, 55, 59
- Greek, as key to ancient science and wisdom, 119, 122
- Greek, Erasmus' search for tutors and grammars of, 118
- Greek, Erasmus' views on his studies of in 1500, 119
- Greek, more important than Latin, 119, 120
- Greek, necessary for theologians, 118, 122
- Greek, not taught at school, 112
- Greek, pronunciation of, 127
- Greek, Erasmus self-taught in Paris and Louvain, 119, 120, 123
- Ground plan in French architecture, 491
- Guardians, Erasmus' letter to, 109
- Hellenic studies in France, 3, 4
- Hellenism, 11, 15, 16, 18, 23, 24
- Hieroglyphics, 507
- History and law, 300, 302, 304, 305, 307
- Hours, books of, 513, 528
- Humanism
 Cabalistic, 176
 Christian, 190
 Legal, 167
 Medical, 169
 Rabelais' satire of, 192
- Humanism and humanists, 2, 10, 23, 297, 298, 302, 304, 307, 309, 312, 313
- French, 1
 Italian, 1
- Humanist tragedy, performance of, 453, 459, 460, 466
- Hypaethral architectural reconstructions, 488
- Illustrated publications, popular, 503, 502, 512, 515, 524, 526
- Italy and the search for a degree by Erasmus, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136
- Italy, Erasmus' journey to, 1506, "mainly for Greek", 124
- Jurisconsults, Roman, 298, 300, 303, 311
- Jurisprudence, Medieval, 297, 298, Justice, 299, 300, 308, 309
- Latin classics privately studied by Erasmus, 111, 112
- Latin style, Erasmus' early interest in, 110
- Latin, language of law, 310, 311
- Law
 Canon, 168, 174
 Civil, 174
 Roman civil, 167
- Law as an *ars*, 299, 306, 308
- Law as *Ars boni et aequi*, 299
- Law of nations, 306, 308
- Law, comparative, 307, 311
- Law, French, 303, 311, 312
- Law, natural, 306, 308, 309
- Law, Roman, 5, 297, 298, 299, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313
As ratio scripta, 302, 313
- Law, subjective, 310
- Law, systematic reconstruction of, 305, 306, 307, 308, 310, 313
- Lecteurs royaux*, 48, 54, 62, 66, 71, 128, 179
 In Greek, 2, 48, 50, 54, 57, 62, 72
 In Hebrew, 2
- Lex XII Tabularum*, 304
- Logic, 300, 306, 308
- Mannerism, of the Valois court, 331
- Manuscripts, Greek, 48, 61, 62, 71, 72, 73, 75, 83, 97, 100, 102
 Availability of in France, 73, 74, 75
- Manuscripts, illuminated, 514
- Mignardise*, 410
- Miles gloriosus*, 467, 470

- Minuscules, Visigothic, 42
Mos Gallicus, 5, 297
Mos Italicus, 5, 297
 Murals in French architectural reconstructions, 490
 Muslim, 19
 Mythology, 331, 332, 333, 336, 337, 343, 345, 346, 347, 348

 Nationalism, French, 336
 Nature in the Age of Reason, 489
 Neo-Platonism, 332, 333, 337
 Novels, ancient Greek, 2, 3, 4, 237, 239, 240, 245, 246, 249, 254, 258, 262, 263, 273, 275, 278, 279

 Oracles, Sibylline, 339, 341
 Order, Roman Doric, 488
 Orders, architectural, 487, 488
 Orthodox Church, 20
 Ottoman, 10, 15

Paranomasia, 344
 Paris, Erasmus' circle of friends in, 113
 Paris, Erasmus' difficult years in, 112, 117, 119
 Paris, Erasmus teaches Greek in, 123
 Petrarchism, 337
Philosophia Christi, 118, 183
 Philosophy, 299, 301, 307, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313
 Classical, 5, 168
 Polychromy in French architectural reconstructions, 490
 Printing, 331
 Printing, humanist, 519, 524
Prisca theologia, 176, 333
 Proportions in architecture, 488, 489, 491
 Publishers, early French humanist, 7

Quadrivium, 174

 Rationalism, replaces classicism in French architecture, 493
 Rationality in the Age of Reason, 489
 Reason in the Age of Reason, 489
Recentiores, codices, 27
Recusatio, 407
 Reform, Ecclesiastical, 165
 Religion, Judeo-Christian, 332, 343
 Renaissance, 9, 10, 11, 24
 Explorations, 16
 Sense of history, 9

 Rhetoric, 168, 172, 174, 177, 181, 182, 188, 190, 193, 194, 454, 455, 460, 461
 Roman architectural influence, 474, 475, 478, 479, 484, 486, 487, 489, 490, 493, 504
Romans de chevalerie, 515, 517
 Romantic and Romanticism, 11, 23, 24 and the Romantic imagination, 23, 24
 Romanticism, replaced by engineering, 489
 Ruins, 11, 15, 22, 23
 Moral and aesthetic meaning of, 22, 23
 Valorization of, 14, 15

 Scepticism, 188, 193
Schola culta, 301
 Science, 171, 172, 174, 178
 Scribal errors, 101
 Scribes, Greek, 52, 75, 77
Sententiae, 455, 461, 463
 Sibyls, 339, 340, 341
 Sirens, 336, 337, 341, 345
 Sophistry, 172, 183
 Soul, 333, 339, 342, 344
Stichomythia, 455, 456
Stile bas, 410
 Stoicism, 455, 457
 Students of Greek, 53, 54, 59, 61
Studia humanitatis, 299
 Studies, Greek, 166
 Symmetry in architecture, 491
 Symposium, Platonic, 166
 Syncretism, 348

Tabula Claudiana, 46
 Technical publications, 519, 521, 528
 Theological studies of Erasmus, 112, 122, 124, 125
 Theology of Erasmus, a new kind of, 118, 119
 Theology, 165, 174, 182
 Theory, emphasis placed on by L'École des Beaux-Arts, 474, 486, 488, 489
 Tironian notes, 40
 Translations from Latin, French, 4
 Translations by Erasmus, 119, 120, 121, 122, 124, 125
 Travellers, 13, 17, 20, 22, 23, 24
 And humanists, 11
 French, 1, 3, 11
 To Greece and classical lands, 12, 13, 21, 24

- Triumphal entries, 502, 506, 507, 513
Turks, 14, 17, 18, 21
Types, Greek, 75, 76, 77
Uncials (*unciales*), 36, 39, 41
University education of Erasmus, aims
 at, 111
Valla, Erasmus' debt to, 114, 118
Visual arts, French, 6
Voyages pittoresques, 22
Woodcuts, 503, 502, 507, 512, 513,
 514, 515, 516, 517, 519, 521, 524,
 526, 528, 529